RAJATARANGINI

THE SAGE OF THE KINGS OF KASMIR

BY

RANJIT SITARAM PANDIT

RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ

THE SAGA OF THE KINGS OF KAŚMĪR

Translated from the original Saṁskṛta and entitled
the River of Kings with an Introduction,
Annotations, Appendices, Index, etc.

By

RANJIT SITARAM PANDIT

Foreword

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



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TO THE MEMORY

OF

PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

Chāyā niraṅkuśagatiḥ svayam ātapas tu chāyānvitaḥ śataśa eva nijaprasaṅgam;
Duḥkhaṁ sukhena pṛthagevam anantaduḥkhapīḍānuvedhavidhurā tu sukhasya vṛttiḥ.

Shadow is itself unrestrained in its path while sunshine, as an incident of its very nature, is pursued a hundredfold by nuance. Thus is sorrow from happiness a thing apart; the scope of happiness, however, is hampered by the aches and hurts of endless sorrow.

Taraṅga VIII, Śloka 1913

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FOREWORD

NEARLY four years ago, when we were both together in Naini Central Prison, Ranjit Pandit told me of his intention to translate Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. I warmly encouraged him to do so and saw the beginnings of this undertaking. We came out of prison and went back later and so, in and out, and mostly in, we have spent the last four years. But we were kept in different gaols and many high walls and iron gates separated us, and I was unable to follow the progress of the translation. It turned out to be a much vaster undertaking than I had imagined and I was glad that the translator persevered with his work, in spite of the difficulties and delays inseparable from a residence in gaol.

It was Ranjit Pandit's wish, in those early days when he began the translation, that it should be introduced to the public by a preface or foreword from my father, Pandit Motilal Nehru. Indeed one of the reasons which led him to translate this ancient story of our old homeland was to enable my father to read it, for he knew no Samskrit. But that was not to be, and now I am told that, in his absence, the duty of writing that foreword devolves upon me. I must play the substitute however poorly qualified I may be for the task.

It is for scholars and learned men to appraise and judge this translation. That is not my task. I feel a little overwhelmed by the ability, learning and tremendous industry that Ranjit Pandit has put into this work. It was a work worth doing. Nearly half a century ago, Mr. S. P. Pandit wrote of the *Rajatarangini* that it was "the only work hitherto discovered in India having any pretensions to be considered as a history." Such a book must necessarily have importance for every student of old Indian history and culture.

It is a history and it is a poem, though the two perhaps go ill together, and in a translation especially we have to suffer for this combination. For we cannot appreciate the music of the poetry, the charm of Kalhana's noble and melodious language; only the inexactitude and the extravagant conceits remain. The translator has preferred a literal rendering, sometimes even at the cost of grace of language, and I think he has chosen rightly, for in a work of this kind exactitude is necessary.

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Written eight hundred years ago, the story is supposed to cover thousands of years, but the early part is brief and vague and sometimes fanciful, and it is only in the later periods, approaching Kalhana's own times, that we see a close-up and have a detailed account. It is a story of medieval times and often enough it is not a pleasant story. There is too much of palace intrigue and murder and treason and civil war and tyranny. It is the story of autocracy and military oligarchy here as in Byzantium or elsewhere. In the main, it is a story of the kings and the royal families and the nobility, not of the common folk—indeed the very name is the "River of Kings".

And yet Kalhana's book is something far more than a record of kings' doings. It is a rich storehouse of information, political, social and, to some extent, economic. We see the panoply of the middle ages, the feudal knights in glittering armour, quixotic chivalry and disgusting cruelty, loyalty unto death and senseless treachery; we read of royal amours and intrigues and of fighting and militant and adulterous queens. Women seem to play quite an important part, not only behind the scenes but in the councils and the field as leaders and soldiers. Sometimes we get intimate glimpses of human relations and human feelings, of love and hatred, of faith and passion. We read of Suyya's great engineering feats and irrigation works; of Lalitaditya's distant wars of conquest in far countries; of Meghavahana's curious attempt to spread non-violence also by conquest; of the building of temples and monasteries and their destruction by unbelievers and iconoclasts who confiscated the temple treasures. And then there were famines and floods and great fires which decimated the population and reduced the survivors to misery.

It was a time when the old economic system was decaying, the old order was changing in Kashmir as it was in the rest of India. Kashmir had been the meeting ground of the different cultures of Asia, the western Graeco-Roman and Iranian and the eastern Mongolian, but essentially it was a part of India and the inheritor of Indo-Aryan traditions. And as the economic structure collapsed it shook up the old Indo-Aryan polity and weakened it and made it an easy prey to internal commotion and foreign conquest. Flashes of old Indo-Aryan ideals come out but they are already out of date under the changing conditions. Warlords march up and down and make havoc of the people. Popular risings take place—

Kalhana describes Kashmir as "a country which delighted in insurrection!" and they are exploited by military leaders and adventurers to their own advantage. We reach the end of that period of decay which ultimately ushered in the Muslim conquest of India. Yet Kashmir was strong enough, because of its mountain fastnesses, to withstand and repulse Mahmud of Ghazni, the great conqueror who made a habit of raiding India to fill his coffers and build up an empire in Central Asia. It was nearly two hundred years after Kalhana wrote his history that Kashmir submitted to Muslim rule, and even then it was not by external conquest but by a local revolution headed by a Muslim official of the last Hindu ruler, Queen Kota.

I have read this story of olden times with interest because I am a lover of Kashmir and all its entrancing beauty, because perhaps, deep down within me and almost forgotten by me, there is something which stirs at the call of the old homeland from whence we came long, long ago; and because I cannot answer that call as I would, I have to content myself with dreams and fantasies, and I revisit the glorious valley girt by the Himalayan snows through books and cold print. As I write this my vision is limited by high walls that seem to close in upon me and envelop me and the heat of the plains oppresses me. But Kalhana has enabled me to overstep these walls and forget the summer heat, and to visit that land of the Sun god "where realizing that the land created by his father is unable to bear the heat, the hot-rayed Sun honours it by bearing himself with softness in summer;" where dawn first appears with a golden radiance on the eternal snows and, in the evening, "the daylight renders homage to the peaks of the towering mountains;" where, in the valley below, the lazy sleepy Vitasta winds slowly through smiling fields and richly-laden fruit trees, and creeps under the lordly chenars, and passes through still lakes covered with lotus blooms, and then makes up and rushes down the gorges to the plains of the Punjab below. Man has sunk low there in his poverty but nature remains, cruel and unfeeling, yet soft and smiling to the eye and the senses. "The joy of plunging into the Ganga is not known to those who reside in the sandy deserts," writes Kalhana; how can the dwellers in the plains know of the joys of the mountains, and especially of this jewel of Asia, situate in the heart of that mighty continent?

The translator has used, as he should, the scholar's method of

transcription for Samskrit names and words. He must forgive me if, being a layman, I do not fancy this, and so, with all apologies to the International Congress of Orientalists, I propose to continue to write 'Samskrit' and 'Krishna' and not 'Saṁskṛta' and 'Kṛṣṇa'. I do not like an old friend to develop an alien look, and what seem to be five consonants all in a bunch are decidedly foreign and strange-looking to me.

It is not for me to congratulate the translator who is both my brother-in-law and a dear comrade, but I should like to commend especially his valuable notes and appendices.

DEHRA DUN JAIL
June 28, 1934

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

THE *Rājataraṅgiṇī* or *River of Kings* is a poem in Saṁskṛta in eight cantos. Each canto is called Taraṅga or Wave. The author of this saga of Kaśmīr is the poet Kalhaṇa who commenced his composition in the year 1148 after Christ (Śaka year 1070) and concluded it in 1150 A.C.

The first translation of a portion of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was in Persian made by order of king Zain-ul-Abidin of Kaśmīr (1421-1472 A.C.) who named the version the *Bahr-ul-Asmār* or *The Sea of Tales.* After the annexation of Kaśmīr by the Emperor Akbar, the historian Abd-ul-Kādir Al-Badāoni was ordered in A.H. 1003 (1594 A.C.) to complete the translation. He tells us that during the progress of his work, the Emperor "called me into his private bed-chamber to the foot of the bed, and till the morning called for stories out of each chapter and then said, 'Since the first volume of the Bahr-ul-Asmār is in archaic Persian, and difficult to understand, do you translate it afresh into ordinary language, and take care of the rough copy of the book which you have translated.' I performed the Zamin-bos (kissing the ground) and heartily undertook the commission." In the *Ain-i-Akbari* Abu-l-Fazl included an abstract of the early history of Kaśmīr of which he mentions Kalhaṇa's work as the source. An abridged edition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in Persian was brought out by Haidar Malik who was of a noble Kaśmīrī family. He substituted the Hijara dates for the dates given by Kalhaṇa. In the preface the author states that he commenced the work in A.H. 1207 (1617 A.C.) in the twelfth year of Emperor Jahāngir's reign.

In 1664 A.C. the French physician Francois Bernier visited Kaśmīr of which he has given us a delightful description entitled the *Paradise of the Indies.* He evidently refers to the work of Haidar Malik when he speaks of "the histories of the ancient kings of Kachemire made by order of Jehan-Guyre which I am now translating from the Persian." Bernier's translation if completed was either lost or has not been published.

A century later a Tyrolese missionary Le Père Tieffenthaler included in his work *Description de l'Inde* a summary of the history of the ancient rulers of Kaśmīr which was taken from the Persian version of Haidar Malik.

In the beginning of the last century, the attention of Sir William Jones was drawn to Kalhaṇa's work. Kaśmīr since 1819 was part of the dominion of the Sikhs under the Lion of the Pañjāb, Maharaja Ranjit Singh. By permission of the Maharaja Mr. Moorcroft reached Śrīnagar in 1823 and succeeded in obtaining a transcript of an original Kaśmīrī manuscript which later became the basis of an edition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* published in Calcutta under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1835. Meanwhile in 1825 Dr. H. H. Wilson had published an *Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir*, which contained an abstract of the first six cantos of Kalhaṇa's poem.

The first complete translation from the original Saṁskṛta appeared in French. From the Calcutta edition of 1835 a French translation of the first six cantos of Kalhaṇa's poem was made in 1840 by M. Troyer who was then the Principal of the Calcutta Saṁskṛta College, and it was published under the auspices of the Société Asiatique at Paris. M. Troyer completed the translation in 1852. Unfortunately for M. Troyer there was at that time no critical edition of the text compiled from original sources. From this same edition of 1835 Mr. Yogesh Chunder Dutta translated the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* into English and his version appeared at Calcutta during 1879-1887.

In 1888 my uncle Shankar Pandurang Pandit published his critical edition of the Prākṛta poem, *Gauḍavaho*, by Vākpati. As this poet and his patron, king Yaśovarman of Kanauj, are mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* my uncle relied on the passage to arrive at the date of Vākpati. For this purpose he discussed in detail the chronology of Kalhaṇa and incidentally translated several verses of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. He refers to the defective character of the Calcutta edition and appeals to scholars to suspend judgment on the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*—"until the text of that admittedly valuable work—the only historical compilation of any pretensions that has yet come to light—has been carefully edited and restored to its original purity by competent and patient hands."

Fortunately two learned scholars laboured to produce a critical edition of the original text. In 1892 Sir Aurel Stein published at Bombay a critical edition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. About the same time Pandit Durgā Prasāda also brought out his edition which was published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press at Bombay. Sir A. Stein translated the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* into English prose in 1900. In his introduction to the translation he says about Pandit Durgā Prasāda: "The Pandit's

edition contains also a considerable number of useful new emendations besides others which had already been proposed in my edition. Wherever I saw good reason to adopt such emendations for my translation their source has been duly indicated in the notes. To the scholarly merits of his work I may hence be allowed to render here a well-deserved tribute."

Prof. Bühler had translated some verses of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Sir A. Stein followed, as regards the form of his translation, the suggestions of Prof. Bühler made in 1875. Stein says in his Preface: "These considerations have induced me to follow the example of Professor Bühler in his above mentioned specimen translation and to adopt a form of rendering that allows the interpreter not only to reproduce plainly the meaning of the text, but also indirectly to indicate often the construction or other exegetical reasons underlying his version. Thin square brackets have been employed throughout to distinguish words which are not actually found in the original, but require to be added in order to make the context intelligible in English, while round brackets denote additions having more the nature of glosses. Pedantic as this device seems it has often saved lengthy explanatory notes, and its advantages will be readily appreciated wherever reference to the exact words of the Chronicle is essential." The distinguished explorer and scholar Sir A. Stein made a deep study of Kalhaṇa's work but his method of translation does not give an adequate conception of the work as a literary composition to readers unable to study the original. Further his main interest in the chronicle was archaeological and topographical and he omitted to translate verses which according to him are in "Kāvya style" and which "contain rhetoric descriptions or didactic matter of a wholly conventional type, practically unconnected with the narrative proper." Thus an account of a soirée with singing and dancing at the court of Śrīnagar by artistes who were "Untouchables" has been omitted (Taraṅga V. Ślokas 361-386) and among other omissions are strictures on the vices of ruling princes.[1]

In the present translation, the Saṁskṛta text generally followed is that of Sir A. Stein with frequent references to the critical edition of Pandit Durgā Prasāda. The translation, barring the lacunae in the original text, is complete and unexpurgated.

1 Among the verses expurgated are V. 311-323, 361-386. VII. 1392-1404, 1433-1441. VIII. 842-848, 1611-1614, 2621-2626, 3191-3200.

In Kalhaṇa's own view, his was not only a work of serious contribution to history it was pre-eminently a work of art (Kāvya); he looked upon himself not merely as a historian but as a Kavi (poet-seer). Kalhaṇa chose for his work on history the metrical model advisedly, not simply as a form of expression but as absolutely required by a certain class of ideas. Kalhaṇa's intelligent eyes watched the court and noted what they saw in the hope that centuries later their observations would enlighten distant lands, relight dead suns and set dead moons shining upon the streams and snow-clad mountains of his native land. In one long series, as if on a band of gelatine of a cinematograph film, Kalhaṇa brings before our eyes "vivid pictures of a bygone age" through episodes which contain the different Rasas or sentiments of love and heroism, of pathos and marvel. Although he paints the world of his own time he begins from the beginning of things in Kaśmīr and the unity of his work of art is not recognised until the reader comes to the end of the story.

This translation is an attempt to represent poetry in prose. The effect of poetry is a compound of music and suggestion intermingled in words which are tones in the harmony. To alter the words is to alter the effect. The prose translator might be keenly sensitive to the power and beauty of the rhythm and yet the resemblance of his translation to the original might be as little as that of the unhewn shaft to the fluted column. From the cold bare outline which is here presented the reader unacquainted with Saṁskṛta could scarcely guess what glow of colour, fluent grace and energy of movement have been lost in the process. There are words with so delicate a bloom upon them that it can nowise be preserved. Such words would have lost less in a metrical translation with its atmosphere of rhythm. Fortunately the major portion of the poem is narrative and suitable for a prose translation.

The translation is literal. It preserves, as far as possible, the original construction. The English language is rich in vocabulary nevertheless there were difficulties of construction to be overcome: the want of the accusative form to the noun restricts the arrangement of words in English, the present participle can only be used to a limited extent and the same is the case with the pronoun. Two maxims of translation have been followed. The translator should seek that one best word or phrase for what is said in another language and the other which

demands that the white light of the author's thought must not pass through the tinted glass of the translator's mind and assume its colouring.

The heritage of India which has come to us through the medium of Saṁskṛta is a living one. The great and stirring words "of the language of the gods" find a ready echo in our hearts; we have known them from childhood and their subtle music expresses to us the thoughts of men whose lives, in the remote past, must have been unimaginably different from our own. Saṁskṛta, like the ancient Greek and Latin and indeed every other language, paints a picture of the world and though there may be only one world the pictures are different. In this translation an attempt has been made to use English words so that they may produce Indian pictures and experiences. I cannot hope to have been always successful but an effort has been made with loving labour.

SRINAGAR, KASMIR
July 18, 1934

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PRONUNCIATION

Dr. Kalikumar Datta-Sastri, to whom we are indebted for having seen this edition through the press, has somewhat modified the system of transliteration in the first edition, and followed an adaptation of the International Phonetic Script now universally accepted for transcription of Sanskrit sounds. The adaptation followed is indicated below:

Vowels

a (=अ)	ā (=आ)	i (=इ)	ī (=ई)
u (=उ)	ū (=ऊ)	ṛ (=ऋ)	ḷ (=लृ)
e (=ए)	ai (=ऐ)	o (=ओ)	au (=औ)

Consonants

					Nasals.
Gutturals	k (=क)	kh (=ख)	g (=ग)	gh (=घ)	ṅ (=ङ)
Palatals	c (=च)	ch (=छ)	j (=ज)	jh (=झ)	ñ (=ञ)
Cerebrals	ṭ (=ट)	ṭh (=ठ)	ḍ (=ड)	ḍh (=ढ)	ṇ (=ण)
Dentals	t (=त)	th (=थ)	d (=द)	dh (=ध)	n (=न)
Labials	p (=प)	ph (=फ)	b (=ब)	bh (=भ)	m (=म)
Sibilants	ś (=श)	ṣ (=ष)	s (=स)	h (=ह)	
Semi-vowels	y (=य)	v (=व)			
Trilled	r (=र)				
Lateral	l (=ल)				
Anusvāra	ṁ (=ं)				
Visarga	ḥ (=:)	*(a surd breathing).*			

INVITATION

The *River of Kings* is the earliest extant history of Kaśmīr. Its author Kalhaṇa unlike the numerous authors of books on Kaśmīr who have been unakin to the inhabitants was a Kaśmīrī. He describes his people as the inheritors of an ancient culture; he shows them, in turn, to be kindly or cruel, faithful or faithless, single-minded or ambitious but they are never judged or portrayed as beings of an inferior race even in their criminal or ridiculous moments. From any such misrepresentation Kalhaṇa who lived a free man in an independent country is saved as well by his moral as by his artistic sense. Furthermore he is not merely a chronicler but a poet who loved his Arcadian homeland, its streams and cascades, the flower-strewn meadows, the soft cloud-dappled sky over rich fields, the far vistas of snow on the mountains that at dawn and sunset hold all the roses and pinks and madders of the artist's palette. Archaeology has indeed laid bare for us the secrets of the dead past but the past eludes pursuit in the dust of antiquarianism. In Kalhaṇa's pen-pictures, on the other hand, the past is vivified and lives again. He shows us what we want to know, namely, what his contemporary men and women looked like, what they ate and wore, what they believed and what was their solution to the eternal problem of the relation between the sexes. He composed his historical poem in the middle of the 12th century, in the age when the Crusaders of Europe were fighting in Western Asia. He saw kings who rode to Śrīnagar—the City Royal—in the centre of a cavalcade of steel-clad horsemen[1] escorted by the Rājaputras, to whom the sword-hilt was familiar since childhood, and followed by intriguing courtiers, priests, bards and lovely women with "moon-like faces". He tells us that the capital owed its name to Śrīnagarī, the city founded in the remote past by the great Aśoka, the Constantine of Buddhist India. He describes the environs of this unique city of the East and mentions its landmarks, the Śārikāparvata (Hārparvat) and the Gopa Hill (Gupkār) surmounted by the ancient temple of Jyeṣṭha Rudra, now known as Śaṅkarācārya. Numerous towns, temples, shrines and monasteries are mentioned by him includ-

[1] VIII. 947-953; App. H.

ing the glorious sun-temple founded early in the eighth century by king Lalitāditya— "The munificent king built the marvellous temple of Mārtaṇḍa with massive stone walls inside encircling ramparts and a town which rejoiced in grape-vines."[2] The 'land of Pārvatī' now jealously guards in her bosom as her antiquarian treasure, the ruins of her noble shrines, the glory of Kaśmīrī art and sculpture. Indifferent to the vandalism of Man and the ravages of Nature are extant a few ruined temples to which still clings spiritually the faded aroma of the past.

Kalhaṇa's voice which falls crystal clear across the dead centuries is in many ways singularly modern in its love of natural beauty, in the critical scrutiny of the hearts of men and women and of the means they used to achieve their ends. He tells us in the colophon that he was the son of a minister of state; he evidently had free access to the royal court. Yet unlike other Indian poets, who composed panegyrics in Saṁskṛta of kings who were their patrons, Kalhaṇa writes not to praise or blame any individual or group. His verses are so many windows through which we see a glimpse of the world of his time. From the noble Rājaputra to the humble Ḍomba and Caṇḍāla, from the Brahman to the Untouchable, he depicts all at the tasks which have been performed for hundreds of years before and since his time. He puts down minutely with a superb sense of literary form his thoughts, experiences, and sensations. Scenes succeed one another with neat orderliness and conversations are woven skilfully into the fabric of the narrative. He is by nature philosophical and he sees in every crisis the clash of good and evil; his characters stand out vividly, some close, some further away, but all human, real. The poem is a work of great scope, a more or less complete picture of society, in which the bloody periods of the past are delightfully relieved by delicate tales of love, by episodes of marvel and mystery and by interesting digressions which the author permits himself. Among these are causes célèbres,[3] hunger-strikes,[4] the problem of Untouchability[5] and of the relation between the sexes,[6] intercaste marriage[7] and terrorist crime.[8]

[2] IV. 192.
[3] VI. 14-67; VIII. 122-158.
[4] Appendix B.
[5] V. 354-396.
[6] III. 484-525.
[7] IV. 11-41; VII. 11-12; VIII. 2043. Note.
[8] VIII. 2224-2257.

The modern reader must have patience for this translation demands a change in reading habits. The reader who desires to be repaid by a rather new kind of pleasure would be well advised to adapt himself or herself to the method of composition which the medieval author chose for the nature of his subject and the purpose of his art. We can seldom receive the communication of even a master artist without desiring some familiarity with his method and some reason for sympathy with his artistic endeavour. This point of contact is more than commonly interesting in the present case and it is desirable to touch upon it before inviting the reader to share the enjoyment which this narrative may be capable of giving, whether as history, an epic or a semi-tragic drama.

"Life," says a Greek adage, "is the gift of Nature but beautiful living is the gift of wisdom." Well-known Kaśmīrī rhetoricians like Mammaṭa, the author of the *Kāvya Prakāśa*, had said that one of the purposes of Kāvya or poetry was to teach the art of life (Vyavahāra-vide). Kāvya or poetry was defined as "speech the soul of which is Rasa." There were in all eight Rasas or sentiments; Śṛṅgāra (love), Hāsya (merriment), Karuṇa (pathos), Raudra (wrath), Vīra (martial), Bhayānaka (terror), Bībhatsa (repulsion), Adbhuta (marvel), which were the essence of poetry. The verses in this poem are inlaid with these Rasas; and as was expected from a Saṁskṛta Kavi, a general knowledge of history, geography, literature, economics, an acquaintance with the law and the difficult art of government as well as with the sciences and the arts, including Erotics, is disclosed by the author as the narrative proceeds. The description of sunrise and of the dying fires of sunset will give some idea of his style.[9] At the beginning and at the end of the Taraṅgas the metres are changed to suit the changing scene and the varying Rasa and the verses are studded with the different figures of speech dear to the Kavi and the audience of the past while long and difficult compounds are introduced to wind up the canto with a flourish. To relieve the monotony of the narrative, Kalhaṇa often inserts brief generalizations in which he treats poetically the phenomena of Nature or the habits of beasts and birds; incidently he passes strictures on the victim of his invective. He reveals his love for ancient Indian lore and mythology by the numerous references to them in his poem such as the legend of the

[9] VIII. 3161 and VIII. 3140–3144.

churning of the ocean (Samudra-Manthana)[10] or the descent of the Gaṅgā (Gaṅgāvataraṇa).[11] His references to the flora and fauna of India which are not to be found in Kaśmīr e.g., the mango, the palm tree, the lion, the crocodile show that he was steeped in the traditional learning of India and admired its technique. Kalhaṇa, following Mammaṭa, adds one more Rasa, the ninth, known as Śānta (inner calm).[12] The reader is requested by Kalhaṇa not to be impatient, not to pass judgment too soon, nor to let the events in the book pass judgment on themselves too rapidly which recalls the advice of Epictetus "Do not let us pretend to alter the nature of things; it is neither possible nor useful to make the attempt; but accepting things as they are let us strive to accord our minds with them."

Anatole France said to Brousson that he disliked the first commandant: "one God alone thou shalt adore"; he wanted to adore "all gods, all temples and all goddesses". His countryman, the learned scholar and archaeologist, M. Foucher is apparently tempted to make a similar confession: "May I go further and say what I believe to be the true reason for this special charm of Kaśmīr, the charm which everybody seeks, even those who do not try to analyse it? It cannot be only because of its magnificent woods, the pure limpidity of its lakes, the splendour of its snowy mountain tops, or the happy murmur of its myriad brooks sounding in the cool soft air. Nor can it be only the grace or majesty of its ancient buildings, though the ruins of Martand rise at the prow of their Karewa as proudly as a Greek temple on a promontory, and the little shrine of Payar carved out of ten stones, has the perfect proportions of the choragic monuments of Lysicrates. One cannot even say that it comes of the combination of art and landscape, for fine buildings in a romantic setting are to be found in many other countries. But what is found in Kaśmīr alone is the grouping of these two kinds of beauty in the midst of a nature still animated with a mysterious life, which knows how to whisper close to our ear and make the pagan depths of us quiver, which leads us back, consciously or unconsciously, to those past days lamented by the poet, when the world was young, when

'le ciel sur la terre
Marchait et respirait dans un peuple de dieux.' "

The old beliefs in the spirits of mountain, river and pool of water

[10] See App. C. [11] See App. C. [12] I. 23.

are still with us in many ways. The Aryan in India, like the Greek, personified the natural objects. The Kaśmīrīs believed that the woods and cascades were peopled with Nāgas and Nāginīs, the Yakṣa, the Yoginīs, the Vetāla; the fairies, the nymphs, the gnomes, the elves and giants of the Germans and the Scandinavians whom we find in Rheingold and Peer Gynt. The old beliefs still survive in Kaśmīr; Kalhaṇa in the earlier cantos refers to some of them including the legend of the lady of the crescent-moon—Candralekhā—the sweet and disturbing Nāga maiden.[13]

The Aryans in India, like the Greeks and the Romans, were not interested in demolishing the gods and religious beliefs of other people. Tolerance was tne characteristic feature of religions of Indian origin; we have Kalhaṇa's evidence which is fully corroborated by the independent testimony of Chinese scholars and pilgrims who visited India from the fourth to the eleventh century. Like Aeschylus or Homer, Kalhaṇa is a poet of veracity and universality. In the age to which he belonged, Buddhism had been supplanted by Śivaite philosophy in Kaśmīr. He, however, shows a deep love and admiration for Buddha and his ethical way and the poem mentions the founding of Vihāras and Stūpas by the rulers of Kaśmīr up to his own times. Save during the political domination of the early Buddhists, there is no mention of religious strife or theological disputes. In common with the Buddhists Kalhaṇa's belief in Karma is, however, to the forefront. Professor Radhakrishnan thus explains the ancient Indian view in modern language. "The principle of Karma reckons with the material or the context in which each individual is born. While it regards the past as determined it allows that the future is only conditioned. The spiritual element in Man allows him freedom within the limits of his nature. Man is not a mere mechanism of instincts. The spirit in him can triumph over the automatic forces that try to enslave him. The *Bhagwat-Gita* asks us to raise the self by the self. We can use the materials with which we are endowed to promote our ideals. The cards in the game of life are given to us. We do not select them. They are traced to our past Karma but we can call as we please, lead what suit we will, and as we play, we gain or lose. And there is freedom."[14] The deterministic view of life is not

[13] I. 203-268.

[14] *Hindu View of Life.*

peculiar to India. Sophocles had announced his view in the past that Moira, dark fate, held power over gods and men alike, and he was supported later by Zeno. In our own times Thomas Hardy has presented man as helpless in the clutches of circumstance while Anatole France lamented the slavery of intellect and the futility of life.

Reinach defines religion as "a sum of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties." Others see it in the light of psychology and anthropology to be a function of human nature—rather a complicated function, sometimes very valuable and more often a bar to individual and social progress but no more and no less a function of human nature than fighting or falling in love, than law or literature. Cultured people in Europe are now in favour of a religion of scientific humanism and are anxious to emancipate the world from belief in the divine control of a unitary being in order to vivify and enrich life. Pleading for a non-theistic religion Julian Huxley writes: "Theistic religion inevitably culminates in some form of monotheism and the combination in one God of the ideas of perfection and of unity with the attribution of moral qualities and other attributes of personality has inevitably, it would seem, a cramping effect. There is an oppression lurking in unity, a paralysis of life in logical perfection." Sir M. Stratton, in his interesting book, *The Psychology of the Religious Life*, has admirably expressed this weakness of monotheism. "The monotheist," he writes, "is apt to overprize the mere unity in his ideal, forgetful that unity, if it grew too great, is tyrannous. Indeed more than once in history a divine unity and concord has been attained at a cost of human colour and the rich play of interest and feeling. The ideal is not merely a unity, it is quite as much a wealth and diversity."[15]

Such a wealth and diversity are pre-eminently exhibited in the medieval art of India and Kaśmīr. If we would appreciate the past we should transport ourselves for a while to the middle ages. Religious fervour then found outward expression in the construction of temples, churches and mosques in different parts of the world. In that age in Kaśmīr Cosmic Force, the animating principle of Indian Pantheism, was worshipped under the name of Śiva. A very profound philosophy

[15] *What dare I think?* (1932). pp. 253-54.

known as Kaśmīrī Śivaism had developed since the 9th century which inspired the artist-sculptor as well as poet to represent Śiva as the symbol of the eternal process of destruction and creation; Śiva was Bhairava (Terrible) and also Kāla (Time, Destroyer). He was at the same time instinct with love. This allegory was expressed in iconography by the body of Śiva (Ardha Nārīśvara—the lord who is semi-feminine) in which Śiva is united with his consort Pārvatī, the right hand side of the body being of the male sex and the left hand side being of the female sex. Pārvatī, literally the Maid of the Mountain, is the Śakti or Energy of Śiva personified under a feminine form and united with him. Thus we see depicted in art the varied aspects of the destructive and generative Energy as the union of the male and female forms. M. Grousset observes: "There is a profound symbolism in this, whose philosophic import we should be careful not to misinterpret, for it shows us the god of destruction as one and the same with the creative principle, the act of death as the source of generative power."[16] Śiva, the King of Dancers (Naṭarāja), maintains the equilibrium between Life and Death which is represented by his dance of cosmic rhythm (Tāṇḍava). The Swedish Doctor Axel Munthe in his remarkable book, the *Story of San Michele*, has expressed himself like a Kaśmīrī. He writes: "I have not been watching during all these years the battle between Life and Death without getting to know something of the two combatants. When I first saw Death at work in the hospital wards, it was a mere wrestling match between the two. A mere child's play compared with what I saw later. I saw Him at Naples killing more than a thousand people a day before my very eyes. I saw Him at Messina burying over one hundred thousand men, women, and children under the falling houses in a single minute. Later on I saw Him at Verdun, His arms red with blood to the elbows, slaughtering four hundred thousand men and mowing down the flower of a whole army on the plains of Flanders and of the Somme. It is only since I have seen Him operating on a large scale that I have begun to understand the tactics of the warfare. It is a fascinating study full of mystery and contradictions. It all seems at first a bewildering chaos, a blind meaningless slaughter full of confusion and blunders. At one moment Life brandishing a

[16] *Civilization of the East*, Vol. II. India, p. 189.

new weapon in its hand advances victoriously, only to retire the next moment, defeated by triumphant Death. It is not so. The battle is regulated in its minutest details by an immutable law of equilibrium between Life and Death. Wherever the equilibrium is upset by some accidental cause, be it pestilence, earthquake or war, vigilant Nature sets to work at once to readjust the balance, to call forth new beings to take the place of the fallen. Compelled by the irresistible force of a Natural Law men and women fall in each other's arms blindfolded by lust, unaware that it is Death who presides over their mating, his aphrodisiac in one hand, his narcotic in the other. Death the Giver of Life, The Slayer of Life, the beginning and the end."[17] This is the allegory and mystery of life to which in the first verse of each new canto Kalhaṇa makes a reference.

Kalhaṇa repeatedly refers to Providènce or Destiny. Everything seemed to happen as if the whole wanted to pursue its way by fits and starts. Human actions projected in every direction by the force of interest, passion or crime appeared to cancel each other or to become lost in nothingness. Perhaps Kalhaṇa's reason led him to agree with the critical philosophy of Nāgārjuna, the Kant of Buddhist Kaśmīr, when he writes: "To begin with there is nothing, certain it is that hereafter there is nothing, during the interval, by chance, he reacts swiftly to the controlling states of pleasure and pain. Like an actor, without head and feet, having acted his part repeatedly a particular living being disappears behind the screen of existence—nor do we know where he goes."[18] Yet Kalhaṇa was not a dilettante of chaos nor one who found a bitter consolation in contemplating ultimate incoherence. Kalhaṇa's view is that, the world is not always everything one could desire but from its directionless seething, the zigzag efforts and wisps of disorder, the ideal of every epoch finally emerges. He thus often alludes to Pralaya, the deluge at the end of the Kalpa. M. Grousset says: "Perhaps the old Indian tradition of the Kalpa does indeed correspond to the hidden nature of things. Periodically, humanity, after an infinite number of gropings, creates itself, realizes the purposes of its existence in one brief and rare moment of success, then destroys itself, loses itself once more, in an all-too-slow process of dissolution."[19]

[17] p. 173.
[18] VII. 1731.
[19] *In the Foot-steps of the Buddha.*

Every generation must rewrite history. New facts become available and old facts are interpreted anew. In the last century, several new standpoints have been adopted and in particular the attempt has been made to interpret history in terms of economics. The search for authentic records has led to the development of archaeology which reaches back to the origin of writing from pictures in Egypt and Mesopotamia and India. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Cuneiform script in which the languages of ancient Mesopotamia were inscribed on clay tablets was deciphered. A study of that record proves that the history taught to-day in schools and universities in Europe may be reliable in detail, but as a whole has been quite misleading. The origins of European culture are traced back, on the one hand, to the Greeks and the Romans who are said to have gradually built up a complete civilization with a highly developed literature, art and law from rude beginnings; on the other, to the Jews who, it is said, evolved most of the religious and ethical ideas which predominate in Europe to-day. The truth is rather different. The curtain rises at Ur and other cities of the land called Sumer in Southern Mesopotamia about 3500 B.C. and reveals a fully developed civilization. 4500 years ago Southern Mesopotamia was a great deal more civilized than is half the world to-day. There was also a civilization in the valley of the Indus of which so far we know little as the writing on clay tablets has not yet been deciphered. The civilizations of ancient India and that of Mesopotamia had perhaps a common origin and in any case they must have been in contact.

One of Marx's doctrines is that, if we know how production is organised in a society, we know the most important thing about it and can deduce even its philosophical and religious system to a large extent. Russian biologists are studying not only the domesticated animals and plants of to-day, but their ancestors which were the means of production in primitive societies. Thus the clue to the spot where civilization began comes from an entirely unexpected source, namely plant genetics. Civilization is based not only on men but on animals and plants. It needs a cultivable plant giving high yields of storable food, an animal to carry loads, carts and ploughs and a plant or animal source of fibres. The old world civilization was based on cereals, wheat, barley and rice and the elephant, the horse, the cow and sheep. Hence, if it is possible to determine where

cereals and cattle were first domesticated, we could go a long way towards tracing civilization to its source. This task has been undertaken by Vivilov and other Russian scientists. In the case of wheat, the results are fairly clear. There are two distinct groups of wheat. One centre is in Abyssinia, the other, from which the more important group of wheats is derived, in or near South Eastern Afghlnistan. The former is taken to be the original home of the agriculture which led up to Egyptian civilization, the latter the source of Indian and Mesopotamian wheats and of the more important varieties grown in Europe and North America to-day. A great many other cultivated plants seem to have originated in one or the other of these centres; rye, carrots, turnips and some type of beans, lentils, flax and cotton are said to be of Afghan origin. At present the archaeology of these regions is practically untouched save by the French Archaeological Mission, but the results of excavations, especially in the Afghan area, are likely to be of extreme interest.

Kalhaṇa places the opening scene of his long story in Gandhāra (E. Afghanistan). Gandhāra, as we know from the Ṛg-Veda and the Avestā, was the meeting ground of the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians. This contact in comparatively recent times during the Achaemenid period, preceding the invasion of Alexander the Great, was more intimate. For, several centuries after the Greek invasion, Gandhāra was the home of Graeco-Buddhist culture in which the Iranians participated. We owe a debt of gratitude to the eminent French archaeologists, M. Foucher, M. Barthoux and M. Hackin through whose labours we now possess a most interesting record. The French Archaeological Delegation excavated the Buddhist sites in Afghanistan and have collected valuable specimens of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture which had, during several centuries, influenced the art of Kaśmīr, Central Asia and the far East. These interesting finds are now safely lodged in the Musée Guimet at Paris and are invaluable aids for the proper study of early Kaśmīrī art. Eastern Afghanistan-Udyāna (the garden land of India) was the home of the grammarians, scholars and philosophers of India and since the period of Aśoka it had been the birth-place of some of the greatest Buddhist thinkers and doctors. Kalhaṇa had inherited a culture the Buddhist background of which was intimately connected with Gandhāra. King Meghavāhana of Kaśmīr, the apostle of non-violence,

Kalhaṇa tells us, came from Gandhāra.[20] The first three cantos reveal the deep influence on Kalhaṇa's mind of Buddhism; its Franciscan pity and tenderness cling to his verses dealing with non-violence and charity. For the Master, whose birthday is still observed by the Kaśmīrī Brahmans as a holy day, had said: "There is a sacrifice that is easier than milk, than oil and honey; it is alms-giving. Instead of slaughtering animals let them go free. May they find grass, water and cool breezes."

Kalhaṇa tells us that he began his work in the Śaka year 1070 corresponding to the year 4224 of the Laukika era (1148 A.C.)[21] and he finished it in the year 4225 (1149 A.C.).[22] He was not concerned with the origin of civilization. He had a definite task to do and he relied upon the early chronicles which were extant in his day to ascertain the dates of the ancient Kaśmīrī rulers. He begins from about 1184 B.C. with Gonanda III but he refers to an earlier period of 1266 years preceding 1184 B.C. during which, according to tradition, fifty-two kings had ruled but of whom all record was lost. He contents himself with enumerating such of the fifty-two pre-historic kings as he could and gives an account of the early kings in the manner of a Kavi. He, however, carefully avoids giving any dates until he could do so with certainty and accuracy. Thus the first three cantos contain no dates. Kalhaṇa begins to give exact dates for the events recorded in the poem from verse 703 of the fourth canto; the first date is the year 3889 of the Laukika era (813-14 A.C.). There can be no doubt that Kalhaṇa's history after this date is a faithful and accurate record and the defective chronology of the ancient period is due to the errors of the early chroniclers. He was a keen archaeologist, a lover of art and sculpture and of the ancient temples and monuments of his country. He tells us that he had consulted the early chronicles, biographies and inscriptions, royal grants and charters and corrected errors. Kalhaṇa tells us that he was an eye-witness of the events which occurred in the spring of 1121 A.C. during the reign of Sussala in Śrīnagar.[23] The narrative of the events in the last Taraṅga reads as if they had been accurately seen, genuinely felt and fairly recorded. There is a delightful touch of humour[24] in Kalhaṇa which he shares in common which the Kaśmīrī authors in Saṁskṛta. It is not easy

[20] II. 145-46.
[21] I. 52.
[22] VIII. 3404.
[23] VIII. 941.
[24] VIII. 1881-1892.

to find the truth in history. Madame l'Histoire est toujours tâchée. It is therefore interesting to note that he defines his ideal historian as follows:

"That man of merit alone deserves praise whose language, like that of a judge, in recounting the events of the past has discarded bias as well as prejudice."[25]

Kalhaṇa wrote when both the East and the West alike were in the clutches of the feudal system. The men of strong breed conquered and lorded peoples leaving the economic fight against Nature to others whom in due course they plundered and subdued. The world was then divided into what Spengler calls the "beasts of prey and the herbivores." Indeed if we are to believe him, the same state of things continues to our own times. For he says: "There is a natural distinction of grade between men born to command and men born to service, between the leaders and the led of life. The existence of the distinction is a plain fact and in healthy periods and by healthy peoples it is admitted (even if unwillingly) by everyone. In the centuries of decadence, the majority force themselves to deny or ignore it, but the very insistence on the formula that 'all men are equal' shows that there is something here that has to be explained away."[26] Kalhaṇa wrote centuries before the Industrial Revolution and Technocracy; before even the invention of gun-powder and the printing-press. Life was not complicated as it is now and the problems of government not so complex although his contemporary rulers found them difficult enough. He had not heard of the advocacy of the rights of man nor the denunciation of monarchy, but he says many things about them in his strictures and caricatures of kings and priests, their morals and methods.[27] He tells us in the colophon that he was the son of a minister of state and it is certain that he had not known want and had never worked for a living. But his heart goes out to the poor and down-trodden; he reveals his sympathy for the under-dog, denounces forced labour[28] and expresses his horror of the slave trade of the Mlecchas (Barbarians).[29] As a historian his tendency is, however, toward humanistic studies and toward art rather than toward economic life although descriptions of famine, food prices, taxation,

[25] I. 7.
[26] *Man and Technics*, p. 67 (1932)
[27] V. 172-174; VIII. 2509-13.
[28] V. 172-174.
[29] IV. 397.

currency and other details of economic life are not lacking in his work. History, according to him, was not something to learn, but something to make people live and understand life. He gives both sides of all questions and points out the faults as well as the virtues of the kings and other characters whom he describes. Further, his observations show that the achievements of the great are merely answers to certain big needs in society and that success was only possible because the time was ripe. Hence he does not cover up the faults of the state, an individual ruler or group of men. In his history there are no heroes or heroines and the few persons who might be so described are only functionaries of certain groups and have not been too much emphasized; indeed whether we love them or not for their virtues, it is their vices which make them unforgettable. Another trait in Kalhaṇa, which is modern, is his freedom from narrow nationalism. He pays a tribute of admiration to the brave men of Bengal who travelled all the way up to Kaśmīr and avenged, at the cost of their lives, the death of their king who had been treacherously murdered at Trigrāmi.[30]

Medieval history, inferior as it is in many ways to modern history in interest has, however, this great advantage over it that it can be studied in its entirety; we have the whole drama before us, we are not in the middle of the third act merely guessing at the dénouement as is our case with modern history. The picture drawn by Kalhaṇa of the political and social life in Kaśmīr is not unlike Finlay's picture of the Byzantine Empire minus the slaves and eunuchs. Up to the middle ages, when Aryan rule came to an end with the defeat of Pṛthvī Rāj Chauhān of Delhi—about half a century after Kalhaṇa wrote his poem—slavery had not existed in India in spite of a socio-religious system of which the natural inequality of man seemed to be the pivot. The law of the Āryas prohibited slavery and the injunction had already been emphasized in the *Arthaśāstra*—an authoritative work on political science of the 4th century B.C.[31] The condition of the common people disclosed in Kalhaṇa's poem was, however, not far removed from serfdom as they were crushed by the eternal strife between the kings and the feudal barons on the one hand, and on the other, by the tyranny of the bureaucrats (Kāyastha) and fiscal

[30] IV. 322-330.

[31] Vide Note IV. 397.

extortion. Bureaucratic tyranny and extortion, the twin demons, had similarly destoryed Hellas and Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire. The Romans called the common people proletarian from a word applied by them to the poor citizens who could only serve the state by producing children (Proles). It is interesting to note that the words used by Kalhaṇa for the mass of the people are "jana" or "janatā" which are in current use to-day, and possibly are derived from the Saṁskṛta "jan" to be born. The condition of the common people in Kaśmīr under Lalitāditya and strong rulers like him apparently did not differ in essential respects from serfdom. The machiavellian principle of government recommended by that king in the eighth century was as follows:

"Action should be taken repeatedly so that the people in the villages should not possess grain for consumption and bullocks for the area of the fields in excess of annual requirements." "For, if they were to have excessive wealth, they might become very terrible Ḍāmaras in a single year able to violate the authority of the king."[32] While the courtiers had "fried meats" and "delightful light wine cooled with ice and perfumed with flowers,"[33] the food of the common people was, as it still remains, rice and hākh (Saṁskṛta Śāka).[34]

Neither caste nor birth was, however, a bar to the holding of any civil or military posts. The Ḍomba and the Brahman were alike soldiers and indeed some of the bravest warriors, generals and expert swordsmen were Brahmans[35]—a state of things we see repeated later during the national revival in the Maratha period.

Kalhaṇa's poem proves that the ancient system of the Aryans in India who, like the Ionic and Doric races and the Lacedaemonians, recognised the freedom of women prevailed up to the 12th century. There is no word in the Saṁskṛta language for Purdah ("screening" of women from the gaze of men) or for harem or seraglio. The ruling princes had plurality of wives who resided in the Antaḥ-pura (Interior Apartments) or the Śuddhānta (Pure Interior). As in the earlier age of the classical drama and literature, we find from Kalhaṇa's work that seclusion or veiling of women was unknown even among royalty. The queens of Kaśmīr, pursuant to the ancient law and convention, were sprinkled with the sacred waters of the coronation

[32] IV. 347-48.
[33] VIII. 1866-67.
[34] V. 49.
[35] VIII. 1071, 1345, 2319-2330, 2518.

side by side with the kings, who shared the throne with their consorts. The queens had separate funds, their own treasurers and councillors and were actively interested in the government of the country. They received the homage of feudatory chiefs when they held open court.[36] Inter-caste marriages are mentioned[37] and a princess of the blood royal was given in marriage to the Brahman superintendent of a convent.[38] The best of the Kaśmīrī rulers, Candrāpīḍa and his brother Lalitāditya, the ablest warrior king, were, according to Kalhaṇa, the king's sons by a "divorcée," a Baniyā woman of Rohtak near Delhi,[39] while the mother of another warrior-king Śaṁkaravarman was the daughter of a low-caste spirit-distiller.[40] Even Untouchability was no bar. Perhaps in Kaśmīr it had lost its sting during the dominance of Buddhism or the Kaśmīri kings had cosmopolitan tastes like the Turks of Central Asia and their brethren in India.[41] King Cakravarman (923-933 A.C.) married an Untouchable Ḍomba woman and made her "the premier queen who enjoyed the privilege among royal ladies of being fanned by the Yak-tail."[42] Kalhaṇa relates that she entered the sacred temple of Viṣṇu, Raṇasvāmin near Śrīnagar to which, followed by the feudatories, she paid a visit in state. Her relatives were appointed ministers. "Being blockheads some of the Śvapākas did not act as councillors but others who were wordly-wise administered state affairs like ministers." Kalhaṇa adds that "an order issuing from the mouth of the Ḍombas, who were proud of their status as members of the king's family, became like a royal command difficult to transgress and was not transgressed by anyone." Kalhaṇa tells us that those, who had actively supported this marriage and banqueted with the queen, were ministers of subsequent kings also. The horror of association with the Untouchables, which Kalhaṇa expresses two centuries later, must have been a subsequent growth. In the time of Cakravarman and in that of his successors including the high caste Yaśaskara no such antipathy apparently existed.[43] Matrimonial alliances of the king and the ruling family took place in the ordinary course with the feudal barons

36 VIII. 3303.
37 VIII. 2043 and Note.
38 VII. 11-12.
39 IV. 15-42.
40 V. 206.
41 There is an old Turkish proverb—"God made man in different races but woman of one race only."
42 V. 387.
43 VI. 69.

(Ḍāmaras).[44] The status of a Ḍāmara was one to which a subject of any caste could raise himself through wealth and influence.[45] The ruling house of Kaśmīr formed matrimonial alliances with the ruling families not only in India and on the border, but also with the Turkish dynasty of Kabul. Kalhaṇa mentions the Indo-Scythian Emperor Kaniṣka, the Clovis of Buddhist India, as one of the kings of Kaśmīr. He correctly describes him and Huṣka, Juṣka and the others as Turuṣka[46] (Saṁskṛta for Turks). The foundations of this pious Buddhist Emperor in Kaśmīr are mentioned by Kalhaṇa. In the middle of the seventh century, Hsüan-Tsang together with his travelling companion Prajñākara from Balkh put up in the monastery north of Kabul, which had been built by Kaniṣka as a residence for the Chinese princes who were his hostages. The learned pilgrim found that the king of Kabul was a Buddhist Turk who, in common with all princes on the Indo-Iranian frontier of Mongolo-Turkish origin, claimed descent from the Emperor Kaniṣka. Buddhism was gradually replaced by Hinduism in Afghanistan as in Kaśmīr and Nepal. The Turkish kings of Kabul adhered for seven centuries to the title of the Emperor Kaniṣka, Śāhi-na-Śāhi (king of kings) and called themselves the kings of the Śāhi dynasty. It was not until some of the Turks had accepted the religion of Arabia that the Hindu Turks of Kabul were forced to part with the districts of Kabul and Lampāka (Lamghan) by the Muslim Turk Sabaktagin; the kingdom of the Śāhi, which extended into the Punjab, was finally destroyed by Sabaktagin's son Mahmud, the Conqueror. Kalhaṇa calls him Hammīra which is the Saṁskṛta form of Amir, a title which the Turk had assumed in defiance of the Arabian Khalif at Baghdad. An account of the war between the settled Turks and the nomad Turks is given as an episode by Kalhaṇa.[47] Mahmud's victory was swift and decisive. The pale rage of Kalhaṇa's passionate Kaśmīrī nature speaks through these verses which are written with a pen of fire. The kings of Kaśmīr had for generations formed matrimonial alliances with the Turkish dynasty of Kabul and the famous queen Diddā—the prototype of the empress Catherine of Russia—was a grand-daughter of the Śāhi. After the destruction of their kingdom, we learn from Kalhaṇa that the Turkish Śāhi princes took refuge in Kaśmīr where they

[44] VIII. 459-60, 2953.
[45] VII. 494 sqq.
[46] I. 168-170.
[47] VII. 47-69.

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It is interesting to pursue for a while the history of these remarkable people, the Turks and Tartars who ruled in India as Buddhists and Hindus, during the first thousand years of the Christian era. Wave after wave of the people of Central Asia and Tartary, when their country became arid, had passed east and west. One such wave got as far north as the Baltic where they are known as the Finns. They were converted rather late to Christianity but when the Reformation came they accepted Protestantism like their neighbours. In these days, they are well-known for their modern tendencies, woman suffrage, socialism and the like. Another wave arrived in the valley of the Danube and formed themselves into a nation now known as the Hungarians. In that region, they were converted to Western Christianity and living on the border of the area conquered by the Counter-Reformation most of the Magyars have remained Catholics. A third wave of the Tartars went as far as the Balkans and like all their neighbours became converts to Greek Christianity. Their cousins, the Turks, who founded a great empire living in a part of the world where nearly all had become Moslems, also became Moslems. After losing the last province of their empire, they have decided to set up a secular state with democratic forms like the nations who won the last Great War. The Tartars, who stayed in Tartary, are both Moslems and Buddhists and they might before long become communists and equal partners in the Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics. The Mongolo-Turks ruled in India for a while under Arabian names but they have done so for a much longer period as the Kṣatriya rajahs, whose descendants are the Ruling Princes of India.[48] In some of their states, even at the present time one may get a glimpse of the world of the proud Rājaputras described by Kalhaṇa. Count Keyserling observes: "It is a delight to wander through this rose-tinted town. How splendid these Rajputs look! Life in Jaipur is conducted no differently from that at the courts of rulers in the heroic age, as Vālmīki has described it in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The world of the Rajput is indeed medieval, so much so that no boy whose ideas have been formulated by the novels of Fouqué, would

[48] V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., p. 322; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III. Ch. XX.

extortion. Bureaucratic tyranny and extortion, the twin demons, had similarly destoryed Hellas and Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire. The Romans called the common people proletarian from a word applied by them to the poor citizens who could only serve the state by producing children (Proles). It is interesting to note that the words used by Kalhaṇa for the mass of the people are "jana" or "janatā" which are in current use to-day, and possibly are derived from the Saṁskṛta "jan" to be born. The condition of the common people in Kaśmīr under Lalitāditya and strong rulers like him apparently did not differ in essential respects from serfdom. The machiavellian principle of government recommended by that king in the eighth century was as follows:

"Action should be taken repeatedly so that the people in the villages should not possess grain for consumption and bullocks for the area of the fields in excess of annual requirements." "For, if they were to have excessive wealth, they might become very terrible Ḍāmaras in a single year able to violate the authority of the king."[32] While the courtiers had "fried meats" and "delightful light wine cooled with ice and perfumed with flowers,"[33] the food of the common people was, as it still remains, rice and hākh (Saṁskṛta Śāka).[34]

Neither caste nor birth was, however, a bar to the holding of any civil or military posts. The Ḍomba and the Brahman were alike soldiers and indeed some of the bravest warriors, generals and expert swordsmen were Brahmans[35]—a state of things we see repeated later during the national revival in the Maratha period.

Kalhaṇa's poem proves that the ancient system of the Aryans in India who, like the Ionic and Doric races and the Lacedaemonians, recognised the freedom of women prevailed up to the 12th century. There is no word in the Saṁskṛta language for Purdah ("screening" of women from the gaze of men) or for harem or seraglio. The ruling princes had plurality of wives who resided in the Antaḥ-pura (Interior Apartments) or the Śuddhānta (Pure Interior). As in the earlier age of the classical drama and literature, we find from Kalhaṇa's work that seclusion or veiling of women was unknown even among royalty. The queens of Kaśmīr, pursuant to the ancient law and convention, were sprinkled with the sacred waters of the coronation

[32] IV. 347-48.
[33] VIII. 1866-67.
[34] V. 49.
[35] VIII. 1071, 1345, 2319-2330, 2518.

side by side with the kings, who shared the throne with their consorts. The queens had separate funds, their own treasurers and councillors and were actively interested in the government of the country. They received the homage of feudatory chiefs when they held open court.[36] Inter-caste marriages are mentioned[37] and a princess of the blood royal was given in marriage to the Brahman superintendent of a convent.[38] The best of the Kaśmīrī rulers, Candrāpīḍa and his brother Lalitāditya, the ablest warrior king, were, according to Kalhaṇa, the king's sons by a "divorcée," a Baniyā woman of Rohtak near Delhi,[39] while the mother of another warrior-king Śaṁkaravarman was the daughter of a low-caste spirit-distiller.[40] Even Untouchability was no bar. Perhaps in Kaśmīr it had lost its sting during the dominance of Buddhism or the Kaśmīri kings had cosmopolitan tastes like the Turks of Central Asia and their brethren in India.[41] King Cakravarman (923-933 A.C.) married an Untouchable Ḍomba woman and made her "the premier queen who enjoyed the privilege among royal ladies of being fanned by the Yak-tail."[42] Kalhaṇa relates that she entered the sacred temple of Viṣṇu, Raṇasvāmin near Śrīnagar to which, followed by the feudatories, she paid a visit in state. Her relatives were appointed ministers. "Being blockheads some of the Śvapākas did not act as councillors but others who were wordly-wise administered state affairs like ministers." Kalhaṇa adds that "an order issuing from the mouth of the Ḍombas, who were proud of their status as members of the king's family, became like a royal command difficult to transgress and was not transgressed by anyone." Kalhaṇa tells us that those, who had actively supported this marriage and banqueted with the queen, were ministers of subsequent kings also. The horror of association with the Untouchables, which Kalhaṇa expresses two centuries later, must have been a subsequent growth. In the time of Cakravarman and in that of his successors including the high caste Yaśaskara no such antipathy apparently existed.[43] Matrimonial alliances of the king and the ruling family took place in the ordinary course with the feudal barons

36 VIII. 3303.
37 VIII. 2043 and Note.
38 VII. 11-12.
39 IV. 15-42.
40 V. 206.

41 There is an old Turkish proverb—"God made man in different races but woman of one race only."
42 V. 387.
43 VI. 69.

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be disappointed by its reality. In Jaipur they do not ride but gallop; all the arts of knighthood are practised; only knightly virtues matter, knights alone count. Here that excessive one-sidedness predominates which alone leads to the production of strong and enduring forms. It is undoubtedly better if the forces of heredity are over rather than under-estimated. There are no more noble types than these Rajputs; the best-bred herds are rarely as perfect and as evenly beautiful as this race. How paltry do the bearers of our oldest names, the oldest of which date only from yesterday compared with those of India, appear by the side of any Rajput! We are here concerned with the greatest triumph of human breeding that I know of; it is simply unheard of that the result of centuries, if not of thousands of years even of the wisest inbreeding, satisfy the highest demands so that there is no evidence of degeneration."[49] It would thus appear that the religion of a people is a matter of geography, while their national characteristics and social and moral developments are due to their history.

Kaśmīr must have been in close touch with the Turks of Central Asia during the centuries when Buddhism was their national religion. The Chinese pilgrim Ou-K'ong who reached Kaśmīr in 759 A.C. has left us an account of his visit. During the four years of his stay in Kaśmīr, he took the vow of a monk and studied Saṁskṛta. He mentions that there were three hundred Buddhist convents in Kaśmīr which shows that in the 8th century Buddhism was in a more flourishing condition than in the preceding century, when the "Master of the Law" Hsüan-tsang had visited Kaśmīr. Among the Kaśmīr Vihāras mentioned by Ou-K'ong are foundations of the royal families of the Turks; he also mentions "the monastery of the general". The Chinese for general is Tsiang-Kiun, a well-known title according to Professor Sylvain Lévi, of which the Saṁskṛta transcription was Caṅkuṇa. This was the name of king Lalitāditya's prime minister, who, according to Kalhaṇa, was a Tuḥkhāra[50] and who in the 8th century built the Caṅkuṇa Vihāra which was restored by the lady Sussalā, the pious wife of a minister, in Kalhaṇa's time.[51] Caṅkuṇa, who was a devout Buddhist, had begged the king to give him as a mark of royal favour the statue of Buddha which had been brought

[49] *Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, Vol. I. p. 187.

[50] IV. 211.

[51] IV. 215; VIII. 2415.

from Magadha (Behar) on the back of an elephant. We may be sure that the statue coveted by Caṅkuṇa was, like the Buddha of Sāranātha or the Buddha of the Mathurā Museum, a perfect piece of art. Kalhaṇa, who saw it in the Vihāra of Caṅkuṇa four and half centuries later, says: "In his Vihāra he then installed the Blessed One who shines in lovely bronze as if he were dressed in ochre-brown garments."[52] The country of Tuḥkhāra[53] (Tokharistan) situated between the country of the Altai Turks and north-west China was at that time inhabited by a population which like that of Kaśmīr was European in type. Their language Tuḥkharish was not Turko-Mongol. Recent discoveries show that the people were Buddhists; the upper classes were deeply imbued with Saṁskṛta culture and that hundreds of monks were engaged in translating Saṁskṛta books into Tuḥkharish. Remarkable like the find of Saṁskṛta manuscripts by M. Pelliot, the German explorers and scholars, Doctor Von Le Coq and Doctor Grünwedel have recently discovered magnificent stucco-work and frescoes of the seventh century in the ancient Tuḥkhāra country. The majority of the finds come from Turfān and the frescoes representing Buddhas in the manner of the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra and paintings representing secular life are now lodged in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. Turfān and Kuchā were the centres of Indian culture and Saṁskṛta learning. The Tuḥkharan paintings depict the aristocracy of Kuchā elegantly dressed in straight "frock-coats" which are drawn in at the waist by a belt and which widen out as they fall over the knees. The Buddhist lords of Kuchā, donors or suppliants at the altar, appear as steel-clad warriors. The dress of the knights described by Kalhaṇa is also the long "frock-coat" held at the waist by the Vīrapaṭṭa (the hero's-band). The terra-cotta tiles of Hārvan in Kaśmīr (third century A.C.) depict knights on horseback, with bow and quiver of arrows, wearing long "frock-coats" with the fluttering edges of the "Vīrapaṭṭa" as described by Kalhaṇa. The tile-paved courtyard of Hārvan is extremely interesting on account of the portraits of ethnic types which are Central Asian as well as the style of dress and ornaments of the men and women of that age. Some of the figures and attitudes are Pompeian, a few of the women appear to be in Greek dress while others are dressed in

[52] IV. 262.

[53] App. D.

Central Asian style which is still the dress of the Hindu woman of the Pañjāb. The Hārvan tiles also show the Kuṇḍala or large ear-ornament[54] often referred to by Kalhaṇa.

The women of Kaśmīr have been famous for their loveliness; Marco Polo had heard of their beauty in Central Asia, but the first European who has left us an account of it is the Frenchman Bernier. He writes: "The people of Kachemire are proverbial for their complexions and fine forms. They are well made as the Europeans, and their faces have neither the Tartar flat nose nor the small pig eyes that distinguish the natives of Kacheguer, and which generally mark those of Great Tibet. The women especially are very handsome; it is from this country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mogols."[55] To see handsome women was not at that time easy for the Kaśmīrīs converted to Islām had adopted the Purdah and Bernier had to pose as a young Persian in search of a bride! In Kalhaṇa's history, however, we find that women had already emerged from the domestic into the political stage, were free, owned immovable property,[56] managed their own estates and even fought at the head of their troops.[57] One of these brave ladies has, curiously enough, the ancient Iranian name of Sillā.[58] Buddhism, no doubt, accounted for the superior status of women which they still retain wherever Buddhism survives as in Burmah, Kaśmīr state and its neighbouring hills. Kalhaṇa's views on the relationship between the sexes are not the least interesting part of his book. He discloses the deep influence of Buddhism on his mind in the story of the love-affair of the princess Anaṅgalekhā.[59] The faithless wife of Alaṁkāra, a rebel commandant of a fort, had been communicating the secret plans of the husband to her lover in the besieging royal force. Kalhaṇa writes thsl about the rebel commander: "Alaṁkāracakra was forgiving and realizing that in the maintenance of a firm friendship was happiness he had learnt to overlook; he did not bear her a grudge for the fault like the Bodhisattva who feels no anger even towards a sinner."[60] Kalhaṇa,

[54] VIII. 2835.
[55] *Bernier*, p. 390.
[56] VIII. 272, 1130, 3115.
[57] VIII. 1137.
[58] VIII. 1069, App. E.
[59] III. 484-525.
[60] VIII. 2571-2575.

when he wrote his poem, must have been in the half-way house of life with wide experience of men and women. His references to monogamy[61] show his admiration of the ancient Aryan and Brahmanical ideal which the people of India, barring the ruling princes, have recognized since the age of the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

The history of Kaśmīr helps us to trace the growth of what has been called Satī. Satī (Sk. Anugamana—following to death) grew out of a custom of the Scytho-Tartars, among whom it was usual for vassals and liegemen upon the death of their lord to kill themselves. The custom survived during the age of chivalry in Kaśmīr for several centuries as it apparently still does among the Japanese. A woman of quality gave up her life for the sake of a principle of honour. A knight was expected to die fighting and his lady and vassals to remain true to the traditions of Kṣatriya chivalry. The honourable end was the one thing which could not be taken from a person of high birth.[62] In course of time, the custom, which at first was confined to the martial invaders, spread among the higher classes—like the Purdah. Anugamana was denounced as futile by Bāṇa in the seventh century in his novel the *Kādambarī*. It is interesting to note that the first king who made his best effort to suppress Satī was Akbar, the descendant of the people from whom India had borrowed the custom in the past. The Kaśmīrī kings, like the Śāhis of Kabul, were probably Aryanised Turks and disregarded the Aryan rules of marriage; king Sussala chose a bride and accepted her younger sister as his daughter-in-law, and king Jayasiṁha gave his two daughters, one to the Khaśa chief of Rājapurī and the other to that chief's son![63]

Monarchy in the Vedic period, according to the view of German scholars, was elective;[64] it became hereditary in the epic age. Kalhaṇa's history shows the kingship in Kaśmīr to be elective in the early stages. At the end of the fifth Taraṅga, there is an interesting account of the election of the king as a result of which Yaśaskara (939-948 A.C.) ascended the throne. The history of hereditary monarchy is the history of mediocrity; the Kaśmīrī kings were controlled and exhibited by powerful individuals or cliques "as are snakes by snake-charmers"

[61] VIII. 1916, 2342.

[62] Atha maraṇam avaśyam eva jantoh/ Kimiti mudhā malinaṁ yaśaḥ kriyeta. "Since a living being must inevitably// die, why then allow honour to be sullied in vain!"

[63] VIII. 459, 1648, 3394.

[64] See Note VII. 703.

for their own benefit.[65] Political factions won the support of the military organisations[66] the Tantrin, the Praetorians of Kaśmīr, or the Ekāṅga, the gendarmes, who supported the royal authority and, like the Tantrin, guarded the palace and the king's person. Church and state worked hand in hand; in cases of difference, the priests resorted to hunger-strike in a body as a powerful political weapon to remove or oppose an obnoxious minister, or measure of policy or in defence of the country. The kings and the royal family founded Buddhist Stūpas and Vihāras and the same time the temples of the gods including the sun-god. It is not unlikely that Iranian influence may have penetrated to Kaśmīr just as it had spread to Rome and to the remote corners of Central Asia. The sun was worshipped by the Iranians as well as by other peoples like the Aztecs and the Incas. According to Mr. Bertrand Russell, there is reason to think that the doctrines of Zarathuṣṭra, the holy prophet of Persia, had inspired Keplar's heliocentric cosmogony. In any case, we know that the Turko-Mongol Akbar was influenced by Zarathuṣṭra and offered prayers to the sun. In India the Vedic Aryans had also worshipped the sun and the founding of sun-temples continued in various parts of India of which the temple of Sūrya in Orissa built in the 13th century is a fine example. Sun temples were built in Kaśmīr at different times such as the temple of Jayasvāmin and Mārtaṇḍa. The latter built after the Arabs had overrun Persia could hardly be ascribed to Iranian influence. Like the iconoclast kings of Byzantium, Kaśmīr also produced her Iconoclast in Harṣa whom Kalhaṇa, perhaps recalling the vandalism of Mahmud, compares to a Turuṣka.[67] Kalhaṇa's poem is not merely a collection of old legends and myths like the *Shahnameh* of Firdausi. It is invaluable for fixing many dates in Indian history and above all the dates of many scholars who wrote literary and philosophical works. The brains of its people are the best assets of a country and Kalhaṇa has taken pains to record the names of authors, poets and playwrights[68] as well as to trace through several generations the histories of families who served the state. Kalhaṇa was a Brahman. Abu-l-Fazl, the chronicler of Akbar, thus describes the Kaśmīrī Brahmans.[69] "The Brahman class is very nume-

[65] V. 338; VIII. 3028.
[66] V. 248-249.
[67] VII, 1095.
[68] App.-F.
[69] *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett's Translation), Vol. II. p. 351.

rous. Although Kaśmīr has a dialect of its own, their learned books are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for manuscript work and they write chiefly on *tuz* which is the bark of a tree. The majority of the narrow-minded conservatives of blind tradition are Sunnis, and there are some Imamis and Nurbakshis, who are perpetually at strife with each other. They are chiefly from Persia and Turkistan. The most respectable class in this country is that of the Brahmans who, notwithstanding their need of freedom from the bonds of tradition and custom, are true worshippers of God. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg, nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally a source of benefit to the people." Some of the celebrated families mentioned by Kalhaṇa, such as the Rājānaka (Rāzdān) and Kāka (Kāk), have survived; they are the inheritors of their ancient culture and they still keep the torch of learning alight in Kaśmīr.

Towards the end of the eighth Taraṅga, Kalhaṇa gives a sketch of the private life of the contemporary king Jayasiṁha, the queen Raḍḍā Devī and their charming little children. He concludes the poem with a verse comparing to the swift current of the Godāvarī, the river of the Dekhan, his own *River of Kings*—the title which he had already mentioned in the Prologue. And so ends the saga of Kaśmīr.

Kalhaṇa knew that everything withered with age and decayed in time; only the artist could seize the passing form and stamp it in a mould that resists mortality—

All things pass; strong art alone
Can know eternity;
The marble bust outlives the state,
And the austere medallion
Which some toiler finds
Under the earth
Preserves the emperor.

Even the gods must die;
But sovereign poetry
Remains,
Stronger than death.

Gautier

DISTRICT JAIL, BAREILLY
March 26, 1933
E

RIVER OF KINGS

First Taranga

Aum - Hail to Śrī Gaṇeśa—a salutation

To Śiva charming with the collective iridescence of jewels on the heads of snakes which adorn him—a salutation; in him who is like the wishing tree of paradise are absorbed those who have been liberated. 1

Notes explanatory of the text which appeared to be necessary have been given here though it would have been easy to allow the text to bristle with footnotes and references. In the earlier Taraṅgas there is not a verse but would have clamoured for them and the letter-press would have been swallowed by a mass of comment. Short archaeological references to finds in Kaśmīr since 1900, when Sir A. Stein published his translation, are made and a bibliography is added which, it is hoped, will be found useful.

The poem opens with a salutation to Gaṇeśa, the patron of learning, whose assistance it is customary to seek for the successful achievement of a literary undertaking. A delightful description of Gaṇeśa is given by M. René Grousset, conservator and lecturer at the Musée Guimet of Paris, as follows:

"Gaṇeśa with his head and trunk and one tusk (the other having been broken in a mythological adventure) and his cunning little eyes and round belly, is accompanied by his crony rat, as sly as himself who, in case of need, carries him on its back; he has as his attributes the goad (aṅkuśa) and the rosary (akṣamālā) and is one of the most popular figures in India. Uniting in himself, as he does, the nature of the two most intelligent creatures in creation—man and the elephant—it was natural that he should have become the god of men of letters. We may add that he is remarkably fond of good cheer—which is hardly likely to make him unpopular with the wits. And, finally, to put the finishing touch to his prepossessing character, he is able in case of need to combine the greatest kindliness—for there is no deity more benevolent—with a remarkable steadfastness, in battle."

Śrī—when applied to the gods, the temples, monasteries, etc. means holy or blessed; in the case of kings and princes it would mean His Majesty or His Highness. The term is ancient. The Peshwas used it in the form 'Shrimant' (His Highness) for themselves which is still in use among the princes and ruling chiefs of the Dekhan. In recent times the Indian National Congress has made the use of this term popular; Śrīyuta and Srīmatī ("endowed with Śrī") have now replaced the English Mr and Mrs or Miss respectively.

1. In obedience to the canon of Indian Poetics the opening verse of the first and of each successive Taraṅga contains an invocation to the deity. Kalhaṇa gives us a picture in terms of Indian art and legend of the diametrically opposite principles which combine to make unity in Nature and which under the name of Śiva inspired a living faith in abnegation, love, charity, tenderness. Śiva, "the kindly," is mentioned in the Vedas. He begins as Rudra, the god of the whirlwind and untamed forces of Nature, until in the

Her forehead is marked with saffron, pendant from the ear she wears sportively a cluster of earrings for display, the beauty of her white throat has the semblance of the ocean-born conch, the bosom is garbed in a faultless brassiére; his forehead is marked with the fiery

course of centuries Śaiva philosophy develops and all the gods are absorbed in Śiva in a grand monism which replaces Indian polytheism as well as the ethical philosophy of Buddha. Śiva is portrayed as an ascetic with braided curls, smeared with ashes. His garment is the tiger-skin; Vāsuki, the serpent, emblem of eternal wisdom, is round his neck—he carries a garland of skulls and haunts charnel-houses and cemeteries; in his matted hair he carries the Gaṅgā, on his forehead he wears the crescent-moon. During the churning of the sea by the gods and the Titans the devastating poison Hālāhala was cast up. As a supreme act of self-sacrifice Śiva swallowed the deadly poison which scorched his white throat and indelibly marked it blue since when he acquired the epithet of Nīlakaṇṭha or Blue-throat. The malevolent dwarf Muyalaka was at one time instigated by heretics; Śiva subdued him and made him an attendant.

Śiva has four arms; in the two upper ones he holds the tambourine (ḍhakkā) and the antelope (mṛga), the two lower ones represent the Mudrās or gestures of granting a favour (Varada hasta) and freedom from menace (Abhaya hasta). Śiva has a third eye in the middle of the forehead, the flame from which reduced to ashes Kāma, the god of Love, who, with the help of his friend and ally, the god of Spring, had endeavoured to disturb Śiva's austerities by shooting at him with flower-arrows. Kāma, the immortal god, did not perish but consumed in the mighty flame, he has since been without a body (Anaṅga) and continues to live in the minds of created beings. Kāma's purpose was achieved; the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī took place and their offspring, Kumāra, the war-god, defeated the Asuras, the powers of darkness, and saved the Devas, the shining ones. Thus Hara or Śiva, the destroyer of love, became the best of lovers. In the words of Bhartṛhari, ex-king and poet, "Unique among lovers is radiant Hara who bears in the half of his body his beloved." Referring to this allegory M. Grousset observes: "On turning from Buddhist poetry and morality, so pure and gentle that the heart at once goes out to them, we are perhaps a little taken aback by this Hindu polytheism with its confused innumerable throng of contradictory forms. But in the philosophy of Śivaism its apparent fancifulness falls into some order and takes on a metaphysical significance which is, in its way, as noble and elevated as that of Buddhism itself, and perhaps even richer. It is a grand and profound doctrine, which will remind us of certain aspects of the theories of Nietzsche, for it, too, transcends both good and evil, being higher than both and going beyond optimism and pessimism alike: it contains a pessimism that is in some sort heroic—for the god dances on corpses among charnel-houses; but it contains an optimism as well, a pitiless and inhuman optimism—or superhuman, if we prefer so to call it; for out of all this destruction is born and perpetuated a fearful joy, the joy of matter eternally renewed."

In the middle ages Śivaism inspired the grand sculpture of the Dekhan; dancing (Tāṇḍava referred to in V. 381) and classical Saṁskṛta poetry were also inspired by the same transcendental philosophy.

The Kaśmīrī view of life is to live in tune with, and at death to attain, Sāyujya, or communion with the Infinite. Śiva, "the kindly," has in addition to the Saṁhāra-mūrti (destructive aspect) also the Anugraha-mūrti (beneficent aspect) which is here referred to. The tree of paradise is the Kalpa-taru (Wishing-tree).

flame, close to the ear he carries a collection of snakes who playfully open their mouths, the lustre of his throat gleams white despite the nuance of the ocean-born poison, the chest has for armour the lord of the snakes; may the part of Śiva, half of whom is united with his wife, be for your glory whether it is the left or the right. 2

Prologue

Worthy of homage is the indescribable insight of a gifted poet which excels the stream of ambrosia since through it is achieved a permanent embodiment of glory by the poet and others as well. 3

Who else is capable of making vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age barring the poet and the Creator who create naturally delightful productions? 4

Were he not to have the awareness, through intuition, of existences which he is about to reveal to everyone what other indication would there be of the divine perception of the poet? 5

Although owing to the exigency of the length of the narrative a variety of events have not been set down in detail, there should still be in this poem enough material for the delectation of the rightminded. 6

That man of merit alone deserves praise whose language, like that of a judge, in recounting the events of the past has discarded bias as well as prejudice. 7

2. There is a double entendre in this verse. The right half of Śiva is male the left half is female and all the attributes thus have two meanings which have been separately translated.

3. Pratibhā is a technical term in Saṁskṛta Poetics and means genius or instinctive gift of poetry. The Germans know it as Unendlichkeit or infinitude. Through Pratibhā immortality is conferred on those whom the poet describes; it is thus superior to ambrosia which confers immortality only on those who possess it, but not on others. "The expression 'body' is used to justify the comparison, implied here and expressed in the next verse, of poets to Brahmadeva or Prajapati who produces our bodies...The author does not mean that in being compared to Prajapati, poets, who write about kings and their doings, make history out of nothing, but that they resemble Prajapati in giving beautiful shape to well-known facts, just as the latter creates material bodies with matter already existing in the world."

—S.P.Pandit. Introduction to *Gauḍavaho*

4-5. Kavi=the poet-seer. It is interesting to compare with these verses a passage from Carlyle. He says: "In the older languages Vates meant poet and prophet . . . But now I say whoever may forget this divine mystery, the Vates whether prophet or poet has penetrated into it; is a man sent hither to make it impressively known to us. That always is his message; he is to reveal that to us, that sacred mystery which he, more than others, lives ever present with. While others forget it, he knows it; I might say, he has been driven to know it, without consent asked of him, he finds himself living in it, bound to live in it. Once more, here is no Hearsay, but a direct Insight and Belief; whosoever may live in the shows of things, it is for him a necessity of nature to live in the very fact of things." —*Hero as Poet*

7. The standard which Kalhana sets to

Without hearkening to the reason why the theme, which has been treated already by our predecessors, has once again been dealt with, it will not be fair on the part of the discriminate to turn away their faces. 8

When they, who had pieced together the history of the kings, each one as he saw it, had gone to their rest, what kind of skill is it on the part of those born in later times that they should add to the narrative? Hence my endeavour will be in this narrative of past events to repair by all manner of means where there is error. 9-10

The voluminous works in fragments containing the early history of the kings were epitomized in Suvrata's composition so that they may be remembered. 11

The style of Suvrata being irksome, owing to the fault of pedantry, his composition, although it has acquired celebrity, is lacking in the aṛt of the exposition of the theme. 12

While owing to an incomprehensible lack of care in the work of Kṣemendra, known as the List of Kings, even a portion is not free from error, although it is the composition of a poet. 13

himself is that of the Stheya, the judge. Book III of the *Arthaśāstra* deals with the constitution of the civil and criminal courts, the judges, and their duty to be, among other things, strictly impartial. For lack of impartiality and other failure of duty three kinds of amercements are prescribed; see under 'Sāhasam'. *Arthaśāstra*. Bk. III.

"This gives as good a definition of an honest chronicler as we could wish for, even in our own age of historical accuracy." —S. P. Pandit.

9-10. Nṛpa=literally "protector of humanity" is the king. In the English translation the word king occurs ad nauseam; in the original, however, there are scores of different ways of expressing the same idea, e.g. lord of the land—the earth—of men and protector, ruler, chief of the land, etc. There are innumerable words in Saṁskṛta for land, men, earth, ruler, etc. The earlier translators erred in using the word 'king' for all kinds of rulers including petty chiefs of the hill states.

There is nothing more beautiful or interesting than the truth or at least the effort one is able to make towards the truth. The author is determined to resist the temptation to enhance the marvel of reality by adding marvels that may be attractive but not true.

11. Suvrata. Dr. Bühler says: "Suvrata apparently wrote a handbook of the history of Kaśmīr to be committed to memory in the schools which as usual in India caused the loss of the more ancient books on the subject."

13. Kṣemendra. According to Pandit Madhusudan Kaul who has edited *Deśopadeśa* and *Narmamālā* (Kasmir Series of Texts and Studies) the author Kṣemendra lived in the period 990-1065 A.D. Kṣemendra was of wealthy parentage, well educated, and had travelled extensively abroad. Although he was born within the fold of Śivaism he had been drawn towards the Vaiṣṇava faith owing to his studies with Soma Bhāgavata. His unbiassed mind led him to the study of Buddhism which he esteemed very highly. A number of his works have survived, a list of which is given by Pandit M. S. Kaul. The *Narmamālā* is a remarkable work in the Saṁskṛta language in the

Moreover, eleven works of former savants containing the annals of royalty have been scrutinised by me as well as the views of the Sage Nīla. 14

By the inspection of ordinances of former kings relating to religious foundations and grants, laudatory inscriptions as well as written records, all wearisome error has been set at rest. 15

style of Voltaire. Kṣemendra is bitterly satirical about the government officials of his day (Kāyastha), but with regard to the numerous other caricatures and scenes from the daily life of the period, his sarcasm is much less bitter and often Addisonian. He tells us that he was the first person to render into Saṁskṛta, the work of Guṇāḍhya, the *Bṛhat-kathā*, or Great Story which was in the Piśāca dialect. This work composed in ancient Pushto in the first century of the Christian era must have rivalled the *Mahābhārata* as it is stated to have consisted of 1,00,000 Ślokas. Bhaṭṭa Somadeva, a younger contemporary of Kṣemendra, translated into Saṁskṛta Guṇāḍhya's work at the request of the queen Sūryamatī who became a Satī in 1081 A.D. The Kaśmīrī version is now famous as the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* which has been translated into numerous modern languages. One of Kṣemendra's strikingly original poems which is extant is the *Samaya-mātṛkā* describing the rakish progress of a courtesan throughout the Kaśmīr valley. The various scenes of the courtesan Kaṇkālī's thrilling adventures can all be easily traced on the map. Kṣemendra was a lover and patron of the stage and a frequent play-goer. Kaśmīr remained the refuge of the Indian theatre after it had ceased to exist in India. In his work, the *Kavi-kaṇṭhābharaṇa*, Kṣemendra advises aspirants to poetic fame to improve their taste by the study of current theatrical representations. At the end of his book, *The Sanskrit Drama*, Prof. A.B. Keith referring to this work of Kṣemendra adds: "doubtless the Mahomedan conquest seriously affected the vogue of the classical drama, which was obnoxious" to the Mahomedan rulers "as being closely identified both with the national religion and the national spirit of India. The kings, who had been the main support of the actors and poets alike, disappeared from their throne or suffered reverses in fortune. The tradition of dramatic performances gradually vanished." (p. 371)

14. See verses 28, 182, 183, below. The work referred to is the *Nīla-matapurāṇa*, the Saṁskṛta text of which has been edited by Prof. Kanjilal and Pandit J. D. Zadoo, Punjab Sanskrit Series, 1924. Nīla is the patron saint of Kaśmīr.

"That Kalhaṇa did not, in giving the account that he has given in his *Tarangini*, draw upon his imagination but upon ancient traditions, is shown by the fact that the Si-yu-ki or The Memoirs of Hiouen-Thsang relates, on the authority of ancient Sanskrit books which he translated, substantially the same story as Kalhana does about two facts in the history of Kashmir, *viz*. 1st, the fact, that that country which was once the bed of a vast lake, came to be miraculously reclaimed, that a race of dragons possessed the lake as its presiding spirits and that even when the lake was turned into the kingdom of Kashmir the dragons (Nāgas) continued to be its guardian spirits; and 2nd, that Mihirakula was a cruel king, who was a great enemy of Buddhism, and who acquired a notoriety for killing people, whether offending or not, men, women and children. See Rajatarangini, I. 25-31; 291-329. M. Stanislas Julien's Memoirs de Hiouen-Thsang, Vol. II. pp. 169-170; and 190-197.'
—S. P. Pandit.

15. On the terms Śāsana, Praśasti-paṭṭa and Śāstra the following able note will be of interest:

"When kings are installed and crowned, edicts are issued for the purpose of announcing the fact, or for

Fifty-two kings had, through lack of tradition, passed into oblivion; out of these have been discovered by me from the Nīlamata the four, namely Gonanda and others. 16

remitting certain taxes and imposts, or for stopping certain practices, such as the slaughter of animals for sacrifice or food, or for declaring certain rules of policy which the king crowned will follow, or granting lands and allowances to temples, monasteries or to individuals. These would be called Pratishtha Shasana. Besides these there are others, such as those inscribed on temples and other public buildings erected during their reigns by them or by private individuals, on copperplate grants made by them at other times than that of their coronations, on stone, wood and metal or household goods, such as ornamental plates and salvers, on which the makers of donors, especially if patronized by or connected with the court of the king, have inscriptions engraved containing the name of the king and possibly those of one or two of his ancestors, his date, etc. These are the inscriptions which Kalhana refers to as Pūrvabhartrvastu Shasanam.

Prashasti Patta. A Patta is a piece of cloth to paint a picture upon, also on which the names and deeds of one's ancestors are eulogistically described. As the astrologer has his scroll containing events of the past and of the future year, which he reads in every family and in every temple on the new year's day (Chaitra Sudi I), so the Charana or Bhata, or court bard, has his scroll of the king's ancestors, in which their names, their great and valorous deeds, their renowned virtues and their victories, are poetically described. The scrolls are sometimes read by the bard to the family circle and, their friends on certain household occasions such as the Shraddha, marriages, etc. These are what the author calls Prashasti Patta, a term which subsequently came to be applied to short poetical or prose works, even when written on paper instead of on scrolls of cloth, and even when they were incorporated in long inscriptions engraved on stone slabs. The latter are also, perhaps, included in the signification here of the term. The practice of court or hereditary or professional bards reading to their masters or patrons the eulogistic accounts of their forefathers contained in their books and written by their (the bards') ancestors from generation to generation on festive occasions, is still in vogue in western India. These poets are technically called 'Vahivanchas', that is to say, readers of Vahis or manuscript books.

Shastra. This has been supposed to be a difficult expression. Lassen takes it to mean books on Law, Dharmashastras; while Professor Bühler says: 'The Shastras are the works on the various sciences, or, to use a short expression, the Manuscripts of Sanskrit books, which in Kashmir mostly give at the end some information regarding the author, together with the date.' Hiouen-Thsang, when speaking of Buddhistic literature, especially in connection with the synods held by Kanishka and Ashoka, uses the word somewhat freely, as Abhidharma-shastra, etc. pretty much in the way we may use Siddhanta, or Nibandha. But it is certain that Kalhana uses the term neither in the sense indicated by Lassen, nor that suggested by Professor Bühler nor that in which it is found used in Hiouen-Thsang. His sense of the term must be as definite as that of shasana and Prashastipatta, and the word as a name must refer to a literature, and so it does. It means memoirs of renowned personages, or biographical works, historical sketches of the lives of famous persons, which we usually call 'Charitas.' In this definite sense the word is actually used by Jain writers. See Prabhāvaka-charita, at the close of the memoir of Vriddhavādi and Siddhasena, VIII. 79."

—S. P. Pandit.

16. "It appears from this that in Kalhana's time the tradition was current that records of the prehistoric fifty-two kings had once existed, but that they

Formerly by the Brahman Helārāja, a professing Pāśupata, a work had been composed called *Pārthivāvali*, containing twelve thousand verses. Padmamihira, having studied his work, adopted in his own composition the list of eight kings, Lava and his successors who preceded Aśoka and others. 17-18

Also the five kings, beginning with Aśoka, whom the illustrious Chavillākara mentions, they are from among the fifty-two, for his verse is as follows: 19

"From Aśoka to Abhimanyu the five, who have been enumerated as kings, were taken from the very fifty-two by the ancients." 20

This saga which is properly made up should be useful for kings as a stimulant or as a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place. 21

had been lost. When in stanza 45 the author says that no poets had celebrated the doings of those kings, he is not apparently to be understood literally, as is shown by the particle Dhruvam 'as if'. In the following lines also the poet repeats that the records had been lost, not that they never existed." —S. P. Pandit.

17. Helārāja. Kaśmīrī author of the *Vākyapadīya*. His age is uncertain; he lived in the 9th or 10th century. Pāśupata=one of the Śaiva sects who identify Iśvara, the Supreme Ruler, with Śiva (Paśupati) whom they believe to be the creator and ruler of the world but not its material cause. With the Sāṅkhyas they admit the notion of a plastic material cause (Pradhāna) while they follow Patañjali in affirming the existence of a supreme God. It is interesting to note that Paśupati is still the patron deity of the independent Hindu Kingdom of Nepal.

Dvijanmā=literally twice-born—a Brahman. The initiation of a Brahman like the ceremony of Baptism is considered a second birth. In ancient Greece in the cult of Dionysus the initiate was called "twice-born."

19. Chavillākara. Nothing is known about him. "Do these lines not warrant a suspicion that, like some of us, Kalhana would have desired to place within the historical period two or three of those kings whom we call historical.... Ashoka, Jalaukas, Damodara, Kanishka (with Hushka and Jushka), and Abhimanyu......and whom Kalhana also seems to have regarded in the same light, because he places them immediately before the historical period, but that he placed them before the historical period on the authority, quoted, of Sri-Chhavillākara? If so, it is not Kalhana, but his predecessors who are responsible for assigning to a period before Gonanda III., the king, of whom alone we know anything from independent sources." —S. P. Pandit.

21. Kathā has been translated literally as the Saga (compare the Teutonic sagan to say). According to the ancient Indian view of medicine a drug may be stimulative or sedative according to the season—Kāla, as well as the country or place—Deśa, where it is administered.

Prof. Bühler thus translated this verse: "This narrative (of mine) which is arranged in proper order and resembles a medicine is useful for increasing as well as diminishing the (statement of previous writers regarding), kings, place and time." Sir A. Stein's note on this is as follows: "The context does not seem to me to necessitate this interpretation which would place an awkward and unnecessary confession in the mouth of the author. However much the views and aims of a Hindu Kavi may differ from the standards of critical history, we can scarcely expect him to boast of the

And in any case what man of culture is there, to whose heart such a connected narrative dealing with innumerable incidents of the remote past will not appeal? 22

liberties he may have taken with the records of earlier authors". Sir A. Stein's translation, which is also erroneous, is as follows:

"This narrative (of mine), which is properly arranged and which resembles a medicine, is useful where the (accounts regarding the) place and time of kings are fluctuating (Lit. growing and diminishing)."

The real meaning of the verse is that the poem should prove useful to kings in prosperity and in adversity in different ages and countries since it contains many tales which, like a correctly dispensed medicine, are capable of soothing or stimulating. This was pointed out by Mr. S. P. Pandit as early as 1888. He observes: "But nothing has hitherto been adduced which shows that Kalhana shortened or lengthened the years of a single king simply to suit a system of dates which he had adopted, not because it was correct, but because it was convenient or conventional. I make this statement because he has actually been charged with having done so, and having purposely done so, and, indeed, to have written his Rājataranginī for the purpose of enabling any of his readers also to do the same. As the charge has been preferred by one, for whose opinions I have the highest and sincerest respect, it is not without the greatest hesitation and reluctance that I have here ventured to suggest that there are no facts to support the charge. Professor Bühler says:

'As regards the use of the contents of the Rajatarangini for the history of Kasmir and of India a great deal remains to be done for the earlier portion, up to the beginning of the Karkota dynasty. Kalhana's chronology of the Gonandiya dynasties is, as Professor Wilson, Professor Lassen, and General Cunningham have pointed out, valueless. An author, who connects the history of his country with the imaginary date of a legendary event, like the coronation of Yudhishthira, and boasts that his narrative resembles a medicine and is useful for increasing and diminishing the (statements of previous writers regarding) kings, place, and time, must always be sharply controlled and deserves no credit whatever in those portions of his work, where his narrative shows any suspicious figures or facts.'

"Kalhana's meaning is very different. He does not boast that his work is useful for lengthening or shortening the periods of the Kashmirian kings or the statements about their times or territories, but only that it will be useful in furnishing a medicine in the shape of much consolatory and instructive matter—events and sayings to cure any kings who shall hereafter suffer from the disease of the pride and arrogance of prosperity, or the disease of grief at the loss of territory or the adversity of their times. If the insolence of success and prosperity should make them over-bearing, the end of Nara I, alias Kinnara, of Mihirakula, or of Yudhishthira the Blind, will teach them a lesson. If they are depressed with grief at the loss of territory or by the adversity of their subjects, wisdom, hope and consolation will be afforded by the story of the restoration of the Gonandas in the person of Meghavāhana or of Pravarasena II, (who succeeded to the heritage of his father after Matrigupta), or by the story of Jajja and Jayapida, or by the story of the famine brought on by snow-storms in the time of Tunjina, the son of Jalaukas. I have shown my translation to several native scholars, and I am assured that no other sense is possible. I lay stress upon the proper meaning of the couplet being understood, not because I wish to prove—what nobody can prove—that Kalhana in no case misused his materials, but because if the couplet is misinterpreted as proposed, it will throw discredit upon the whole of whatever of the historical there is in the Rajatarangini. Already such an eminent scholar as Prof. Max Müller,

And when he has finished contemplating the ephemeral duration of the spark in living beings, may he record a finding that the crowning sentiment of this poem is the inner poise. 23

Now, gentle friend! drink freely, your ears serving as the mother of pearl glasses, of this River of Kings delightful with the flow of its sustained sentiment. 24

Once upon a time there was the lake of Sati; and from the beginning of the Kalpas the land in the womb of the Himalayas was filled with waters during the intervening period of six Manus. 25

has adopted the translation of my honoured friend Dr. Bühler, and endorsed the view that Kalhana's ideas of history are shown by that couplet, viz. that he could write an elaborate poem of more than eight thousand couplets, in order that scholars might afterwards lengthen or shorten the statements of Kashmirian chroniclers regarding kings, place and time, just as it might please them or as they might find it necessary." —S. P. Pandit.

The original Saṁskṛta text of Śloka 21 is as follows:

"Iyaṁ nṛpāṇām ullāse hrāse vā deśa-kālayoḥ Bhaiṣajya-bhūtasaṁvādi Kathā yuktopayujyate" which Mr. S. P. Pandit construed as follows: "Deśa-kālayoho ullāse hrāse vā sati iyam rājatarangiṇī bhaiṣajya-bhūta samvādi Katha yuktā sati nṛpānām upayujyate." This lengthy note will illustrate the gravity and nature of the errors occasionally committed by learned European scholars. In this translation which is not intended primarily for the learned fraternity it will serve no useful purpose hereafter to discuss in detail the numerous errors of previous translators.

23. According to the *Kāvya-prakāśa* of the Kaśmīrī rhetorician Mammaṭa a poem has eight Rasas or sentiments. He adds the Śānta sentiment and brings up the total number to nine. According to Viśvanātha the Rasa or sentiment constitutes the very essence of poetry: Vākyaṁ Rasātmakaṁ Kāvyam (*Sāhitya-darpaṇa* 3). The Sānta Rasa is the sentiment of quietism or the inner poise. The Indians like the Chinese concentrated on the cultivation of a peaceful mind.

24. K. tries to see human existence as a whole, from the time we are born—we know not why—until the wheel on which we are bound comes full circle in death. He thus likens Life to a river flowing from an unknown source. Kalhaṇa, like Heraclitus, regarded Life as a continuity and the atoms of the flowing river conveyed this sense of unity and continuity to the ancient Indians and the Greeks.

K. hoped that his poem would be recited like the great Epics in time to come. Mother of pearl glasses for drinking wine must have been in use among the people in his day. In Taraṅga V. verse 369 there is a reference to jewelled glasses for liqueur, which were used by the nobility. Bernier speaks of Tibetan jade presented to Aurangzeb in Kaśmīr, which was "in great estimation in the court of the Mogol; its colour is greenish, with white veins, and it is so hard as to be wrought only with diamond powder. Cups and vases are made of this stone. I have some of the most exquisite workmanship, inlaid with strings of gold, and enriched with precious stones."

25-26. Bernier writes: "The histories of the ancient kings of Kachemire maintain that the whole of this country was in former times one vast lake and that an outlet for the waters was opened by a certain pire, aged saint, Kacheb (Persian for Kaśyapa) who miraculously cut the mountain of Baramoule.. ..I am certainly not disposed to deny that this region was once covered with water: the same thing is reported of Thessaly and of other countries; but I cannot easily pursuade myself

Now when the present period of Vaivasvata Manu had come, the Prajāpati Kaśyapa induced the gods Druhiṇa, Upendra, Rudra and others to descend and, having caused Jalodbhava, who resided in it, to be slain, founded, upon the site of the lake, the kingdom of Kaśmīr. 26-27

It is the territory which is under the protection of Nīla, supreme lord of all the Nāgas, whose parasol is the swelling Nīla Kuṇḍa with the flowing waters of the Vitastā for its staff. 28

Where Pārvatī, who adores Guha and whose copious milk is drunk by the elephant-faced Gaṇeśa, although she has converted herself into the Vitastā, which turns her face towards low-lying lands and whose

that the opening in question was the work of man, for the mountain is very lofty. I rather imagine that the mountain sank in some subterranean cavern, which was disclosed by a violent earthquake not uncommon in these countries." Bernier's theory has a great deal in its favour. Kalhaṇa frequently refers to earthquakes. Severe earthquakes in Kaśmīr are recorded in 1552 and 1680. Vigne, who visited Kaśmīr in 1835, mentions that 12,000 houses were destroyed and 1000 persons perished in the earthquake of 26th June 1828. On 30th May 1885, there was a severe shock when the focus of destruction was near Baramula. Three-fourths of the houses in that town were totally wrecked, the shock was felt over an area of 500 square miles and in all 20,000 houses were destroyed and 30,000 cattle and 3,000 human beings perished.

27. The *Nīlamata-purāṇa* gives the story of the demon Jalodbhava which literally means "he whose origin is water." According to modern geologists the valley of Kaśmīr was no doubt a vast lake in the remote past and that the climate of this Himalayan region must have been intensely cold. The legend of the Jalodbhava probably refers to icebergs. According to the old Kaśmīrī traditions the land was at one time too cold for human habitation during winter when it was in the grip of the Piśācas, the 'Powers of Darkness.' The kings during this time used to leave the country and resume their rule when the Piśācas had left. See below verse 180 and Taraṅga IV. 710 and VII. 1551.

28. The pool referred to is the Nīla Nāga, generally known as Vernāg, the magnificent spring at the foot of the Pass Bānaśālā (Banhal). According to the *Nīlamata-purāṇa*, Nīla, the chief of all the tutelary Spring deities (Nāga) of Kaśmīr, was the son of the Sage Kaśyapa. By a stroke of Śiva's trident Pārvatī sprang from the earth as the river Vitastā (see IV. 301). Viṣṇu is also connected with this famous spring having first placed his ploughshare there to drain the Satīsaras. The pool originally must have been circular as it is compared to a parasol; its present octagonal shape is due to the construction of the stone basin by the Emperor Jahangir. Bernier tells us "Jehan-Guyre was so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemire." The Emperor wrote in his *Memoirs* that he considered it bad taste to stretch a carpet on the green sward of the valley. Jahangir died while returning from Kaśmīr at Chingas near Rajauri and in his last moments he begged that he might be buried near the spring and gardens of Vernāg.

Vitastā is the Saṁskṛta name of the river Jhelam which is still used in Kaśmīr. The Portuguese priests who went to Kaśmīr with Akbar called it

abundant waters are drunk in mouthfuls by the Nāgas, does not abandon her natural impulse. 29

It is the resort of the Nāgas, prominent among whom are Śaṅkha and Padma, like the city of the Giver of Wealth, of the guardians of treasure. 30

It has, forsooth, stretched forth on their back its arms in the guise of its mountain ramparts for the safeguarding of the Nāgas who had approached from terror of Garuḍa. 31

Where, within the sanctuary of Pāpasūdana, those who touch the husband of Umā in wooden form secure for reward the pleasures of life and liberation. 32

Where, on a waterless hill, the goddess of Twilight is in possession of water which is the ocular demonstration of the presence of piety and the absence of sin. 33

Where the self-originating Fire, emerging from the womb of the Earth, accepts with many arms of flame the votive offering of the sacrificers. 34

Where the goddess Sarasvatī herself may be seen in the form of a swan in a lake on the peak of the Bheḍa mountain which is hallowed by the rise of the Gaṅgā. 35

Where in the shrine the residence of Śiva at Nandikṣetra are to be seen, to this day, the drops of the votive sandal emollient offered by the celestials. 36

Where by visiting the goddess Śāradā one gets in a moment to the river Madhumatī and the Sarasvatī adored by the poets. 37

Behat, a corruption of Vitastā. The Vitastā was known to the ancient Greeks as the Bidaspes or Hydaspes.

29. There is in this verse a double entendre on the words Guha (1) ravine and (2) the war-god, son of Pārvatī. Nāga-mukha=(1) mouths of the Nāgas and (2) the elephant-headed Ganeśa, the other son.

30. The Nāgas—Śaṅkha and Padma are mentioned among the ancient tutelary deities of Kaśmīr in the *Nīlamata-purāṇa*. Kubera is the god of wealth. (See below verse 155).

32. Pāpasūdana. This is a famous Kaśmīrī spring and place of pilgrimage near village Kother in Pargana Kuthar (Sk. Kapaṭeśvara). This is the spring referred to in Taraṅga VII. 190 which king Bhoja of Malwa enclosed with a stone-wall, the tradition of which still survives in Kaśmīr.

35. Sir A. Stein has traced this forgotten Tīrtha, at Budbrar in the hills west of Supiyan.

37. The shrine of the goddess Śāradā is situated on a hill above the junction of the Kishanganga stream with the Madhumatī. The pilgrimage to Śāradā in ancient times must have attracted the devout from distant parts of India. It was on the pretext of this pilgrimage that the warriors of Gauḍa (Bengal) secured entry into Kaśmīr in pursuit of their plan of revenge. See IV. 325. See also VIII. 2492, 2556, 2706.

In that country adorned by Cakrabhṛt, Vijayeśa, Ādikeśava and Īśāna there is not even so much land as can be covered by a sesamum seed which is profane. 38

Such is Kaśmīr, the country which may be conquered by the force of spiritual merit but not by armed force; where the inhabitants in consequence fear more the next world; where there are hot baths in winter, comfortable landing places on the river-banks, where the rivers being free from aquatic animals are without peril; where, realizing that the land created by his father is unable to bear heat, the hot-rayed sun honours it by bearing himself with softness even in summer. Learning, high dwelling houses, saffron, iced water, grapes and the like — what is a commonplace there, is difficult to secure in paradise. 39-42

38. This famous temple of Viṣṇu, the holder of the discus, (Cakrabhṛt) was on the plateau now known as Tsakdar (Cakradhara) and is frequently mentioned in this poem. (See I. 261, IV. 191, VIII. 971 sqq). Vijayeśa, the shrine of Śiva, has been famous from remote antiquity. K. mentions the restoration of the temple by the Emperor Aśoka (verse 105 below). It is now known to the Kaśmīrīs as Vijbror and to the tourists as Bijbihāra; the town owes its name to the famous temple which is situated there.

39-42. The hot baths in Kaśmīr were popular like the elaborate hot baths among the ancient Romans and Greeks. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the Greek baths came to be known as Turkish baths.

The Jesuit priest Pierre du Jarric has given an interesting account of Kaśmīr under Akbar as follows:

"The kingdom of Caximir is one of the pleasantest and most beautiful countries to be found in the whole of India, we may even say in the East. It is completely surrounded by very high mountains which for the greater part of the year are covered with snow, and all the rest of the kingdom is a beautiful plain clothed in verdure, and well watered by springs and rivers: a very pleasant land for those who dwell therein. Owing to the mountains, the climate of the country is somewhat cold, though it is more temperate than that of the kingdom of Rebat, which joins Caximir on the east. In the month of May, great numbers of wild-duck come from the mountains of Rebat and settle in huge flocks on the streams which flow near to the town of Caximir, the capital of the kingdom, because of the warmer climate. About three leagues from the town there is a lake of sweet water which, though not more than two leagues in circuit and half a league broad, is so deep that large vessels can float upon it. In the middle there is an artificial island on which the king has a palace, where he refreshes himself when he goes to shoot the duck which abound on this lake. On the banks of a river, the waters of which flow through the lake, there is a species of very large tree, the trunk and leaves of which resemble those of the chestnut, though it is quite a different tree. The wood is very dry, and has a grain like rippling water; it is much used for making small caskets and similar articles. The country abounds in wheat, rice and other food grains. They plant vines at the roots of the mulberry trees, so that grapes and mulberries are seen hanging from the same branches. People say that this kingdom was one of the most formidable in these parts, and that the Great Mogor would

In the three worlds the Earth, the producer of jewels, is worthy of praise and on it the North, the direction of the lord of wealth; there again the mountain, the father of Pārvatī, and within it, the country of Kaśmīr. 43

In Kaśmīr, the contemporaries of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas — in the Kali era — up to Gonanda, fifty-two kings have passed into oblivion. 44

In that age, owing to the former misdeeds of those kings, surely no creative poets existed who could have embodied them in glory. 45

never have been able to subdue it but for the factions which existed amongst the inhabitants. Knowing that it was a kingdom divided against itself, he invaded it with a large army, and easily made himself master of it. Formerly all the people of this country were Gentiles; but about three hundred years ago they joined the sect of Mahomet, and the majority of them are now Saracens." (*Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 75). For the summer of Kaśmīr see II. 138, IV. 582.

Kuṅkuma=saffron; from ancient times it has been the monopoly of Kaśmīr where it grows in certain areas chiefly Pāmpar (Padmapura); thus it is also known as Kaśmīraja. From Kuṅkuma is derived the word "Kuṅku" used for the mark on the forehead by the women of the Dekhan. Saffron (Arabic Za'faran) is a product manufactured from the dried stigmas and part of the style of the saffron crocus which is a cultivated form of Crocus sativus. The purple flower which blossoms in autumn is very similar to that of the common spring crocus and the stigmas which protrude from the perianth are of orange-red colour. In early Greek times it was a royal colour and from Kalhaṇa's work we learn that in Kaśmīr, the native land of saffron, it was the privilege of royalty to use it as a scented salve or emollient. (Taraṅga VI. 120, VIII. 1897). As a perfume it was strewn in Greek halls, courts, and theatres and in the Roman baths. The streets of Rome, we are told, were sprinkled with saffron when Nero made his entry into the city. Saffron was used as an ingredient in Greek medicine and cuisine and it continues to be so used in Kaśmīr. It is still mixed with rice by the Kaśmīrīs, the Persians and the people of Spain where the Arab conquerors first introduced its cultivation in 961 A.D. It is interesting to note that saffron was cultivated in England until the 18th century in a valley about 44 miles from London where the little town of Walden, whose characteristic industry was the culture of saffron, is still known as Saffron Walden. It is said that saffron was brought to England by a pilgrim from Tripoli, who hid a stolen corm in the hollow of his staff!

43. The father of Pārvatī, literally the Maid of the Mountain (Parvata), is the Himālaya.

45-47. These verses are famous wherever the Saṁskṛta language is known; the translation can give no idea of the melody of the words and the metre. Carlyle has said something very like this:

"Yes, truly it is a great thing for a nation that it get an articulate voice; that it produce a man who will speak forth melodiously what the heart of it means! Italy, for example, poor Italy lies dismembered, scattered asunder, not appearing in any protocol, or treaty as a unity at all; yet the noble Italy is actually one. Italy produced its Dante— Italy can speak! The Czar of all the Russias he is strong, with so many bayonets, Cossacks and cannons and does a great feat in keeping such a tract of earth politically together; but he can not yet speak. Something great in him but it is a dumb greatness. He has had no view of genius to be heard of all men

Renowned kings, in the shelter of whose arms this Earth wearing the girdle of the oceans had rested as if in the shade of a forest and enjoyed peace and security from hostile attack, would not even be remembered without its favour — to the art of the poet which is sublime in its nature, we offer salutation. 46

Even those who, in the past, had rested their feet on the forehead of elephants, those too, who had acquired glory, in whose mansions resided young ladies who were like day-moons — those kings, the ornaments of the world, have been ignored by the people as if they had no existence even in dreams; O brother! the work of a gifted poet! why praise thee a hundredfold? Without thee the world were in darkness. 47

In the Kali era Gonanda and other kings ruled in Kaśmīr for twenty-two hundred sixty-eight years. Some have been deluded by the tradition that the Mahābhārata had taken place at the end of Dvāpara and have erroneously made this calculation of time. 48-49

When the number of years of the kings is calculated, the period of whose sovereignty is known, after deducting them, there is no remainder left of the period hitherto passed of Kali itself as follows: 50

and times. He must learn to speak. He is a great dumb monster hitherto. His cannons and Cossacks will have rusted into non-entity while that Dante's voice is still audible. The nation that has a Dante is bound together as no dumb Russia can be."

"Consider now, if they asked us, will you give up your Indian Empire or your Shakespear, you English; never have had any Indian Empire, or never have had any Shakespear? Really it were a grave question—official persons would answer doubtless in official language; but we, for our part too, should not we be forced to answer; Indian Empire or no Indian Empire we can not do without Shakespear! Indian Empire will go, at any rate, some day: but this Shakespear does not go, he lasts for ever with us; we can not give up our Shakespear!"—*Hero as poet.*

The ocean girdle of the earth is referred to in verse 115 below and repeated elsewhere. The arms of kings in Saṁskṛta poetry are constantly referred to as being mightly like the trees or like pillars. See, e.g., verse 196 below.

48. See Appendix A for the chronology of Kalhaṇa.

50-52. The Śaka era begins 78 years after the Christian era. K. commenced his work in the Śaka year 1070 which, according to him, corresponded with the year 4224 of the Laukika or Kaśmīrī era which is still current in Kaśmīr and the neighbouring hills. It is customary in India, in speaking of dates, to drop the centuries and K. throughout this poem mentions the dates without the centuries of the Laukika era. The Laukika era is also known as the Saptarṣi (The Great Bear) era.

K. calculates that no balance remained as follows:—

Number of years of the Kaliyuga—4224.
Regnal period from Gonanda I to Yudhiṣṭhira I.
(according to verse 48 above) 2268
Regnal period of kings mentioned in Taraṅgas II-VIII.
(up to Śaka 1070) 1328
Kali years up to the period of the Pāṇḍavas or Gonanda I.
(see verse 51 above)............ 653
4,249

When six hundred fifty-three years of Kali had elapsed there lived on the surface of the earth the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. 51

Of the Laukika era in the twenty-fourth year at present one thousand seventy years of the Śaka era have gone by. 52

Roughly, commencing from Gonanda III, two thousand three hundred thirty autumns have now elapsed. 53

Twelve hundred sixty-six years is the duration of time which, it is believed, to be that of the fifty-two kings. 54

From one Nakṣatra to another, the Great Bear moves in a hundred years; such being its course, the author of the *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* has furnished a solution on this point. 55

The Great Bear stood in the constellation Maghā when king Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the earth; two thousand five hundred twenty-six years prior to the Śaka era was the epoch of his reign. 56

To the mighty Gonanda, king of Kaśmīr, the North, of which the dazzling Kailāsa is the smile and the tossing Gaṅgā the scarf, rendered homage. 57 *Gonanda I*

Having abandoned Śeṣa, as if dreading his venom, the earth took refuge in the king's arms marked by the jewels sacred to Garuḍa. 58

The aid of this king having been sought by Jarāsandha he laid siege to Mathurā, the city of the enemy of Kaṁsa, with large forces. 59

When he pitched his camp on the banks of the Yamunā, he caused the fame of the warriors together with the jewels of the Yādava ladies to fade. 60

Alberuni says: "The era of the astronomers begins 587 years later than the Śaka-Kāla. On this era is based the canon Khanda-Khādyaka by Brahmagupta, which among Mahomadans is known as Al-Arkand. Common people in India date by the years of a centennium which they call Samvatsara. If a centennium is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one.... Those who use the Śaka era—the astronomers—begin the year with the month Caitra while the inhabitants of Kanir which is conterminous with Kashmir begin it with the month Bhādrapada. All the people, who inhabit the country between Bardarī and Mārīgala, begin the year with the month Karttika and they count the guage year (year 400 of Yazdajird) as the 110th year of an era of theirs. The author of the Kashmirian calendar maintains that the latter year corresponds to the sixth year of a new centennium and this, indeed, is the usage of the people of Kashmir."—Vol.II. p. 8. See Taraṅga IV. 703 note.

55. The reference is to Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā* XII. 3. See VII-1720 note.

57. In Saṁskṛta poetry the smile is described as gleaming white; so are virtue and truth white and vice and untruth black. See e.g. verse 90 below.

58. The earth rests on the hood of the Hydryad, the lord of the snakes, Śeṣa. He is also called Ananta which means endless or infinite. Śeṣa is thus symbolic of Infinity. Garuḍa=Viṣṇu's emblem is the eagle, the enemy of the snakes; the emerald is the gem sacred to Garuḍa.

On one occasion, to save his army which was broken up on all sides, he who had the plough as the emblem on his banner encountered him fighting in battle. 61

During the combat of the two warriors of equal prowess having remained too long in the hand of the goddess of victory owing to the uncertainty of the issue, one might well ask if the triumphal garland had withered away! 62

Eventually, with his limbs wounded by weapons in the battlefield, the king of Kaśmīr embraced the earth while the Yādava king embraced the goddess of victory. 63

When that true Kṣatriya had gone the way which the very brave find it easy, his exalted son Dāmodara began to support the earth. 64

Dāmodara I

Although he had obtained a kingdom furnished in plentitude with life's enjoyments, that proud king brooding over the death of his father had not been at peace. 65

At this time the haughty king, whose arms were powerful like trees, heard that in the region of the Indus the Gāndhāras had made preparations for the Svayaṁvara of the princess, to which the Yādavas had been specially invited. 66

Then, when they were not far off, he marched against them with impetuosity so that the dust of his cavalry regiments swallowed up the vault of the heavens. 67

In that battle the bride, who was about to choose her bridegroom yearning, for the wedding languished while the heavenly damsels held a Svayaṁvara in the land of the Gāndhāras. 68

61. The brother of Kṛṣṇa was Balarāma. Sprung from the commoners he adopted the plough, the emblem of the toiling masses.

62. The goddess of victory confers the garland of victory on the winner. Vaijayantī—the garland of victory—is depicted in Indian art on the trunk of the royal elephant who, according to legend, elects the king.

The Vaijayantī motif is sculptured, with and without elephant heads, on the buildings at New Delhi.

64. There are repeated allusions in the poem to the conduct of a true Kṣatriya or knight and to the rules of Indian Chivalry.

66. Svayaṁvara = the ceremony where the bride chose her own groom. Ancient literature is full of descriptions of princesses who chose the bridegroom from among the princes who came as suitors. Marriage by choice of the bride was one of the recognised forms of marriage sanctioned by the Smṛtis.

67. Dhvajinī—literally standard bearing regiment; from Dhvaja = standard. Another interesting word is Pṛtanā which has been translated in this work as 'regiment.'

68. The heavenly maidens are the Apsarās. Apsarās are constantly referred to in this poem. We find them in poetry, in paintings, in the frescoes and ancient sculpture. Like their sisters the Valkyries of Scandinavian mythology they came in their celestial chariots to receive the slain warriors whom they carried away to heaven.

Then, surrounded by an array of his enemies, this brave king of kings went to heaven, in the battle, by way of the edge of the battle-disc of Kṛṣṇa. 69

His consort was at the time enceinte; the upholder of the House of Yadu, Kṛṣṇa got her, whose name was Yaśovatī, anointed queen by the Brahmans. 70 *Yaśovatī*

At this time his ministers, who were filled with covetousness were silenced by the destroyer of Madhu who pronounced the following verse from the Purāṇa: 71

"The land of Kaśmīr is Pārvatī; know its king to be part of Śiva; he should not be disregarded even if he be wicked by a wise man desirous of bliss." 72

The eyes of men which viewed womankind with scant courtesy, considering it as one of the objects of their pleasure, looked upon this mother of her subjects as if she were a goddess. 73

Then, in the due month, the queen gave birth to a son, possessing divine signs, who was the sprout on the dynastic tree burnt by fire. 74

The highest Brahmans performed for him the Jātakarma and other rites together with his coronation and incidental ceremonies. 75 *Gonanda II*

Together with royal dignity the infant king obtained the appellation of his grandfather Gonanda in due course. 76

There were two nurses in attendance upon the infant to bring him up; one was the wet-nurse, the Earth, the source of all prosperity, was the other. 77

69. This is an alliteration which cannot be reproduced in translation; Cakradhara or the holder of the Cakra (disc) is Kṛṣṇa, the eighth avatāra of Viṣṇu.

70. Abhiṣeka—the ceremony of coronation of the king; literally it means sprinkling and corresponds to the Biblical "anointing." The ceremony, in all its pristine splendour, is observed in actual practice to-day not only within India but abroad in Greater India where the culture of the mother-country still exercises a living influence. The rite of Rājyābhiṣeka in the manner described by K. in Taraṅga III, verse 528 has recently been performed by Brahmans in Nepal, Siam as well as on the head of the king of the Kambodians in French Indo-China.

71. The destroyer of Madhu is Kṛṣṇa.

72. Verse 237 of the *Nīlamata* is perhaps referred to. This refers to the divine right of kings. In K's own time the cutting of the king's head and uprooting of the images of the gods from the temples, which would formerly have been regarded as sacrilegious acts, had apparently become fait accompli. Vide Taraṅga VII, verse 1724. King Lalitāditya's last directions to the ministers to depose a king should he become too powerful (V. 356-357) appear to have been faithfully followed in the succeeding generations.

74. The signs on the person of kings are said to have a special meaning attached to them.

In the endeavour to maintain that his favours should not be infructuous, his father's ministers distributed largesses among the bystanders even when he smiled without reason. 78

When they failed to act, being unable to understand the child's indistinct prattle, the officials considered themselves guilty of a crime. 79

When he occupied the lion-throne of the father, the yearning of the royal foot-stool was not satisfied by the boy-king owing to his dangling legs. 80

Placing him, whose side-locks were wavy with the fanning of the royal yak-tail, on the throne, the ministers hearkened to the law-suits of the subjects. 81

Thus the king of Kaśmīr, being in the state of minority, had not been invited as an ally in the war either by the Kauravas or the Pāṇḍavas. 82

Owing to a break in the traditional records, thirty-five kings who came after him, their names and acts having disappeared, have been submerged in the sea of oblivion. 83

Lava

Then Lava, the ornament of the land and a favourite of the goddess of victory, whose fluttering garment is glory, became king. 84

The din of his army which was enough to cause sleeplessness to the world, it was a wonder! consigned his enemies to a long slumber. 85

Having constructed eighty-four lakhs of stone-houses he founded the city of Lolor. 86

Having granted in Ledarī the Agrahāra of Levāra to a synod of Brahmans, that mighty armed king of irreproachable valour and glory ascended to heaven. 87

81. Kākapakṣa="crow's wings," the side-locks of little boys and youths among the Kṣatriyas. Even at the present day, the Aryan fashion of shaving the hair on the crown and leaving locks on either side of the head is found in Northern India and among the martial people of the Indian frontier. In Iran this fashion is known as 'Kakul.'

Cāmara is the bushy tail of the Tibetan animal, the Yak (Bos Grunniens), which is itself known as 'Camara.'

The Yak is a splendid beast, with short legs, low quarters, warmly clad in long hair and furnished with a bushy tail which serves him as a wind-screen; the herd always feeds with hind-quarters to the wind. The Yak will carry anything that a horse can carry, climb almost anywhere that a goat can climb and cross a river with the ease of a hippopotamus. He is to the high-altitude nomad what the camel is to the low-lying Arab. The huge tail of the Yak together with the white parasol have formed insignias of Indian royalty from ancient times.

The king, the fountain of justice, with his ministers and learned Brahmans formed the highest court of appeal, called the Rājapraṇidhi. Book I, *Arthaśāstra.*

84. The goddess of victory is described in poetry and depicted in art with fluttering garments. There are repeated allusions to this in the poem.

87. Ledarī=the river Lidr. Pahlgam,

The lotus-eyed Kuśa, his son, skilled in exploits, who was the donor of the Agrahāra of Kuruhāra, came after him. 88 *Kuśa*

After him attained to the royal dignity his son, the destroyer of the hostile Nāga dynasty, the glorious Khagendra, a leader of men and the heaven of heroism. 89 *Khagendra*

He founded two principal Agrahāras of Khāgi and Khonamuṣa; in due course he went to the world, which he had purchased with his deeds, white like the smile of Śiva. 90

Thereafter his son, Surendra, of inestimable grandeur, who kept himself wide apart from sinfulness and whose way of life was wondrous, became king. 91 *Surendra*

Since he bore a hundred grudges and was the breaker of the mountains, with this Surendra, who had calmed down anger and was the guardian of the mountains, the lord of the gods could bear no comparison. 92

Near the country of the Darads having built the city called Sauraka, the illustrious one founded a Vihāra called Narendra-bhavana. 93

In his own kingdom that philanthropic king of unbroken fame founded the Vihāra called Saurasa which was hallowed by works of piety. 94

That monarch having gone to his rest without progeny, king Godhara of a different dynasty succeeded him and bore the burden of the country magnificent with its mountains. 95 *Godhara*

the popular tourist resort, is situated on the Lidr. Agrahāra = grant of land ; a jagir.

89. Khagendra. see verses 97 and 99 and 197.

92. Indra, one of the heroes of the nature poetry of the Vedas, is the god of the thundering sky whom the ancient Aryans in India worshipped like their cousins, the people of Iran. He clips the wings of the mountains and destroys Ahi and Vṛtra, ravishers of the clouds and demons of drought. In later times he becomes "King Indra" and the idea of Indian kingship is derived from this epic Indra (with his Sabhā or assembly of the Suras or gods and bevy of Apsarās or celestial nymphs) who is for ever in conflict with the Asuras, the Titans. Hence the Kṣatriya ruler was compared to Indra. In this verse there is a pun on Surendra which is the king's name and it also means Indra. Śata-manyu = "he who performed a hundred sacrifices" and Gotrabhid = "he who was the breaker of the mountains" refer to Indra. Śāntamanyu = "he who has extinguished anger" and Gotra-rakṣin = "the protector of the mountain" refer to the king.

93. Vihāra. A Buddhist abbey or monastery. According to M. Foucher, in early times the Vihāra was the habitation of a single monk; the monastery was called Saṅghārāma. The holy land of Magadha, home of Buddhism, was covered with Vihāras and has come to be known as Bihar.

Having gifted to the Brahmans the Agrahāra of Hastiśālā, Godhara, the noble-minded one, who had performed acts of piety, went to heaven. 96

uvarṇa

His son named Suvarṇa then gave gold in charity to beggars; it was he who, in Kerala, provided the canal named Suvarṇamaṇi. 97

anaka

His son Janaka was like a father to his subjects; he founded the Vihāra and Agrahāra called Jālora. 98

Śacīnara

Śacīnara, his illustrious son, like a terrestrial Indra, then protected the earth; he was of a forgiving nature and his authority was unchallenged. 99

This king was the founder of the royal Agrahāras of Śamāṅgāsā and Śanārā. He was without male issue when he became a sharer of the half throne of Indra. 100

Aśoka

The great grandson of Śakuni and the son of that king's granduncle named Aśoka, who was true to his engagements, then supported the earth. 101

That king, who had extinguished sin and had accepted the teaching of Buddha, covered Śuṣkaletra and Vitastātra with numerous Stūpas. 102

In the Dharmāraṇya Vihāra in Vitastātra town the Caitya built by him was so high that the eye could not see the extent of its height. 103

Possessing ninety-six lakhs of dwelling houses resplendent with prosperity, that illustrious king founded the magnificent city of Śrīnagarī. 104

102. The reference is to the Emperor Aśoka, the Constantine of Buddhism. His empire which included Baluchistan, Herat, Kabul, Afghanistan up to the Hindu Kush and the Valleys of Svāt, Kaśmīr, and Nepal extended up to Mysore in the south and Saurāṣṭra or modern Khathiawad in the extreme west. "If a man's fame", says Koppen, "can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, Aśoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Caesar." From the classical writers and historians as well as from the numerous inscriptions of Aśoka which have been discovered on rocks, pillars and caves, we now know that he reigned from 264 B.C. to 228 or 227 B.C.

Śuṣkaletra = modern village of Hukhaletr, see below verses 79 and IV. 473 Vitastātra = modern village of Vithvutur at the foot of the Banhal Pass near Vernāg. See VII. 364. From Vitastātra begins the ascent of the Banhal Pass.

104. According to Kalhaṇa the Emperor Aśoka was the founder of Śrīnagarī, the capital of Kaśmīr. Aśoka's city is believed to be the village of Pandrethan (Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna = 'ancient capital' referred to in Taraṅga III. 99) three miles above modern Śrīnagar. The present city was built by Pravarasena II. K. refers to the capital throughout this poem as Nagara. Thus, too, the city of the Jamsahib-Jamnagar and Ahmadnagar in the west and the Dekhan respectively are commonly called Nagar.

After removing the dilapidated enclosure of stucco of the sacred shrine of Vijayeśa, the sinless one had a rampart of stone constructed. 105

Within the enclosure and near Vijayeśa, he, who had extinguished sorrow, had two temples built known as Aśokeśvara. 106

When the country had been overrun by the Mlecchas, for their extermination that meritorious king obtained from Bhūteśa, who had been propitiated by his penance, a son. 107

Jalauka

Then became king that son Jalauka, leader of men and of the gods, who with the nectar of his glory rendered gleaming white the cosmic world. 108

The tales of whose divine power, when they reached their ears, indeed held the very gods spell-bound. 109

Having gained the elixir which could transform crores of substances he, no doubt, with gifts of gold, was capable of removing the void from the cavity of the firmament. 110

Having made the waters rigid he entered the interior of the lakes of the Nāgas and carried to perfection the youth of the Nāga maidens by the joys of love. 111

That king had for his spiritual adviser one erudite philosopher, who had defeated an assembly of puffed up Buddhist debators, who were powerful in those days. 112

That veracious king had vowed that he would ever worship Vijayeśvara and Jyeṣṭheśa in Nandīśa-kṣetra. 113

In every village horses had been posted to gallop; disallowing this a certain Nāga, out of friendliness, bore him always on his person. 114

106. Aśokeśvara = literally Śiva installed by Aśoka. Throughout this poem K. mentions temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu the names of the founders being coupled with the names of the deities. The same applies to the founding of convents, Maṭhas and rest-houses. Aśoka's temples existed in K's time as he mentions that they were restored by Raḍḍādevī the queen of Jayasiṁha. See VIII. 3391.

107. Mleccha. Probably the Greeks are meant by this term. Mleccha literally means the people of the indistinct speech. The Greeks similarly used the word Barbarian for those whose speech they did not understand and the Arabs when they conquered Irān called the highly civilized Irānians the Ajam, the dumb. In Taraṅga VIII Prince Bhoja's allies, the tribes of the frontier, are referred to as the Mlecchas. See VIII. 2763 and 2766. Śiva, the 'lord of beings' (Bhūteśa), was worshipped on the sacred Mount Haramukha. K.'s poem is full of references to this shrine which he describes as having been richly endowed by different kings and at times plundered for its treasures. The hill which was the site of the famous shrine is still known as Buthser (Bhūteśvara).

113. See Sir A. Stein's interesting note on Jyeṣṭheśa and the different places in the valley where Śiva was worshipped under this name.

Having expelled the Mlecchas, who had overrun the land, the king of mighty valour conquered in his victorious campaigns the earth which wears the girdle of the oceans. 115

The place where the king crushed the invading Mleccha horde is called by the people Ujjhaṭaḍimba even to this day. 116

Having conquered territories including Kānyakubja, he settled in his own country the four castes from there as well as upright men with legal experience. 117

Not having attained development as it should have by means of trade, wealth and the like, the administration of the kingdom was like that of any ordinary state at this time. 118

The Chief Justice, the Superintendent of Revenue, the Treasurer, the Chief of the Army, the Envoy, the Pontiff and the Astrologer—had been the seven functionaries of state. 119

Having created eighteen traditional departments of state, the king, from that time, inaugurated the constitutional system of Yudhiṣṭhira. 120

117. Kānyakubja=There are many references to Kānyakubja, the modern Kanauj in this poem. The city of Kanauj which at one time was the capital of a great Empire under Harṣavardhana, the hero of Bāṇa's poem *Harṣacarita*, was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Thsang, "the Master of the Law." The city had acquired international reputation for its learning, culture and the arts of peace and war. Firdausi's *Shahnameh* is full of references to Kanauj and the finest armour, daggers, swords, etc., according to Firdausi, were imported by the legendary heroes of ancient Irān from Kanauj.

According to tradition migrations of high caste families took place from Kanauj into the different provinces upon the invitation of their respective rulers. Thus the Brahmans of Kanauj who settled in Bengal in the east and in the west in Gujarat still bear the honoured name of Kānyakubja. In this poem there is evidence of the immigration and settlement in Kaśmīr of learned Brahmans from India upon the invitation of the kings of Kaśmīr from time to time. See note 353 below. Kanauj was the centre of Aryan culture for centuries. Kanauj and its neighbourhood have not yet been excavated. Archaeology may yet reveal that it was the centre of a civilization, like that of Mohenjo Daro, much older than the Aryan.

119. See VII. 246, 884.

120. Yudhiṣṭhira. The eldest of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, the hero of the *Mahābhārata*, is the type of the just ruler. Throughout the centuries history furnishes numerous examples of Indian attempts to model the state on the constitutional system of Yudhiṣṭhira, a predilection for which has been shown by the rulers of some of the larger states in India in recent times.

The eighteen departments of state are mentioned both in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 5.38) and the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 100. 36). They are also alluded to in the *Pañcatantra* (Kielhorn's edition III. 67-70), Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (XVII. 68) and in *Śiśupālavadha* (XIV. 9). According to Nīlakaṇṭha, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, the eighteen Tīrthas or offices of state are as follows:—

(1) Mantrin=Councillor, (2) Purohita =The Pontiff, (3) Yuvarāja=Heir-apparent, (4) Senāpati=Generalissimo, (5) Dvārapāla=Chamberlain, (6) Antarveśika=Steward of the royal household, (7) Kārāgārādhikārin = Superintendent of Prisons, (8) Dravyasaṁcayakṛt=Trea-

With the wealth he had acquired by his martial exploits and energy this king of conspicuous intelligence founded the Agrahāras of Vārabāla and others. 121

At the frontier and other regions were founded, by his august queen Īśānadevī, Mātṛcakras which were bright with spiritual power. 122

The king having heard the *Nandipurāṇa* expounded by a disciple of Vyāsa, began to worship at Sodara and other places as vying with Nandīsa. 123

While he was installing Jyeṣṭha Rudra in Śrīnagarī, he realized that it could not, without the Sodara spring, vie with Nandīśa. 124

One day, the king being occupied in state affairs forgot his daily

surer (literally collector of the pile of treasure), (9) Sannidhātṛ=Auditor of the treasury and five other departments, (10) Pradeṣṭṛ=Officer with joint executive and judicial functions, (11) Nagarādhyakṣa=Prefect of the city, (12) Kāryanirmāṇa-kṛt=Superintending Engineer of works, (13) Dharmādhyakṣa=Lord Chief Justice, (14) Sabhādhyakṣa=President of the Assembly, (15) Daṇḍapāla=Warden of Criminal jurisdiction, (16) Durgapāla =Warden of Fortifications, (17) Rāṣṭrāntapāla=Warden of the Marches, (18) Aṭavīpāla=Conservator of the Forests.

The Pontiff is the Purohita mentioned by Kalhaṇa. He is the priest or preceptor of the king, and his political adviser. The Purohita occurs in the Ṛg Veda where Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra are mentioned as Purohitas. In later Vedic literature there are many priests who are princes of the blood royal (See Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II. 150, 184.)

The king is advised to follow the family priest or Purohita who was expected to be equally learned in the sacred lore as well as Daṇḍa-nīti (Political Science). The temporal power of the Kṣatriya and the spiritual power of the Brahman were expected to mutually support one another. Manu says: "Kṣatriyas prosper not without Brahmans, Brahmans prosper not without Kṣatriyas; Brahmans and Kṣatiryas being together closely united, prosper in this world and the next." (IX. 323).

Monarchy and the organised Church thus support and strenghten one another. The Church does propaganda for the Monarchy and helps it to rule and domineer over subject peoples and, in turn, is protected by the administration, and grows rich through grants of lands and various privileges. Napoleon said: "The greatest miracle of Christianity was that it had prevented the poor from massacring the rich" and "If the Pope had not existed I would have had to invent one." K'.s poem illustrates how religion was used for political ends and the founding and endowing of temples, Maṭhas and Stūpas was carried on with the same purpose with which similar activities were undertaken by rulers in the West in the Middle Ages.

122. Mātṛcakra=The Circle of the Mothers. The Śivaite goddesses, the Sapta Mātṛkā or Seven Mothers represent Life and Death, radiant Loveliness and hideous Ugliness. In the vestibule of the Lalmandi Museum at Śrīnagar there is an interesting statue of Durgā as Vārāhī. It is an exquisitely sculptured life-size figure of a young woman with the face of Varāha. Alberuni mentions the Seven Mothers and the Vārāhī as one of them. Vol. I. p. 120

123. The Sodara spring is now known as the Nāran Nāg. It is situated close to to the ruins of Bhūteśvara.

observance and having failed to bathe in Sodara, which was situate at a distance, he became uneasy in mind. He observed in a waterless spot water suddenly welling up which in colour, taste and other respects was indistinguishable from that of Sodara. 125-126

Then he had a dip in that sacred spring which had appeared of itself and the proud king achieved the fulfilment of his ambition to vie with Nandirudra. 127

On one occasion to test this he cast into Sodara an empty gold pitcher with its mouth closed with the lid; after two and a half days when it rose to the surface in the spring at Srīnagara it dispelled the misgivings of the king. 128-129

Indeed it seemed as if he were Nandīśa himself who had descended upon the earth to enjoy the pleasures of life; the realization of such a miracle could not have happened otherwise. 130

Once, when the king was proceeding to Vijayeśvara, a frail woman, standing in the middle of the road, begged food of him. 131

The king having promised to give such food as she desired she, assuming a hideous form, revealed her longing for human flesh. 132

When he, who abstained from killing living beings, had granted her permission to take for her enjoyment the flesh from his own body she then spoke to him in this wise: 133

"You are some Bodhisattva, O protector of the land! whose mind has been ennobled by upright conduct, hence, O high-minded one! you have such deep tenderness for living creatures." 134

Unfamiliar with Buddhist phraseology, being a devotee of Śiva, the king then asked her "for what Bodhisattva, good lady! do you take me?" 135

She, however, said to the king, "You should hear the reason why I have been raised by the Buddhists whom you have antagonised by your wrath." 136

"Residents of the environs of Mount Lokaka we are the Kṛtyakās of darkness. Having taken refuge solely in Bodhisattva, we long for the destruction of darkness." 137

"In this world beginning from the blessed Lord of the worlds some few persons have conquered sorrow; know them to be Bodhisattvas." 138

135. K. evidently hints that, at this period, Buddhism was declining in Kaśmīr.

137. Kṛtyakā = Power of Darkness, witch.

"Against even a wrong-doer they do not grow angered but, through forgiveness, return good for evil; they who desire enlightenment not for self alone are bent on the salvation of the world." 139

"By the sound of the clarions of the Vihāras when formerly you had been kept awake, being instigated by wicked persons you, in anger, had ordered the demolition of the Vihāras." 140

"The King being a Mahāśākya cannot be hurt by you; on the other hand, O good lady! when you have the sight of him, for you there will be an end of darkness. We exhort you to induce him, who has been misled by the wicked, to build Vihāras by giving up his own horde of gold. When that is carried out, the sin of the demolition of the Vihāras will not have been incurred and atonement by him and his instigators will have been done. The Buddhists who were furious having thought of me, I had rushed forth to kill you but had been recalled by the Bodhisattvas at that time and was instructed in such wise." 141-144

"And so through disguise in this way, I tested your transcendent merit and having to-day become free from sin I now depart. All hail to you." 145

While the king vowed to rebuild the Vihāras, the Kṛtyādevī, with eyes glistening with exceeding joy, vanished from sight. 146

Then the king built a Vihāra named Kṛtyāśrama and on that very spot founded an image of Kṛtyādevī who had been redeemed from darkness. 147

Having founded a temple of stone in Nandikṣetra for Bhūteśa, that king offered with his treasures due worship consisting of precious stones. 148

In the sanctuary of Cīramocana that pious king, by practising penance for many a night, sitting in the Brahma posture with his body moveless

140. This is an illustration of the persecution of the Buddhists. Destruction of Buddhist Vihāras and the dispersal of the Bhikṣus are mentioned again in the poem elsewhere. See verses 180-181 below. The conversion of Buddhist shrines into Hindu temples and replacing of the images of Buddha by statues of Śiva, though not very common, occurred at different times and places in India. The district of Basti (United Provinces) which is in the neighbourhood of the ancient Kalpilāvastu is full of such glaring examples.

141. Mahāśākya=is the Buddhist term Mahesākhyo. The Buddhist Jātakas relate the story of the election of the first king called the Mahāsammata, the Great Elect. The Mahāvastu Avadāna, which was edited by the eminent savant and Orientalist, the late M. Senart, contains the details of the election of the king who, upon being hailed by all as the lord, was called Sarva Mahesākhyo.

in meditation, after a long time made blunt his anxious desire for touching Nandīśa on account of the Kanaka-Vāhinī river. 149-150

Through rising ecstasy he presented to Jyeṣṭharudra a hundred of the ladies of the royal household who had got up to dance at the hour of dancing and singing. 151

After enjoying sovereignty he eventually entered Cīramocana together with his wife and attained communion with the lord of Pārvatī. 152

Dāmodara II

Then Dāmodara, who was either descended from the House of Aśoka or was born in some other dynasty, protected the land as king. 153

Highly resplendent with material resources was this king, who was the crest jewel of Śiva worshippers, and one hears of his spiritual power even to this day as a marvel of the world. 154

With this happy recipient of Śiva's favours who loved a life of good conduct, the Lord of Wealth himself had formed a bond of friendship. 155

Like Kubera this formost among kings held under his own sway the Guhyakas; by ordering them he built the extensive dam at Gudda. 156

On the Dāmodara Sūda he had himself constructed a town; with this dam he had planned to divert the water into it. 157

When a lofty-minded man is about to do some remarkably beneficent act, alas! impediments arise owing to the meagreness of the past merits of men. 158

For he had tried with the help of the Yakṣas to build in his kingdom extensive dykes of stone to mitigate the havoc of inundations. 159

151. Dancing women attached to the temples seem to have existed from ancient times in Kaśmīr. Vide IV. 269-270. Dancing apparently was common in respectable families (IV. 36) and princes were connoisseurs of the gentle art (IV. 423). In K's own time, the dancing women of the temples appear to have been keenly interested in politics. Vide VIII. 706-710. There are some instances of dancing girls of the temples who became consorts of kings; vide VII verse 1460. The courtesan in Kaśmīr apparently played a part in the social economy similar to that of the Haetera in old Greece. See V. 296 and *Alberuni* Vol.II 157.

155. Kubera = the god of wealth who figures prominently in Buddhist sculpture. His city, the magnificent Alakā, is described in Kālidāsa's famous poem *Meghadūta* (the Cloud-Messenger.) Kubera is the chief of the Yakṣas who are semi-divine beings. In sculpture and painting Kubera and the Yakṣas are represented as doing homage to the Buddha.

159. To mitigate the havoc of inundations the semi-divine Yakṣas were called to help. K. is referring here to the tradi-

The spiritual power of the austerities of Brahmans of radiant enlightenment is unfathomable, since it could reverse the fortune of even such as he was. 160

The prosperity of kings when destroyed by the forces of kinsmen and other rivals one has seen restored once more; it has no chance of being re-established if lost through disregard of the Brahmans. 161

When he had risen to bathe to perform the Śrāddha ceremony, the king was requested by some hungry Brahmans, on one occasion, before he had taken his bath, to give them food. 162

Desirous of proceeding to the Vitastā when he ignored this, they, by their spiritual power, then placed that river in front of him—"Behold! here is the Vitastā; now feed us." Even though addressed in this wise, he perceived that the production of the river was a delusion. 163-164

"I shall not offer food without bathing, O Brahmans! move on now for the time being", when they had been thus addressed by him, they cursed him as follows: "May you become a snake." 165

"Your sin will be atoned by listening in one single day to the whole of the *Rāmayaṇa*"—thus they declared after they had been placated. 166

In Dāmodara Sūda, wandering far through thirst, by the vapour of his breath, which is hot in consequence of the curse, he is recognised by the people even to this day. 167

Huṣka Juṣka Kaṇiska

Then there ruled in this very land the founders of cities called after their own appellations, the three kings named Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaṇiska. 168

tion in Kaśmīr regarding the building of the ancient stone dykes. In modern Kaśmīr the stone temples described by Kalhaṇa which survive as ruins, are referred to by the villagers as the work of the Djins and Peris!

168. Kaniṣka, the Indo-Scythian emperor, believed to be a contemporary of the Antonines, had his summer capital at Kapiśā, north of Kabul. His dominions included Kaśmīr where he was the patron of the school of Integral Realists (Sarvāstivāda). With the collaboration of two celebrated philosophers, Pārśva and Vasumitra, he convened a synod of five hundred learned doctors who codified the Buddhist canon according to the Sarvāstivāda.

For an account of the Śakas (Scythians). see '*The Scythian Period of Indian History*', by R. D. Banerji (*Ind. Anti.* 1908 pp) 25-75) and Sten Konow's *Kharosthi Inscriptions* (*Corpus Inscript. Ind.* Vol. II.), *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1929.

Three interesting gold coins of the Kushans similar to Kushan coins of Kaśmīr have been recently discovered in the Rajashahi Division, Bengal. For illustrations see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. 28. p. 130 (1932).

At the site indicated by M. Foucher at Peshawar was discovered by the Archaeological Department the now celebrated relic casket bearing an image and inscription of Kaniṣka whose superintending engineer had the Greek name of

The founder of a Vihāra was this Juṣka as well as of Juṣkapura; the pure-minded one was also the founder of Jayasvāmipura. 169

These kings, albeit belonging to the Turkish race, found refuge in acts of piety; they constructed in Śuṣkaletra and other places monasteries, Caityas and similar edifices. 170

During the glorious period of their regime, the kingdom of Kaśmīr was, for the most part, an appanage of the Buddhists who had acquired lusture by renunciation. 171

At this time, since the Nirvāṇa of the blessed Śākya Siṁha in this terrestrial world, one hundred fifty years, it is said, had elapsed. 172

And a Bodhisattva was in this country the sole supreme ruler of the land; he was the illustrious Nāgārjuna who dwelt in Ṣaḍarhadvana. 173

Agesilaos. M. Foucher succeeded in identifying the site of the great relic tower of Kaniṣka which was described in detail by Song-Yun and referred to by Fa-hien and Hsüan-Tsang and which Alberuni called the Kanik-caitya.

170. Caitya=Buddhist chapel. It is a crypt which often contains a small Stūpa known as a dagaba forming a king of altar. K. rightly calls the Kushan kings Turuṣka or Turks. These Turks were known to the Chinese as Yue-chi.

Kaniṣka is said to have been the patron of the celebrated Aśvaghoṣa whose recently discovered *Buddhacarita* was translated into Chinese in 420 A.D. According to one account Kaniṣka acquired Aśvaghoṣa as part of war indemnity and loaded him with honours and provided him with a residence in Kaśmīr to carry on his literary work. According to Mr. Watters, Aśvaghoṣa was "a poet, musician, scholar, religious controversialist, and zealous Buddhist monk, orthodox in creed, and a strict observer of discipline."

173. Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist philosopher who lived in the 1st century A.D., was a native of Berar in the Central Provinces. The Mahāyānist Buddhism was divided into two subtle schools of philosophy; the idealist and metaphysical schools (Vijñānavāda and Yogācāra) which depended on the two great metaphysicians, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu; the other was the radical school of Nāgārjuna, the author of the Mādhyamika, the Middle Way, which ended in Buddhist Kantianism. The powerful critical philosophy of Nāgārjuna has been revived by Japanese commentators of the present day. The subtle dialectics of his critical philosophy destroyed, as K. relates in verse 178 below, the primitive beliefs and ideas of the people of Kaśmīr.

The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang visited Kaśmīr and remained there from May, 631 to April, 633 A.D. His biographer tells us that the pilgrim found in Kaśmīr a master aged 70 after his own heart, a learned Mahāyānist doctor, with whom he studied the works of Nāgārjuna. "This master, of outstanding virtue, observed the rule of discipline with a rigorous purism. He was gifted with a profound intellect and his vast learning embraced every branch of knowledge. His talents and his enlightenment partook of the divine, and his benevolent heart was full of affection for the sages and of respect for the lettered. Hsüan-Tsang questioned him without reserve and gave himself up, night and day, to study with him, with untiring zeal."

The fame of this founder of the Mādhyamika school must have spread far and wide after his death. In the Guntur district at Nāgārjunikonda, a place named after Nāgārjuna, the relics of the Buddha were discovered

Then he who was free from thorns, the donor of the Agrahāra of Kaṇṭakotsa, the fearless Abhimanyu became king; he was like another Indra. 174 Abhimanyu I

Having founded the city, called after his own name Abhimanyupura, which contained inestimable treasure, that eminent man endowed it with a temple of Śiva as its crowning beauty. 175

Candrācārya and others on his instructions spread in the land the knowledge of the *Mahābhāṣya* which was rare at that time, also of the grammar composed by them. 176

During this era the power of the Buddhists whom the wise Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna had protected predominated in the land. 177

These disputants, who were opponents of the Vedas, having defeated all the learned men in open debate, had cut at the root of the religious rites prescribed in the *Nīlapurāṇa*. 178

in a Stūpa. The excavations were commenced in 1926 on this site by the Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, and completed in 1931. They have brought to light Buddhist monasteries, temples, a large Stūpa, several smaller ones, bas-reliefs similar in material and style to the celebrated reliefs of the Amarāvatī Stūpa and a large number of Prākṛta inscriptions in the Brāhmī script of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. A lengthy inscription engraved on the floor of the apsidal shrine (now marked No. 2) records a list of the foundations dedicated at Nāgārjunikonda and its neighbourhood erected for the benefit of the Order of Ceylonese monks who were sent out as missionaries to distant lands which included Kaśmīr, Gāndhāra and China. The relics of the Blessed One were discovered in a round gold box. They were presented in 1933 by the Director-General of Archaeology to the Mahabodhi Society whose central institution since November 1931 is the Mūlagandha-Kuṭi-Vihāra at Sāranāth.

A statue of Nāgārjuna was discovered in the excavations at Nālanda in 1919-1920. Among the tapestries and paintings recently brought by the Bhikkhu Rāhula from Tibet and now lodged in the museum at Patna is a splendid painting of Nāgārjuna.

Ṣaḍarhadvana is the modern Harwan on the slope of the hill above the Shalimar garden. The site of Nāgārjuna's probable residence was excavated in 1925. For a detailed account and illustrations of the interesting finds of terra-cotta tiles and representations of Turuṣka features see Pandit R.C. Kak's *Ancient monuments of Kashmir* (1933).

It is interesting to note that the powerful critical philosophy of Nāgārjuna is being revived by Japanese commentators of the present day.

174. Niṣkaṇṭaka is literally "free from thorns." The term is repeatedly used in this poem. The thorns in the side of the king are the kinsmen (the Dāyāda), the cadets of the ruling House as well as other aspirants to the throne and men of ambition generally.

176. *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. He is said to have lived in the 2nd century B.C. His great work is a commentary on Pāṇini. See Taraṅga IV. 488 for a similar attempt under king Jayāpīḍa.

In the time of king Zain-al-abdin, who was himself a student of Saṁskṛta and a patron of learning, Rāmānanda wrote an exposition of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Yuddhabhaṭṭa, who had gone to Mahārāṣtra to study the *Atharva Veda*, was induced by the king's government through Sīryabhaṭṭa, the Chief Justice,

The country having drifted into confusion about the customary observances the Nāgas, whose sacrificial offerings had been cut off, caused loss of human life by heavy falls of snow. 179

As heavy snow-falls occurred for the harassment of the Buddhists year after year, the king, during winter, resided for six months in Dārvābhisāra and other places. 180

During this period, owing to some indescribable spiritual power, the Brahmans, who made votive offerings and sacrifices, were not destroyed while the Buddhists perished. 181

Devoting himself to Nīla, patron of the country and ruler of the Nāgas, a Brahman named Candradeva of the Kaśyapa Gotra then began to practise austerities. 182

Making himself visible to him Nīla averted the havoc of snow and promulgated once more the observances of rites according to his own Purāṇa. 183

Candradeva I had put an end to the upheaval of the Yakṣas in this country and Candradeva II to the intolerable pest of the Bhikṣus. 184

Gonanda III

King Gonanda III meanwhile attained sovereignty. He restored the performance of pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worship of the Nāgas, such as was customary in the past. 185

When the king had once more promulgated the observances which had their origin in Nīla, the peril from the Bhikṣus and the snow-falls abated everywhere. 186

From time to time, owing to the past good actions of the subjects, kings appear who organise a kingdom which is sunk deep in disorder. 187

to return to Kaśmīr in order to spread the knowledge of that Veda. Five hundred years later, when the late Mr. S.P. Pandit brought out his famous edition of the *Atharva Veda*, owing to the lack of manuscripts in the Dekhan he relied on the Kaśmīrī MSS!

180-181. This is perhaps a poetical description of the persecution of the Buddhists in Kaśmīr during this era.

183. M. Foucher finds that the "popular customs and beliefs still survive in the Valley under the official veneer of Brahmanism or Islam." And he suggests that an account of them should be published for the benefit of visitors—"what familiar echoes would arise in their memories at tales of the Nāgas who dwell at the bottom of springs and lakes in wonderful palaces; of the Pishachas, those wicked little demons who have so long made the Valley uninhabitable for men in the winter; and of the Yoginis who, on summer nights, like the Moenads of old, are heard hooting on the mountain tops!"

187. In Spengler's recent book, *Man and Technics*, there is an echo of the ancient Indian view of Karma. He observes: "It is not within our power to choose whether we would like to be the sons of an Egyptian peasant of 3000 B.C., of a Persian king, or of a present-day tramp. This destiny is some-

Those, who are intent on a policy of harassment of their subjects, perish with their families; on the other hand, fortune waits on even the lineal descendants of those who reinstate order where there is chaos. 188

Thus, having observed this feature of each tale, the good and evil fortune of future protectors of the land should be gauged in this country by the prescient. 189

He having restored order his virtuous descendants Pravarasena and others, who carried out pious works, enjoyed this land for a long time. 190

He was the first of the House of Gonanda as Raghu was of the House of the Raghus; the king ruled over the land of Kaśyapa for thirty-five years. 191

For sixty years less six years and six months the son of Gonanda, named Vibhīṣaṇa, protected the land. 192 Vibhīṣaṇa I

Indrajit and Rāvaṇa, who were father and son, became kings in succession; they ruled respectively for thirty-five years six months and thirty years. 193 Indrajit Rāvaṇa

The Śiva Liṅga known as Vaṭeśvara worshipped by Rāvaṇa is beautifully radiant to this day and its luminous dots and lines foretell events to come. 194

To Vaṭeśvara, installed within a quadrangular Maṭha, was dedicated the entire kingdom of Kaśmīr by that king. 195

For thirty-five years and six months the powerful armed son of king Rāvaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa II, enjoyed the land. 196 Vibhīṣaṇa II

Thereafter he, whose other name was Kinnara and whose exploits were sung by the Kinnaras, the son of Vibhīṣaṇa, became the ruling chief of men. 197 Nara

Although he had borne a good character, this king, through the reversal of the good fortune of the subjects, became the origin of a series of great misfortunes owing to the vice of sensuality. 198

thing to which we have to adapt ourselves. It dooms us to certain situations, views and actions. There are no men-in-themselves such as the philosophers talk about, but only men of time, of a locality, of a race, of a personal cast who contend in battle with a grim world and win through or fail while the universe around them moves slowly on with a god-like unconcern. This battle is life—life indeed in the Nietzschean sense, a grim pitiless no quarter battle of the Will-to-Power."

188-189. K. has made a shrewd reference to the fate that overtakes the king who persecutes the people.

191. The land of Kaśyapa is Kaśmīr. See note 25 above.

Living in a Vihāra situated in Kinnaragrāma, a certain Buddhist monk had, by force of Yoga, carried away his sweetheart. 199

Enraged by this, he caused thousands of Vihāras to be burnt down and had their villages occupied by Brahmans residing in Madhyama Maṭha. 200

A city, where the shops were richly fed by the high streets, where the canals were gay with gondolas, where the gardens were colourful with fruits and flowers, which was a synonym for paradise and which, on account of the treasure acquired in victorious expeditions up to the horizon, had triumphed over the capital of the Lord of Wealth, was founded by that king on the strand of the Vitastā. 201-202

There in a certain park of the city, tradition relates, was a pool of limpid and sweet water which was the residence of the Nāga named Suśravas. 203

Once upon a time a Brahman named Viśākha, wearied by a long trek, approached, at midday, desirous of shade, the edge of that sheet of water. 204

Under a shady tree, when his weariness was becalmed by the sylvan breezes by slow degrees, the Brahman, after ablution, prepared to eat his porridge. 205

Just as he was about to take it in his hand, he heard the tinkling sound of anklets to which the swans sporting on the fringe of the pool had already hearkened. 206

Emerging from a bower of creepers in front of him, he then saw two maidens with lovely eyes wearing blue shawls. 207

200. This is another illustration of the destruction of Vihāras and the confiscation of their property.

201. Verses 201 to 279 narrate the legend of Candralekhā—the Lady of the Crescent Moon. K. picks this out of the many stories relating to the Nāgas from the ancient folk-lore of Kaśmīr. The Nāgas, the semi-divine beings, are, according to legend, the original inhabitants of Kaśmīr. Their dwelling places are the lakes, springs, and pools of water. In the heavens they appear in the form of clouds and rain torrents of water and cause hail storms. The word Nāga survives to this day in Kaśmīr in the various place names and is commonly used for a spring in the form of a doublet—Caśmā-Nāga—half Persian and half Saṁskṛta.

205. Saktu=porridge. The word is in common use in northern India to the present day as 'Sattu'—the food of the poorer classes.

207. From the Saṁskṛta Cola or Nicola is derived the word shawl. The shawls of Kaśmīr have been celebrated from ancient times. They were made famous in Europe by the patronage of Napoleon Bonaparte when he crowned himself emperor. In Paris they were then known as "Chale de Cachmire."

To the ear-ornaments of rubies their alluring, bright and elongated eyes with the thin line of collyrium bore the semblance of the stem of the red lotus. 208

The corners of their captivating eyes, unsteady like the edges of a gleaming white banner in the gentle movement of the zephyr, heightened the beauty of their shoulders. 209

Watching these two moon-faced maidens as they were slowly approaching, he ceased from commencing to eat and, time and again, through bashfulness, he was confused. 210

He beheld the lotus-eyed maidens eating the pods of Kacchaguccha, in front of him, when to a certain extent he could again move his eyes. 211

"Heigh-ho! is this the food for such lovely persons"—thought the Brahman to himself and, melting with compassion, he politely invited them and fed them with porridge. 212

And he fetched, contained in cups made from leaves for a drink for them, the clean and cool water of the pool. 213

When after ablution the two had become clean and consented to take their seats, he, while fanning them with a palm leaf, addressed them. 214

"Your humble servant, having obtained through some good acts of a former life the sight of you, is tempted through curiosity, which is commonly found in a Brahman, to enquire." 215

"What noble family have the fortunate ladies graced by their birth and where did they get so weary that such tasteless food had to be eaten?" 216

One of the ladies replied to him, "Know that we are the daughters of Suśravas; where dainty food is not available why should such food not be eaten?" 217

"I am Irāvatī; father has arranged to give me in marriage to the lord of the Vidyādharas. This is my younger sister Chandralekhā." 218

208. K. no doubt was an admirer of the feminine figure. Like Kālidāsa he loved the beauty of the shoulders. See below verse 209. Tapering fingers are referred to in verse 253 below.

211. Kacchaguccha, commonly called Kachdan in Kaśmīrī, is a kind of grass which grows wild on the meadows.

214. The palm leaf which is popular to this day as a fan seems to have travelled early from the South to Kaśmīr.

216. The form of the question recalls the first Act of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* where the maidens in Kaṇva's hermitage make polite enquiries of king Duṣyanta.

Thereupon the Brahman said, "Why then is there such indigence in your case?" They both replied, "Father knows the reason of this; you may ask him." 219

"Here on the twelfth of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha he will come for the pilgrimage of Takṣaka; you will no doubt recognise him by his plaited locks which stream with water." 220

"You will also see us both at that time standing by the side of him"; so saying the two Nāga maidens, in a moment, vanished from view. 221

In due course at that place commenced the great festival of the pilgrimage, teeming with dancers and strolling players and a concourse of sight-seers. 222

The Brahman, too, drawn by curiosity while strolling near the theatres, soon came up with the Nāga whom he recognised by the sign indicated by the maidens. 223

To the Brahman, who was first presented by the maidens who were standing by, the leader of the Nāgas offered his greetings. 224

Thereafter in the course of conversation, when asked at some stage about the cause of his adversity, the Nāga, heaving a sigh, said to the Brahman. 225

"For those who are proud, O Brahman! and can discriminate between what is meet and unmeet it is right that they should not give publicity to sufferings which, of necessity, have to be endured." 226

"On hearing of the woes of others a good natured man, when unable to oblige, is pained at heart." 227

"He makes much of his own way of life, with his words of sympathy he conveys sadness to the heart, he openly cavils at one's capacity, while he, meagre of intellect, eulogizes his ownself; he recommends a recourse to questionable methods and describes the misfortune as a permanent one; a common person on hearing of adversity aggravates the painful agony." 228

"Thus it is that so long as there is life, the discriminate digest their joys and sorrows in their own minds until eventually they are consumed by the funeral fire." 229

"Who could from their exterior notice the misfortune of those, who by nature are profound, were it not revealed by their callow children or the servants!" 230

220. The Takṣaka Nāga is worshipped to this day. The sacred spring is at Zevan (Sk. Jayavana) about five miles from Śrīnagar. He is the patron saint of the fields of saffron which grow in this neighbourhood.

"Thus, since this matter has already been disclosed owing to the tender age of these two girls, O kind friend! to conceal it from you will surely not be proper on my part." 231

"You, however, who are straightforward by nature, O fortunate one! may make an effort to a certain extent to help our cause if possible." 232

"Yonder ascetic with the shaven head and one tuft of hair, whom you see under the tree practising austerities, by that keeper of the crops we have been put to our shifts." 233

"So long as the spell-mongers have not eaten of the new grain the Nāgas cannot eat. This fellow does not eat it and because of that regulation we are perishing." 234

"While he guards the fields we are nowise able to enjoy the bumper crop, though we see it like the departed spirits the waters of the rivers." 235

"Please act so that this Naiṣṭhika may fall from his vow; on our part we, too, know how adequately to requite those who oblige us." 236

That Brahman, having said 'amen' to the Nāga, became keen to endeavour and began day and night to think of some way to overreach the guardian of the crops. 237

Secretly, while the ascetic was seated inside a hut which was away in the fields, he then placed new grain within the vessel in which food was being cooked. 238

No sooner had he commenced to eat it than the lord of the Nāgas, having poured hail and torrents of rain, carried away in a trice the rich and glorious harvest. 239

The Nāga who had passed out of destitution led, the following day, into his own region the Brahman who had obliged him and who had approached the pool. 240

He was treated there hospitably by the two maidens by command of their father and was regaled with luxuries, day after day, which are available to the immortals. 241

In time having taken leave of everyone, he was ready to go to his

235. Departed spirits, witches and ghosts are denied the use of water. Water also forms the boundary which they cannot cross according to ancient belief both Eastern and Western. (Compare the *Ballad of Tam O' Shanter*).

236. Naiṣṭhika is derived from Niṣṭhā meaning determination; hence any one determined to carry out his vow. Generally such a vow has reference to 'unbroken celibacy'.

own land, when the Nāga having promised to grant a boon, he prayed for the hand of Candralekhā. 242

Albeit he was unworthy for the alliance the Nāga, yielding to the dictates of gratitude, honoured him with the gift of the maiden and with wealth. 243

In this manner having acquired wealth by favour of the Nāga Chief, the Brahman whiled away a long time in the city of Narapura in all manner of daily entertainments. 244

Although she was the daughter of the lord of the Nāgas, the lady of superfine comeliness treated this husband as the deity and by her noble character, good behaviour, and like qualities made him happy. 245

While she was, on one occasion, standing on the terrace of her residence a stray horse began to feed on corn left outside to dry in the sun in the courtyard. 246

To drive the horse away the servants were called, but no one happening to be at the time in the house she, whose anklets tinkled sweetly, then descended in person. 247

With one hand she held the edge of the vesture of the head which in her hurry had slipped; she ran and with her hand like a lotus flower, she then slapped him. 248

He left the food and moved on; but thereafter there appeared, by the touch of the Nāga lady, on the body of the horse the golden imprint of her palm. 249

About this time king Nara, having heard from his spies of the Brahman's wife with the lovely eyes, had already experienced the sprouting of love. 250

When the maddened elephant of his heart was about to bolt, to restrain him by force there existed no fear of a scandal for a hook. 251

In the insurgence of the rising flames of the king's passion the story of the horse, on the other hand, bore the similitude of the violent gale. 252

He was made to transgress the bounds of discretion by the golden imprint of the palm with the beautiful tapering fingers. 253

245. The attitude virtuous of married women towards the husband was expected to be one of adoration as if he were the deity.

248. Śirṣāṁśuka = literally vesture on head; it is now called in Kaśmīrī the 'taraṅgā.' The terra-cotta tiles excavated in the Vihāra at Hārvan show the head dress of the period of 3rd century A.D.

Freeing himself from the fetters of decorum, he now began to harass the lovely lady by endeavouring to seduce her through emissaries who related his inmost longing. 254

When all his methods failed to win her, in his infatuation he begged for her from her husband, the Brahman. In those who are blind with lust how can there be shame! 255

Then getting repeated rebuffs from him also, the soldiers were ordered by the king to carry her away by force. 256

While they were raiding the house in front, the Brahman escaped by another passage and seeking asylum he, accompanied by his wife, entered the residence of the Nāga. 257

When the couple approached him and the facts were reported to him the lord of the Nāgas, blind with rage, sallied forth from the pool. 258

Having caused a blinding darkness originating from the fearful clouds which thundered, he burnt down the king together with the city by a terrific shower of boulders. 259

Carrying the marrow, blood and fat oozing from the bodies of the burnt human beings, the Vitastā bore the semblance of the printed plumage of the peacock. 260

Thousands of human beings, who had entered through terror the shrine of Cakradhara for refuge, were consumed in a trice. 261

The fat of Madhu and Kaiṭabha had formerly reached only up to the thighs of Cakradhara, but by that of the burnt up human beings on this occasion all his limbs were sprayed. 262

The sister of Suśravas, the Nāga lady from a cave of the Ramaṇyā mountain, then came to his assistance bringing with her heaps of boulders. 263

At the distance of little more than one Yojana when she heard that her brother had achieved his end, she dropped a shower of boulders on the villages. 264

261. See also VIII. 990 sq.

262. Cakradhara=holder of the Cakra (disc) is a name of Viṣṇu. Madhu and Kaiṭabha were two demons whom Viṣṇu, according to legend, killed on his thighs.

264. Yojana is a measure of distance. It equals four Krośa (Hindi Kos) or about eight miles. Alberuni says, "the reader must learn that they (Hindus) have a measure of distances called Yojana which is equal to 8 miles or 32,000 yards. In the terms of this measure Alfazārī has determined the circumference of the earth in his astronomical handbook. He calls it jun, in the plural "ajwān." (Vol.I p.167).

Five Yojanas of rural land was thus laid waste and known as Ramaṇyāṭavī; it is even to this day full of heavy boulders and holes. 265

After doing this hideous slaughter of humanity, next morning the Nāga was full of remorse and being depressed by the denunciation of the people, he abandoned that locality and departed. 266

Gleaming like the ocean of milk a lake was constructed by him on a distant mountain, which on their way to the pilgrimage of Amaranātha, is visited by the people to this very day. 267

Through the favour of his father-in-law the Brahman had attained the status of a Nāga; one other called the 'lake of the son-in-law' in the locality has also become celebrated. 268

Under the guise of protecting the subjects such types of destroyers arise, of a sudden, now and then who unhesitatingly cause devastation. 269

To this very day, on seeing the debris of that city and the lake which survives as a dry depression near Cakradhara, this legend is recalled by the people. 270

Passionate lust may be merely a trifling fault in kings in the opinion of persons of narrow vision, nevertheless what befell this one, as a consequence of it, has not been the lot of anyone anywhere. 271

In the case of the virtuous woman, the gods or a Brahman—as the result of the anger of anyone of them—one has heard in diverse legends of an upheaval even of the three worlds. 272

After forty years less three months when the king had enjoyed the earth, he perished through his lecherous conduct. 273

And for a short spell of time, having been visible with its palaces and encircling ramparts, the erstwhile Kinnarapura attained similitude with the city of the Gandharvas. 274

The only son of his who, owing to the inscrutable course of Karma,

267. Amaranātha—This is the famous cave of Amaranātha which is a place of pilgrimage to the present day.

268. On the route of the pilgrimage to Amaranātha on the mountain top there is a lake which, according to legend, is the lake of Suśravas—it is also now called Śeṣanāg. The colour of the water is white. There is also another lake popularly called Zamatur Nāg—the Jāmātṛ Saras of Kalhaṇa—which means the 'lake of the son-in-law'. Śiva in the cave at Amaranātha is in the form of congealed ice. The pilgrimage referred to by Kalhaṇa is still very popular and attracts the devout from distant parts of India.

274. The city of the Gandharvas is an expression for the mirage. There is a pun on the word Kinnarapura which means the city of the Kinnaras. Kinnara literally 'part human' is a name of the Gandharva. The Kinnara had a human body with the face of the horse, the reverse of a Centaur.

had been taken away by his wet-nurse to Vijayakṣetra had not been deprived of life. 275

Then this king named Siddha put new life in the remnant of the population as the cloud revivifies the mountain, scorched by a forest conflagration. 276 Siddha

And this exceedingly amazing occurrence of his father's time served this very shrewd king for a counsel of prudence and for enlightenment regarding the futility of cosmic existence. 277

The contact with pleasures, though he was in the midst of them, could not lead him into vice and he remained unblemished like the reflection of the moon by the mire. 278

Among kings who are hot with the fever of vanity he, meditating constantly on him whose crest is the crescent-moon, was the only one who manifested good health. 279

Reckoning it as so much straw, jewellery was rejected by that virtuous king, who found the perfect adornment in devotion to him whose decoration is the crescent-moon. 280

In the case of this king alone did royal splendour follow the trail to the next world, since he had been shrewd enough to harness it through unfaltering moral principle. 281

For sixty years he, having ruled over the land, ascended with his body, followed by his immediate retainer, to the world of him whose crest-jewel is the moon. 282

The servants who had taken shelter under Nara had met with a sad fate; those, however, who had attached themselves to his royal son as the master, came to be venerated by the world. 283

The dependent indeed goes the way adopted by the one on whom he has to depend, whether it is denounced by the world or adored by all the people. A grass string sinks downward as part of a machine on the well, when strung with flowers it attains elevation to the heads of the gods. 284

"Here is Siddha in his body—a demi-god"—such was the word the gods in heaven proclaimed by beat of drum for seven days. 285

Utpalākṣa, the lotus-eyed, such was the fame his son attained

278. The reflection of the moon in a pool of water is not sullied by the mud.

284. Yantra = apparatus or machine. The reference is to the Araghaṭṭa or the well with the wheel and pots to raise water now commonly known as the Persian wheel. The wheel is repeatedly referred to in ancient Saṁskṛta literature and its name as the—Persian wheel is a modern misnomer.

Utpalākṣa

through the softness of his eyes; for thirty years and six months he ruled over the land. 286

Hiraṇyākṣa

His son Hiraṇyākṣa founded a city bearing his own name. He enjoyed the land for thirty-seven years and seven months. 287

Hiraṇyakula

Vasukula

Hiraṇyakula, his son, founder of Hiraṇyotsa, and Vasukula, the son of the latter, were rulers for sixty years each. 288

Mihirakula

Then, when the land was overrun by the Mleccha hordes, his son Mihirakula of violent deeds, who was comparable to the god of destruction, became king. 289

To the South belongs the god of Death; the northern direction, eager through rivalry to vanquish it, found an excuse and in him brought forth another god of death. 290

His approach became known by the sight of vultures, crows and the like, eager to feed on those being massacred by his encircling army, to the population fleeing before him. 291

Day and night surrounded by thousands of slaughtered human beings, this royal Vetāla lived even in his pleasure palaces. 292

Pity for children, clemency towards women, or respect for the aged, this enemy of humanity of terrible appearance had none while he massacred. 293

He, on one occasion, having noticed that the queen was wearing a blouse of stuff made in Ceylon, which had foot-marks on the breasts worked in gold, was inflamed with rage. 294

289. The Mleccha hordes referred to here are the Ephthalite Huns who founded an empire on the Oxus, destroyed the Graeco-Buddhist civilization in Afghanistan and extended their conquests in Northern India where their head quarters were at Sakala (Sialkot).

Mihirakula, the king of the Ephthalite or White Huns, was the Indian Attila. The Huns carried out a terrible persecution of Buddhism, destroying Stūpas and Vihāras, and massacring the monks. Hsüan-Tsang tells us that "Mo-hsi-lo-chulo" (Mihirakula) "was remarkable for his tempestuous nature and his invincible courage. Among the neighbouring kings there was not one who did not obey him trembling". The Huns were defeated, according to one account, by the last Gupta Emperor Bālāditya and according to another tradition, by king Yaśovarman of Mālava between 530 and 545 A.D. Mihirakula after his defeat is said to have conquered Kaśmīr and from there invaded the kingdom of Gandhāra, (E. Afghanistan) where he exterminated the ruling family, destroyed the Stūpas and Vihāras and plundered the country; with his loot and innumerable prisoners he returned to Kaśmīr and on the way massacred the captives on the banks of the Indus. The Huns were eventually driven out of India by the kings of Thāneśvara of the House of Harṣa. Although the Huns were hostile to Buddhism, they protected Śivaism and their kings built temples in honour of Śiva.

"In Ceylon cloth is manufactured bearing the mark of the king's foot",—thus he was told by the Chamberlain who had been questioned whereupon he gave orders to march. 295

Having obtained union with the stream of liquid rut from the temples of the elephants of his army, the southern ocean secured the delight of an embrace with the Yamunā. 296

Together with the king of Ceylon he, by an impetuous attack, rooted out his rage originating in the sight of footmarks on his beloved. 297

From a distance on sighting his various forces from the palaces of Laṅkā the Titans, apprehending a repetition of the activities of Rāma, trembled. 298

Having installed there another king he, with his fierce puissance, carried away cloth known as Yamuṣadeva, marked with the figure of the sun. 299

Turning back, he dispersed the rulers of Cola, Karṇāṭa and Lāṭa just as by his very smell the tusker in rut scatters the elephants. 300

After his departure, the cities with the shattered battlements which were their girdles, complained of the rape to the ruling princes who had returned. 301

When he reached the gate of Kaśmīr, on hearing the distressful trumpeting of a tusker who had fallen down a precipice, his hair stood on end with delight. 302

295. The Chamberlain or Kañcukin was an important palace official and master of ceremonies. He is an important figure in the Saṁskṛta drama in which is depicted the home life of the ruling princes of old India.

296. The waters of the Yamunā (Jamna) are dark; the waters of the Gaṅgā are white. In this verse the dark stream of liquid rut deludes the sea, the lord of all rivers, into the belief that it is the river Jamna.

299. Cola is the modern Tanjore

300. Karṇāṭa=modern Carnatic.
Lāṭa=land between the Dekhan and Gujerat watered by the Tāpi and the Narmadā rivers.

301. The city in Saṁskṛta is feminine; their broken ramparts, the girdles of chastity, suggest the insult to their honour. Napoleon during his march to Moscow is reported to have said at Smolensk, "a city occupied by the enemy is like a girl who has lost her honour" (Tolstoy's *War and Peace*).

It is interesting to note that the girdle (Tāgr) is still worn among Kaśmīrī Brahman women. For the picture of ear-ornament peculiar to married women among Kaśmīrī Brahmans see the illustration of sculpture discovered in Pandrethan (Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna), believed to be Aśoka's capital, which shows the mother of Buddha wearing the 'Dijahr.'

302. Bernier mentions a similar unfortunate accident to the elephants of Aurangzeb while ascending the Pir Pantsāl. (Sk. Pañcāladhāra).

In his excitement to hear this, the perverse-minded man, who was in raptures, had a hundred mighty elephants forcibly hurled down. 303

The various wicked acts of this king have not been narrated. The touch of the sinful is pollution for the limbs, so would it be for speech to describe them; hence his other inhumanities have not been mentioned. 304

Who can understand the acts of men of amazing activities and vulgar minds, since even he took to piety for the purpose of acquiring merit? 305

For in Srīnagarī the foul-minded man founded the temple of Mihireśvara and in Holaḍā a big city named Mihirapura. 306

The Brahmans of Gāndhāra accepted from him gifts of Agrahāras; they no doubt, too, were of similar character as his own and were the meanest Brahmans. 307

The advent of clouds with the gathering darkness gladdens the peacock whereas the wild goose is happy with the clear skies of autumn; for the attraction of the donor and the donee towards each other there has to be a very close similarity of tastes. 308

For seventy years having enjoyed the earth, this Bhairava on earth when his body was afflicted with several diseases entered the flames. 309

"Here is this slayer of three crores liberated who even towards himself had been pitiless"—thus had a voice, at the time when he relinquished the body, announced from the firmament. 310

Thus those who say this, in their view he alone is the liberal donor who had broken through cruelty by Agrahāras and such other works. 311

When overrun by the impious Dards, Bhauṭṭas and Mlecchas this country had lost religion, he had promulgated the observance of religious conduct by settling the people from the land of the Āryas; having determined on a terrible penance he had made the burning of his own body an act of atonement; for this very reason he had given one thousand Agrahāras in gift to the Brahmans born in the Gāndhāra country at Vijayeśvara; then eventually upon an iron platform studded with razors, swords and knives, red hot with fire,

307. Gāndhāra was the province of the Kabul valley which included the districts of Nagarahāra (Ningrahar), Lampāka (Lamghan), Kapiśā (Kabul and the northern region towards Kohistan) and the district of Gāndhāra proper or Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar).

he had boldly given up his own body—thus others state, on account of this unadulterated popular tradition, that the cruelty of that lion-like man is irreproachable. When upon the burning of the city by the wrath of the Nāga the Khaśas had become dominant, there occurred for their destruction the incidents narrated above—so say others. 312–317

While he was diverting the river Candrakulyā, a rock in midstream which was found impossible to remove, caused obstruction. Then to the king, who had practised penance, the gods spoke in a dream: "a mighty Yakṣa who is a Brahmacāri resides here in the rock; were a chaste woman to touch the rock the Yakṣa would not be able to obstruct." The following day he caused to be done what he was told in the dream. 318–320

After numerous ladies of high family had endeavoured in vain, on being eventually touched by a potter woman named Candrāvatī the mighty boulder moved. 321

For this sin the wrathful king had thereupon slaughtered, together with their husbands, brothers and sons, three crores of women of high families. 322

This legend is true according to some; nevertheless the slaughter of living beings on a large scale, even though for a cause, is a felony. 323

312. Daradas or Dāradas of Kalhaṇa are the Dards. They were an Aryan people known to the ancient Greek historians. They still inhabit the mountain regions from Chitral across the Indus extending to Gilgit and the Kiṣāṇgaṅgā valley in the north of Kaśmīr—Major Gompertz thus described them in 1928. "In some of the Dard village of the Indus Valley we find a curious state of affairs, in that the religion changes at each generation, the children of Buddhists becoming Mahomadan and those of Moslems becoming Buddhists. I fancy that neither religion is taken very seriously at all by Dards of these parts." (*Magic Ladakh*, p. 99).

Bhauṭṭa. People of Tibetan descent inhabiting Ladakh, Dras and the neighbouring districts. The Zoji-La Pass divides the territory of the Bhauṭṭas from Kaśmīr.

By Mlecchas K. possibly means here the enemies of the Epthalite Huns across the Indus.

317. The Khaśas repeatedly mentioned in this poem are the people who are now known as Khakha. They are a hill tribe inhabiting the region to the south and west of the Pir Pantsāl range. The Khakhas are now included in the subdivision of hill Rajput Mahomadans. The Hindu Khaśas inhabit various parts of the Himalayan Range. In the Kumaon Hills there is a numerous Khasha population trying to acquire a status as hundred per cent Rajputs. Kalhaṇa's work should prove of interest to those who desire to establish the status of the Khaśas. The Khaśa chiefs of Rājapurī intermarried freely— with the Kṣatriya rulers of Kaśmīr. Siṃharāja, the Khaśa chief of Lohara, had married the daughter of the Śāhi kings of Kabul (VI.175, 177). Siṃharāja's daughter was the famous queen Diddā who ruled Kaśmīr in her own right.

Thus although wicked that the king had not been assassinated by the people in an uprising, was because he was protected by the very gods who had urged him to do that act. 324

Baka

When owing to the dawn of the superior merit of the subjects' good actions the king at last perished, his son, Baka the righteous, was crowned king by the citizens. 325

Even in his case, owing to past experience, the people remained in a state of terror, as in a pleasure-house built on a cemetery, before the royal throne. 326

Born from the great oppressor he became the delight of the people like the pouring rain after a day of excessive heat, dark with the clouds. 327

People deemed that the Law had arrived as it were from some other world and that Order had returned from a perilous journey. 328

This king of inestimable glory having constructed Bakeśa in Bakaśvabhra and the Bakavatī canal, founded the city called Lavaṇotsa. 329

There sixty-three years and thirteen days were passed by that monarch while he ruled the earth. 330

Tradition says that a certain Yogeśvarī named Aṭṭā having assumed a lovely form, when Night had revealed her face, had approached the king. 331

She having made him forget himself with her delightful conversation invited him, while he was in a happy mood, to witness the glory of the festival of the sacrifice. 332

Accompanied by his sons, grandsons and hundreds of persons the king, at day-break, accordingly went to attend when the suzerain was reduced by her to the condition of the votive offering to the circle of the goddesses. 333

By this act she achieved supernatural power; the slab with the mark of her two knees indicative of her flight in the heavens may be seen even to this day. 334

325. The king is described in this verse as having been crowned by the citizens. Kingship in Kaśmīr was apparently elective. Later on in Taraṅga V there is a description of the conference of Brahmans assembled to elect a king when the choice falls on a learned Kaśmīrī Brahman, Yaśaskara, who is thereupon crowned king. See verses 469-477.

328. Dharma is Law and Abhaya (literally absence of peril) is Order.

329. Lavaṇotsa was apparently situated on the highway from Śrīnagara to the plains of India. The place is repeatedly mentioned: see VI. 46, 57 and VIII. 762, 1537, 1658.

331. The Yogeśvarī, like the Lorelei, lured men to destruction.

The god Śatakapāleśa, the circle of the Mothers, and that slab in the mountains of Kherī recall this legend to memory even to this day. 335

The goddess had spared Kṣitinanda, the bulbous root of the dynastic plant. This son ruled the land after him for thirty years. 336 *Kṣitinanda*

For fifty-two years and two months his son named Vasunanda then protected the land. He is famous as the author of a work on sexual science. 337 *Vasunanda*

Nara, his son, for sixty years and his son Akṣa, who founded the township of Akṣavāla, for a like number of years became rulers. 338 *Nara II. Akṣa*

Then Gopāditya, his son, who guarded the earth together with the islands, by superintendence over the order of the four castes made vivid the dawn of the golden age. 339 *Gopāditya*

It was he who had made the gift of the Agrahāras, principal among whom was Śamāṅgāsa, namely Khola, Khāgikā, Hāḍigrāma and Skandapura. 340

Having founded Jyeṣṭheśvara on the Gopa hill, the Brahmans born in the land of the Āryas were induced to accept the Gopa Agrahāras by that pious king. 341

To Bhūkṣīravāṭikā he expelled the Brahmans who ate garlic and interned at Khāsaṭā those who had abandoned their own way of life. 342

And, having invited from the holy lands other Brahmans who lived in sanctity, he established them in Vaścikā and other Agrahāras. 343

"Supreme guardian of this world"—such was the epithet he had

337. No work by Vasunanda has been found.

341. The Gopa hill, also Gopakār, is the hill now called Śaṅkarācārya near Śrīnagar. The old name survives in the village of Gupkār situate between the Dal and the foot of the hill. The ancient temple on the hill which survives to this day perhaps dates from this period, and formed part of the original temple of Jyeṣṭheśvara. The Mahomadan Kaśmīrīs call it the Takht-i-Sulaiman. The Mahomadan Iranis similarly call the throne of Solomon the grass grown plateau which is the site of the capital of Cyrus the Great, who died in 569 B.C. The tomb of that conqueror of Media, Babylonia, and Palestine is called by them 'the Mosque of Solomon's Mother' which childless women now visit to hang amulets on the portal. In Ferghana a celebrated Buddhist relic is now known as the Takht-i-Sulaiman.

Ārya deśa = land of the Āryas refers to the land of the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

342. The use of garlic, apart from books on medicine, has been condemned from early times among the high castes in India.

343. This is an illustration of immigration by royal invitation of Brahmans from other lands into Kaśmīr.

gained in panegyrics; save for sacrifice he would not suffer the slaughter of animals. 344

Having protected the land for sixty years and six days, to enjoy the ripe fruit of his good actions, he went to the world of the righteous. 345

Gokarṇa

Gokarṇa, his son, founder of the temple of Gokarṇeśvara, supported the land. He ruled for fifty-seven years and nine months. 346

Narendrāditya

His son was Narendrāditya alias Khiṅkhila; he was the founder of the temples of Bhūteśvara and of a hospice. 347

The recipient of divine favours his Guru named Ugra, whose figure was radiant with spiritual power, founded the temple of Ugreśa and a circle of the Mothers. 348

Having been the lord of the land for thirty-six years and hundred days, that pious man attained to the world of the blameless in virtue of his many meritorious deeds. 349

Yudhiṣṭhira I

His son of the name of Yudhiṣṭhira then became king who, on account of his small eyes, was called by the people—the blind Yudhiṣṭhira. 350

Ruling with caution over the kingdom to which he had succeeded by hereditary right, he followed for a short while the course of conduct of former kings. 351

Then, unluckily, after the lapse of some time, being intoxicated with the pride of prosperity he fell a prey to caprice; he did not favour those who were worthy to be favoured, did not treasure the intelligent, and failed to act kindly towards those who were experienced in serving him. 352-3

Being treated without any distinction on a level with his ill-educated milieu the wise, whose prestige was wounded, deserted the badly brought-up man. 354

Equal treatment of everybody is indeed a virtue of the Yogis, but it is the cause of infamy and a great fault in the case of the lord of the land. 355

His faults were turned into virtues and his virtues into faults by the sycophants who, by slow degrees, made him a lack-lustre comparable to one who has been subdued by women. 356

His speech which cut to the quick, his prolonged jesting, his perpetual talks with the satellites and his very amusements which were unworthy of royalty, gave cause for fear. 357

He pretended to admire merit in one's presence but criticized the

faults behind one's back; the king, whose regard was unstable, became the object of hatred of his dependents. 358

So, while the blundering king hardly paid any attention to it the stability of the regime fell into disorder. 359

When ignored by those who had been loyal to him, who had no self-control, the treacherous ministers, who worked for his destruction, now gained in power. 360

By encroaching on the master's authority and acting in an irresponsible manner, they made the ruling princes of adjoining territories covet the seizure of the realm. 361

Then livened up by them all of them living in different directions became, like hawks for flesh, impetuous to secure the kingdom. 362

Then fear rose in the king, who was unable to consolidate for himself a stable position, like the workman when the slab of stone has slipped from the apparatus. 363

For a long time the king's administration had been tottering and in a state of disorder and not a single remedy could be found to reinstate ordered government. 364

"As he has seen our faults, upon the restoration of order, he would undoubtedly kill us", thinking in this wise his own ministers did not accept his terms for a reconciliation. 365

Then, having formed a league, they surrounded with armed forces the royal palace drowning the shouts of men with the terrible rattle of the kettle-drums; they obstructed the light of the sun by the shadows

360. Monarchy in early India was elective (see Note VII. 703) and the last verses of the fifth canto describe in detail a conference which meets to elect a king. This perhaps was due to the survival of Buddhist influence in the Kaśmīr. In verse 141 above the Kaśmīrī king is described as a Mahāśākya which shows that the original character of kingship in Kaśmīr was elective. In ancient India the people were stronger in proportion to the weakness of the monarchy and numerous instances of depositions and expulsions are mentioned in the early Saṁskṛta works. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* relates the story of Duṣṭartu Pauṁsāyana, king of the Sṛñjayas, who was deposed by his people; his dynasty had ruled the kingdom for ten generations (XII. 9, 3, 1 sqq). The *Pañcaviṁśa-Brāhmaṇa* mentions two instances of kings who were expelled from the realm viz., Dīrghaśravas (XV. 3, 25) and Sindhukṣit (XII, 12, 6). The Viṣṇu Purāṇa relates the story of king Veṇa who was deposed and killed in comparatively recent times (1, 13).

363. The reference here is to the method of lifting water which is commonly practised to this day in Kaśmīr and other parts of India. The peasant uses a long pole at the top end of which is tied a bucket and at the lower end a heavy stone; he fills the bucket with water balancing it with the foot to draw water from a pool, a channel or a well. The slipping of the stone would upset the balance.

of their standards borne by an array of intoxicated elephants which darkened, even by day, the terraces of the palace. 366

Then permitted by them to leave his own country, after the fight had been called off and time allowed to him, the king emerged for this purpose from the heart of the city of Śrīnagara on the high road on which were scattered, in lieu of parched grain, drops of tears of the distressed citizens at the sight of the exodus of the royal ladies who were covered with the dust from the hoofs of the horses. 367

The king having been deposed from the throne his retainers, ladies, treasure and the like were carried off by his enemies while he was fleeing, just as the creepers and fruits from a tree fallen from a high mountain are forcibly borne away by mighty boulders. 368

Proceeding along lovely mountain paths the king, yielding to fatigue, rested under trees; sitting for a while and then moving on he forgot his great sufferings; anon awakened by shouts of the vulgar which reached his ears from afar, he was seen dejected, his mind sinking in an abyss like the waters of a cataract. 369

After crossing forests heavily perfumed with the scent of many varieties of creepers and herbs and the mountain streams with boulders, which were tossed by the surging waters and which were slippery with moss, his queen, whose slim figure had the semblance of a lovely lotus plant, becoming weary would place her limbs on his lap and faint. 370

From the spur of the mountain on the frontier while the royal ladies offered handfuls of flowers as a leave-taking, even the birds resting in their own nests in the caverns of the mountains rushed down in excitement in flocks and, spreading their wings and bending their beaks towards the earth's surface, began to cry. 371

The royal ladies, who had tied on their bosom the upper garment which had slipped from their heads, watching their own land from a distance placed their hands on the foreheads and wept tears which streamed like a rivulet on the way. 372

367. Parched grain and flowers were thrown on auspicious occasions on royal processions.

368-372. These verses in the original are melodious and full of the Rasa of Karuṇa or Pathos. They recall a similar event in the history of the Moors. The last Moorish king in Spain, Boabdil, was expelled by the Castilians in 1492 A.D. When he reached, with his family, the mountains of Padul he cast a final long look at Granada and wept. The spot where Boabdil took his sad farewell look of Granada bears to this day the name El ultimo sospiro del Moro—"the last sigh of the Moor."

With steadfast friendship, with apt speech, and suggestions to calm his sorrow, and by diverse other attentions which influenced him because of the undisguised acceptance of his orders, the sadness at the downfall from regal state of the king, who had taken refuge in their territory, was lessened by the good-natured chiefs. 373

[Thus the First Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī the composition of Kalhaṇa, son of the noble Lord Caṇpaka, the great Kaśmīrī minister.]

Holding the bow, fashioned from the pointed horns of the goat and the bull, and Gaṇeśa formed from the physical halves of man and elephant, the Lord who has an ocean of love for multifariousness of forms—triumphant is the formation of his body which appropriately is half-woman half-man. 1

The effort to regain possession of the kingdom was abandoned by the king, owing to old age and the predictions of men who had achieved inner calm. 2

Becoming a leader among the self-controlled, this modest and noble man relegated to oblivion together with his territory, the pleasures, too, of the five senses. 3

As he rushed about in his desire for the crown, his own ministers kept him at Durgāgalikā in course of time, thus, however, it has been stated by some. 4

Pratāpāditya I

Then a relative of king Vikramāditya, named Pratāpāditya, having been brought by them from abroad was, in his place, annointed king. 5

That he was the Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Scythians, thus in this connection, others having fallen into confusion have erroneously written, which is conflicting and worth nothing. 6

Unhappy through its own factions, this realm from that time onwards was, for some time, enjoyed by Harṣa and other kings. 7

1. "We see how multifarious were the forms ultimately assumed by the ancient god of the whirlwind. Representing, as he did, the untamed forces of nature, it was quite in order that, in the world of Hindu philosophy he should symbolize the powers of destruction, which are at the basis of cosmic evolution, death being the very law of existence, as a condition of life. In this superior wisdom transcending both good and evil, both kindness and cruelty, both being and not-being—a wisdom, in fact, of a Nietzschean order—lies the whole of Śivaism." Grousset, *Civilization of the East India*, Vol.II.p. 186.

6. For Alberuni's interesting note on Vikramāditya, the Conqueror of the Śakas, see Vol. II. p. 6.

7. Harṣa in this verse cannot refer either to Harṣa of Ujjain, who sent Mātṛgupta to be king of Kaśmīr as narrated in the third Taraṅga, nor to Harṣavardhana of Kanauj mentioned by Hsüan-Tsang, the Chinese traveller in the 7th century.

Though the land had not belonged to his forefathers, it was cherished, as if it had belonged to his forefathers, by this king like the bride by a husband who knows her heart. 8

Jalaukas

After having enjoyed the land for thirty years when he went to heaven, Jalaukas, his son, came to be the ornament of the country. 9

For a like period as his father, for the increase of prosperity, he shone just as at the equinox, the cool-rayed Moon, when full, shines for a like period as the Sun. 10

Tuñjīna

Then together with his crowned queen Vākpuṣṭā, of divine lustre, his son Tuñjīna reigned and gladdened the subjects. 11

By that couple the Earth was adorned, as is the matted hair of Śiva by the Gaṅgā and the Crescent Moon. 12

These two nobly sustained the delightful land with its various castes, like the lightning and the water-bearing cloud the bow of Indra. 13

That very blessed couple founded the shrine of Śiva known as Tuṅgeśvara, a graceful ornament of the land, as well as a town known as Katikā. 14

In some place in the interior of Maḍavarājya, where the bright sunshine is oppressive, the trees, through their superhuman power bore fruit the moment they were planted. 15

He who held theatricals worthy to be seen by all people, the Avatāra of the sage Dvaipāyana, the great poet Candaka, lived during this period. 16

13. There is a pun on the word Varṇa which means both (1) caste and (2) colour; the latter meaning applies to the rainbow.

15. The valley of Kaśmīr has been divided into two parts called Krama-rājya and Maḍavarājya, the modern Kanrāz and Marāz. The former is below Śrīnagar, the latter above the capital on either side of the Vitastā.

16. It is believed that Candaka is the same as Candragopin to whom several verses are ascribed in the *Subhāṣitāvali*. According to Prof. Sylvain Lévi Candaka may be identified with Candra mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim I-T'sing. A Tibetan version of a Buddhist drama has been discovered which is ascribed to Candragomin. It is, however, not certain if he is the same as the Candaka or Candraka of Kalhaṇa. See *Das Datum des Candragomin und Kālidāsas* by Professor Liebich of Heidelberg.

Kalhaṇa has paid a very high tribute to Candaka in comparing him to the author of the *Mahābhārata* and it may therefore be of interest to give here a couple of verses by him—one on love and the other on war—from the *Subhāṣitāvali*, V. 1629 and V. 2275.

Prasāde vartasva prakaṭaya mudaṁ saṁtyaja ruṣaṁ.
Priye śuṣyanty aṅgāny amṛtam iva te siñcatu vacaḥ
Nidhānaṁ saukhyānāṁ kṣaṇam abhimukhaṁ sthāpaya mukhaṁ
Na mugdhe pratyetuṁ bhavati

As if with the insistent purpose of testing the high character of those two, on one occasion, there yawned a providential calamity which was difficult for the subjects to bear. 17

When the fields with the ripening autumn rice-crop had covered the land in the month of Bhādrapada, of a sudden, there was a heavy snow-fall. 18

In the snow, which was comparable to the boisterous laughter of the ardent Destroyer during the annihilation of the universe, the rice-crop sank together with the people's hope of existence. 19

Then with swarming hosts of the people emaciated with hunger and with the dead, resembling the stronghold of hell, there occurred the dire calamity of a famine. 20

The love of wife, affection for the son, loving kindness for the

gataḥ kālahariṇaḥ
"Be nice; show some joy; don't be cross; sweet-heart! my limbs are withering, let thy words sprinkle ambrosia on them. The abode of all delights, thy face—place it for a moment opposite to mine. Foolish one! Time is an antelope, it goes away never to return!"

Eṣā hi me raṇagatasya dṛḍhā pratijñā
Drakṣyanti yanna ripavo jaghanaṁ hayānām
Yuddheṣu bhāgyacapaleṣu na me pratijñā
Daivaṁ yad icchati jayaṁ ca parājayaṁ ca.

"This is my solemn vow as I set forth for battle—that never shall the enemy see the backs of my steeds; I vouchsafe nothing about the fighting which is swayed by destiny, let it be as Providence wills whether victory or defeat."

20. Kalhaṇa has given more than one description of famine in Kaśmīr. Of the famines nearer his own times he has given the dates. The Portuguese priest Pierre du Jarric, who has given us an interesting account of Akbar, relates the experiences of the two priests Father Hierosme Xauier and Benoist de Gois, who accompanied Akbar, at his request, to Kaśmīr.

"Whilst they were in the kingdom of Caximir there was so grievous a famine that many mothers were rendered destitute, and having no means of nourishing their children, exposed them for sale in the public places of the city. Moved to compassion by this pitiable sight, the Father bought many of these little ones, who, soon after receiving baptism, yielded up their spirits to their Creator. A certain Saracen, seeing the charity of the Father towards these children, brought him one of his own; but the Father gave it back to the mother together with a certain sum of money for its support; for he was unwilling to baptise it, seeing that, if it survived, there was little prospect of its being able to live a Christian life in that country. At day-break the next morning, however, the mother knocked at the door of his lodging, and begged him to come to her house and baptise the child, as it was about to die. Accompanied by some Portuguese, he went with her to the house and baptised the child, having first obtained the consent of its father. The latter, after it was dead, wished to circumcise it; but this the Father would not permit, but buried it with Christian rites. There was another mother, a Mahomedan woman, who brought to him, under similar circumstances, her infant son to be baptised; and in this case, too, as soon as the rite had been performed, the spirit of the little sufferer ascended to heaven." (*Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 78).

parent, tormented by hunger, in the anxiety for a belly-full, were forgotten by everyone. 21

Owing to the torments of hunger the people selfishly hankering for food, smitten by the glance of destiny, forgot modesty, pride and high birth. 22

The father abandoned his emaciated son begging for food when his life was at the throat or the son his father and provided nourishment for himself. 23

Human beings, whose own bodies were reduced to mere skin and bones, retained selfishness and fought like goblins longing for food. 24

Coarse in speech, weak with starvation, weird, frightful in appearance, furtively looking in all directions each individual endeavoured, at the cost of all living beings in the world, to provide nourishment for his own self. 25

During the grim and awful terror, which was extremely difficult to endure for living beings, that king alone was seen melted with compassion. 26

Having dispensed with the ushers he, by his very sight, which had the charm of jewels and healing herbs, cut out the weariness of the despondent caused by destitution. 27

With his own treasure as well as with the accumulated riches of the ministers, he bought food and accompanied by his wife, day and night, restored human beings to life. 28

In the forest, in the crematorium, on the high roads or in the dwelling houses, no famine-stricken person was ignored by that king. 29

When he had no treasure in reserve and seeing that food was diminishing in the land, during the night, on one occasion, he spoke thus to the queen in his distress. 30

"O Queen! it is through some transgression of ours, no doubt, that such a calamity, difficult to survive, has befallen the innocent people". 31

"Fie on me, hapless one, in front of whom the sorrow-stricken people, seeing the earth without a refuge, are perishing who deserve to be helped." 32

"While these subjects are without a refuge and the kinsfolk are abandoning one another, what is the use of my continuing to live without the ability to protect them in this peril?" 33

"As far as was possible, I strove to get all the people to pass through these days so that none perished." 34

"But this land, whose glory has been eclipsed through the evil-mindedness of Time has, to-day, in her affliction, become destitute and her splendour has departed." 35

"Thus they are sinking in the ocean of this fearful calamity; what then is the remedy which is capable of saving the subjects?" 36

"For, without light is the world and the sunshine has been swallowed up by the cloudy days and it seems it is enveloped, as it were, on all sides by a series of the nights of annihilation." 37

"The snow-drifts having made impassable the mountains whose passes are blocked, the people, like birds in nests whose exits have been closed, have become helpless." 38

"The brave, the intelligent and the men of learning, look! the living have become, through the malignity of Time, as good as dead." 39

"Which directions are not covered with the multitude of the golden flower-buds on the earth's surface? Which realm is not adorned by men who shower the nectar of polite breeding and who are worth entertaining? What highways are not crowded by the praiseworthy men who are charming with their tradition of refinement? Among them, with their merits eclipsed, they only are continuing to reside here who are under the spell of the Destroyer." 40

"Therefore having exhausted my means, I shall now sacrifice my body in the blazing fire; for I am not able to see such a destruction of the subjects." 41

"Blessed are those kings who sleep peacefully at night seeing the citizens, in front of them like their sons, happy in every way." 42

Having thus spoken he, who was overcome with compassion, covering the face with the garment and throwing himself on the couch, the lord of the land, wept in silence. 43

While the lamps, moveless in the still air as if through curiosity, were straining their necks, the queen, as she watched him, then spoke to the sovereign. 44

40. In this verse K. is describing the effect of famine on the educated and cultured Kaśmīrīs. The talented people of Kaśmīr have, from time to time, emigrated from their own poor country to acquire fame and prosperity in the plains of India. Instances of such emigration are to be found in this poem. See VIII. 2227.

"O King! through the misdeeds of the subjects, what is this perversion of your judgment, that you wantonly intend what befits an irresolute man?" 45

"If the ability to cut through insurmountable difficulties is absent, O protector of the land! what then in the great is the mark of their greatness?" 46

"Who is Indra, what is the creator Brahman and what is the wretched Yama, to transgress the command of kings who are pledged to righteous conduct?" 47

"Devotion to the husband is the rule of dutiful conduct of women, loyalty that of ministers, and single-minded application in protecting the subjects is the sacred duty of kings." 48

"Get up, O foremost among the pious! Has my utterance ever been reversed? O protector of the subjects! your subjects are indeed in no peril from starvation." 49

When she had thus spoken with emotion, after meditating on the gods, in each house there fell a heap of lifeless pigeons. 50

In the morning having seen this, the king desisted from the attempt at suicide and the subjects supported life with the pigeons which they received each day. 51

Some other stuff it was which that saintly lady had created, for sooth, to sustain the lives of the populace—they could scarcely have been pigeons. 52

In the case of those like her, who by nature have sincere compassion towards living beings, it was nowise possible that her pious conduct should have had the stigma of violence to life. 53

The sky became spotless, in due course, through the virtuous conduct of the queen and together with the sorrow of the king the famine came to an end. 54

That righteous lady who was free from sin founded in favour of the Brahmans the Agrahāra, imposing on account of its moral and material resources, of Katīmuṣa and Rāmuṣa. 55

When after thirty-six years her husband had found peace, she rid herself of the fever of separation in the bed-sheets of the blazing flames as if they were lotuses. 56

55. Katīmuṣa and Rāmuṣa are the modern Kaimuh and Rāmuh. Rāmuh is midway between Śrīnagar and Śupiyan on the main road.

56. The fibres of the stocks of the water-lily are used as a cooling application.

The place, where that lady of pure life followed her deceased husband, is called Vākpuṣṭāṭavī unto this very day by the people. 57

At the alms-house there, founded by that charming lady, crowds of the destitute coming from various parts are fed to this day. 58

"Who has the power to do more than these two?"—thus having determined, the fastidious Creator did not create any offspring for them. 59

The Creator attains the highest rank among connoisseurs for having made the effort and produced the sugar-cane itself as the fruit; when it has made us forget the excellence of the delicious ambrosia, what indeed superior to it could have been produced? 60

'Believing that the realm had long been without the sun under clouded skies for a transgression on her part, the queen consigned her body to the flames'—so have stated some others. 61

Vijaya

Then born in another family Vijaya was king for eight years. It was he who built the town round Vijayeśvara. 62

Jayendra

The son of that king who had been the Indra on earth, the far-famed king Jayendra, whose arms reached his knees, then enjoyed the land. 63

His pillar-like arms supported the statue of the goddess of victory, radiant in fluttering silk, being garbed in the wave of his steadfast fame. 64

This king had for minister one who was adorned with remarkable virtue and devotion to Śiva called Sandhimati, the best among men of intellect. 65

No such device exists in the world which is capable of removing the instability of the ears of kings, who are like elephants in rut. 66

"This man of very remarkable intelligence should be mistrusted" by speaking in this wise the sycophants made the king take a prejudice against that counsellor. 67

Then having forbidden him audience the enraged king, without

64. In this verse the king is described as carrying Victory lightly—her garment is the king's own fame, but whereas the silken garment flutters, the king's fame is steadfast.

66. Capalakarṇatā = unsteadiness of the ears. There is a pun on this word which applies to kings as well as to rutting elephants. The ears of a king are available to those who whisper evil and influence the king's conduct which is, in consequence, uncertain; in the case of the elephant the ears are unsteady because of the flies which worry the animal in rut.

any cause, deprived him of all his possessions and reduced him to lifelong poverty. 68

When he was withered by the summer heat of the king's enmity, the courtiers did not cheer him even by holding converse. 69

No sooner is a king in earnest in receiving a report, than those who stand before him repeat the words openly like echoes. 70

He, however, was not daunted by the displeasure of the sovereign or by indigence; he was delighted that he had secured, free from impediment, the service of Śiva. 71

At this time, owing to the might of coming events, was broadcast in every house a mysterious speech in this wise "the realm will, in future, belong to Sandhimati." 72

"A rumour does not spread unless it is started" thus having hearkened to his entourage the king, thereupon, became nervous and lodged him in the prison-house. 73

There, while he was withering away with his feet tortured by the grim fetters, there came to an end the tenth year and at the same time the king's term of life. 74

That king, while he was about to die without a son, began to be consumed by the agony arising out of the malady as well as by worry on his account. 75

Seething with the flaming fire of hatred, he did not think that, without the death of the minister, it was possible to resist destiny. 76

Whatever device to stultify what is willed to happen the unsophisticated should employ, you may be sure that, that itself is the open door designed by destiny. 77

On a heap of burnt embers to a spark of fire glowing feebly, if the Creator particularly desires to convey incomparable power, he makes the man who wishes to extinguish it mistake a pot standing near it, containing a lot of butter which has been melted with the heat, for a pot of water. 78

70. Kṣmābhṛt means (1) a king and (2) a mountain. In the latter case Agraga would apply to hills in front of a mountain which produce echoes of the mountain which produce echoes of the reverberating sound issuing from the mountain. K. is hinting at the sinister interest of satellites in anything which attracts the king's attention.

72. Aśruta-Sarasvatī literally means speech which is unheard.

73. Kārāveśma='house of incarceration.' In ancient India the prison system was very highly developed. The *Arthaśāstra* has many references to the administration of prisons. References to such matters as the food, clothing, fetters, interviews, etc. of prisoners and to corruption of prison-warders will be found in this poem.

78. This is a verse, which being literally

Thus, by order of the king, Sandhimati was impaled by cruel officers in charge of executions at night and killed. 79

When he heard that he had been impaled, the dart of sadness of the king, who was worn out by disease, came away first and then only his life. 80

When after thirty-seven years the king died without any lineal descendant, the land ceased to have a king for some days. 81

Then learning that Sandhimati had been killed in that manner, the heart of his Guru named Īśāna, lost control albeit he was a man who had controlled the self. 82

As in the case of the Śirīṣa flower which is easily destroyed, in this life, alas! in the case of men of intellect their benevolence is the one thing, like the flower stalk, which survives. 83

He went to the funeral ground to render the final honours, as was meet for him to do, to the cultured minister who was withering away as if he were a pauper. 84

He saw that nothing had remained of him but the bones which the wolves were pulling violently, the moveless skeleton having been held fast at the base of the stake. 85

With the sound issuing in front from the apertures in the skull filled with air, he seemed to be sorrowing over such a plight. 86

"Alas! my son! to see you in such a plight I am alive until to-day!" so saying the bone pierced by the stake was pulled out by him. 87

His feet were covered by the hair, grey with dust, which crumbled from the skull; Īśāna carried that skeleton while keeping off the growling wolves. 88

Then, as he was preparing to perform the fitting ceremonies, on the forehead inscribed by the Creator, he deciphered this Śloka. 89

"Poverty so long as there is life, ten years' imprisonment, death on the top of the stake, then there will be sovereignty." 90

Of the three Pādas of the verse he, who was conversant with Yoga, had seen the meaning; about the verification of the import of the

translated, is somewhat obscure, but the meaning will be clear.

83. The Śirīṣa is the Albizzia Specisa. A timber tree of moderate size; it is prominent in the gardens and on the roads of Northern India. The flowers are large, tassel-like, pale green, diffusing widely an exquisite perfume, particularly at night. Another variety of it is the well-known Albizzia Lebbek.

89. The Śloka is a stanza or verse. A Śloka has four Pādas; each Pāda consists of eight syllables. The *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* are composed in Śloka or Anuṣṭubh metre so called because it 'follows in praise' the Gāyatrī.

fourth Pāda, which remained to be seen, he was seized with curiosity. 91

And he wondered, in his bewilderment, how this was going to happen; then, while he was long musing over the incomprehensible power of Providence, he argued. 92

"Occupied in different affairs, with the limitation of dependence, everyone strives to frustrate Fate's persistent operations with energy. It is amazing that its wondrous power, even in these conditions, comes to light through whose might the success of various events is achieved free from hindrance." 93

"In the city of Maṇipura Arjuna, who had been slain, was restored to life through the glamour of the Nāga maiden by Providence which is the sea of all marvels." 94

"Parīkṣit who had been consumed while in the womb of his mother by the magic weapon of the son of Droṇa was revived, through the glory of Kṛṣṇa, by the Creator, the highest of rulers." 95

"Kaca reduced to ashes by the Titans and the Nāgas swallowed by Tārkṣya—to restore them to life who else but Providence could have ventured?" 96

Arguing in this wise he remained in eagerness to see the fulfilment of the prophecy and having fixed his residence at that very spot, he kept a watch and ward on the skeleton. 97

And so, once, at midnight, Īśāna, who had lost his sleep owing to the anxiety about that miracle, smelt the perfume of divine incense. 98

He heard an uncanny sound of the clang of many cymbals and bells struck violently and the loud din of tambourines. On opening the window he then saw Yoginīs standing inside a halo of light. 99-100

Noticing their excitement and that the skeleton had been removed, the startled Īśāna proceeded to the funeral ground with a drawn sword. 101

Thus he saw hidden by a tree that the skeleton, which had been placed recumbent in the centre of their troupe, was being modelled with all the limbs by the troupe of the Yoginīs. 102

With the rising tide of desire for sensual enjoyment with a lover,

94-96. These stories from the *Mahābhārata* are well-known. The story of the Serpents revived by Jīmūta-vāhana is told in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* in the simple and elegant style of the Kaśmīrī author Somadeva (11th century), a contemporary of Kṣemendra.

the nymphs, drunk with liquor, having failed to find a virile man, had sought out the skeleton and had carried it away. 103

Each different limb was furnished from their own limbs and having from somewhere brought the male organ, in a moment, they thus set him up complete with all the limbs. 104

Next, the spirit of Sandhimati which had been wandering about not having taken possession of another body, the Yoginīs having attracted by Yoga placed it therein. 105

Then, as he was being massaged with divine emollients, he awoke as if from sleep and, at will, as the leader of the troupe, he had with them the joy in the way of love. 106

The bewildered Īśāna began to get apprehensive as the night was wearing out, lest the nymphs might take back the limbs conferred by them. 107

With a shout the resolute man advanced to the place with a view to preserve them, whereupon the troupe of the Yoginīs instantly vanished from view. 108

Then was heard their voice—"Have no fear, O Īśāna! there is no loss of limb on our part and towards this chosen lover no deceit." 109

"Through having been our chosen lover he, who has been modelled with a divine body, will be renowned on earth as Sandhimān and because of his gentlemanliness as Āryarāja as well." 110

Then clad in celestial garments, wearing a garland and decked with celestial ornaments, the resplendent Sandhimān having regained memory of the past saluted his Guru. 111

Īśāna, on his part, when he embraced him who had become very difficult to meet even in dreams, who can describe the pitch of excitement he had reached? 112

While the two of them together, in turn, pondered over the cycle of life which, at the same time, is futile and marvellous—on this subject the conversation of these two which flowed was calm and thoughtful. 113

Then having heard the news from somewhere, the residents of

110. Āryarāja=chief of the Āryas. The term Ārya is used to differentiate from the Anārya, the non-Aryans, or barbarians. Ārya also means gentleman. In early times, the pater-familias was addressed as Ārya and the wife in the Indian household addressed her husband as Ārya-putra (son of the Ārya). See VIII. 3247. It is interesting to find the survival of this term Ārya through the Prākṛta Ajja in the modern Ji used as a suffix for respect and as a term of address in the Dekhan and in Western and Northern India.

Srīnagara, young and old together with the ministers, arrived at that very spot. 114

From the lack of resemblance to his former figure, the doubt that he was not the same man was dispelled by him by asking everybody relevant questions. 115

To the prayer of the citizens to rule over a realm where a king was lacking he, who was free from desire, acceded with difficulty at the behest of the Guru. 116

Sandhimat (Āryarāja)

Having conducted him, who looked lovely with his divine body, to the neighbourhood of a garden the Brahmans, to the accompaniment of music, bathed him with the ceremonial waters of the coronation. 117

As regards the etiquette appropriate in the case of a new king he had not to wait for instructions; on the other hand, he who was experienced in affairs simplified all procedure. 118

Then attired as was meet for a king and escorted by the army, he entered the city which was gay with the sound of the blessings of the citizens and showers of parched grain poured from the terraces. 119

While he, who was free from the passions, occupied the mighty throne, no calamity either divine or human befell the subjects. 120

The heart of this self-controlled man was captivated by the forest regions with mountain peaks of perpetual beauty and lovely ridges and not by women by attractions suitable for amour and lovely hips. 121

When he was touched by an ascetic's hands, associated with the sacred perfume of wild flowers and fragrant with camphor and incense, he was delighted. 122

When he was not visiting Bhūteśa, Vardhamāneśa and Vijayeśa, he was regular in application to the affairs of state day after day. 123

Touched by the breezes laden with the spray of water used for the washing of the stairs of Śiva's temple, his body used to become moveless with joy. 124

When upon the removal of the earlier worship it was bathed and looked beautiful without the spectacular decorations, then only he felt that he had secured the sight of Vijayeśvara. 125

121. In this verse there is a pun on the words which, as translated, apply to the mountains and to women.

The musical sound of water falling from the pitchers poured on the Liṅga for the ceremonial bath and running round the base was dear, even while asleep, to him who disliked the lute. 126

With ascetics in ashes, Rudrākṣa, and the matted hair, the court of this king shone as if it were an assembly of Śiva. 127

The vow of this sovereign to consecrate one thousand Śiva Liṅgas daily was not broken at any time. 128

When by mistake this had not been fulfilled, a slab was carved by his servants with one thousand modelled Liṅgas all round it, which is seen to this day. 129

In the various tanks he placed a series of lotus seeds resembling Liṅgas for religious merit in the form of lotus flowers. 130

In various places by depositing Śiva Liṅgas in the waters in large numbers, he transformed the streams to resemble the Narmadā. 131

For each Liṅga prosperous villages were assigned by him, the enjoyment of which by the members of the priests' corporation in these days, has come to an end by lapse of time. 132

With magnificent edifices, colossal Liṅgas, colossal Bulls and colossal Tridents, this great devotee of Śiva ennobled the land. 133

After constructing Sandhīśvara at the funeral ground, where his body had been set up, after the name of the Guru Īśāna, he consecrated Īśāneśvara to Śiva. 134

To Thedā, Bhīmādevī and other localities, he imparted splendour at every step with palatial buildings containing convents, statuary and Liṅgas. 135

Hallowed by its self-originating Liṅgas and the sanctuaries the kingdom of Kaśmīr, this wise man, adorned by devotion, alone knew how to enjoy. 136

Bathing in the water of the cascades and holding festive worship

126. The worship of the Liṅga seems to be about 4,000 years old. The clay tablets of Mohenjo Daro have representations of the Liṅga, of Śakti and of Mother Earth.

130. The seeds of the lotus which resemble Liṅgas are used for rosaries.

131. The pebbles of the river Narmadā are still worshipped as Liṅgas; under the name of Śālagrāma, they represent Viṣṇu.

132. Pariṣad (Pari=round, Sad=to Sit) literally a round table conference. K. uses the term for the conclave of the officiating priests (Purohita) of the temples and sanctuaries (Tīrtha). The members of the conclave are referred to in the different Taraṅgas as Pāriṣadya and Pārṣada. It was these priests who organised hunger-strikes in a body to get redress of grievances or as a demonstration against a minister or measure of policy.

of the flower Liṅgas in the sylvan glades, was passed by this king the month of spring. 137

And in the very delightful summer of Kaśmīr, difficult to find in the three worlds, by the worship of the snow Liṅgas beyond the forests, he attained the satisfaction of having done his duty. 138

Having reached the edges of the lakes, which screened the directions with masses of open lotuses, this favourite of fortune became absorbed in meditation upon him on whose crown is the crescent-moon. 139

Dipping in the blue lotus pools, which the rise of Agastya had made free from venom, he spent the autumn in the worship of Śiva. 140

While the lord of the land observed the festive vigils, in the society of all kinds of ascetics, the nights of Māgha did not pass in vain. 141

While the good man was rendering fruitful in this wise the sovereignty acquired in a very marvellous manner, he passed fifty less three years. 142

The inner calm being his passion, he had not been looking to the affairs of the realm and the subjects, during this period, took to disaffection. 143

While they were in search of some one fit for the throne, they heard of an ambitious and enlightened prince royal of the house of Yudhiṣṭhira. 144

For, at this time the great-grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira named Gopāditya was kept as a protégé, with a view to gain a victory over the sovereign of Kaśmīr, by the king of Gāndhāra. 145

This prince while residing there without securing imperial power, in course of time, had a son who had the infallible divine marks. 146

That youth, at the behest of his father, proceeded to the realm of the ruler of Prāgjyotiṣa, descended from the line of Viṣṇu, during the Svayaṁvara of his maiden daughter. 147

There, with the parasol of Varuṇa to shade him, in the presence of rajahs, the royal maiden Amṛtalekhā honoured him with the garland of the chosen one. 148

By this omen, the people came to know of his coming advancement like the advent of the water-bearing clouds by the westerly winds. 149

140. Agastya is the star of Canopus whose rise in the month of Bhādrapada marks the end of the season of rain and storms when the turbid water becomes clean. See III, 325, VIII. 237.

147. The capital of Assam according to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa was the legendary city of Prāgjyotiṣa.

For, this parasol brought by king Naraka from Varuṇa shaded none but a Cakravartī sovereign. 150

When the prince loaded with wealth returned to his father with his wife, the ministers invited him to Kaśmīr which was worthy of his House. 151

The Āryarāja knowing that his own government was torn by factions, made no resistance although he had the power and, on the contrary, remained anxious to abdicate. 152

And he thought to himself "truly the Creator of beings has been pleased with me that he is ready to remove all those long-standing impediments to self-realization." 153

"When much remains to be achieved, I am fortunate that, like a wayfarer in the monsoon, I have not been deluded through idleness into sleep." 154

"By giving up in my own time fortune, like a courtesan who has ceased to love, the shame of a forcible expulsion has luckily been avoided by me." 155

"Like an actor while I played my part proudly for a long time upon the stage of the realm, unto the very dénouement the spectators, fortunately, did not loose interest." 156

"Luckily I, who had always loudly proclaimed my indifference to fortune, am not afraid at the moment of abdication like a boaster during a battle." 157

In this wise musing inwardly, looking forward to sacrifice everything, the king was happy in building kingdoms in his mind like a pauper. 158

The following day, having convened all the subjects, he, in the midst of the conference, delivered the government to them like a fixed deposit which has been safely guarded. 159

And what he had voluntarily given up no one was able, in spite of effort, to induce him to accept like a mighty snake its cast-off slough. 160

Having taken the Liṅga he worshipped, the lord of the subjects in gleaming white raiment, without a turban, and on foot only, set forth with the face turned towards the North. 161

156. Nirvyūḍha. A technical term meaning the unravelling of the plot (Sk. Vastu). It is thus literally translated as the dénouement. A number of Saṁskṛta words have similarly been literally translated by using French words or expressions which are now current in English. See Taraṅgas III. 186, VII. 606, VII. 2707.

On the track of the sovereign who, observing silence, had set forth with eyes lowered towards his feet, the citizens followed shedding tears in silence. 162

When he had traversed a Gavyūti, he sat down under a tree and having consoled each individual choking with tears induced him to return. 163

On the way at the foot of the various mountains he tarried and was seen dismissing the people and with a reduced entourage, in due course, was seen proceeding higher. He passed on like a river which, having filled up low-lying lands from its own bed, rises, and flowing on is followed by meagre waters. 164

Halting in his stride in the midst of the forest he, having paid his respects to all up to the last person among the people, whom sorrow and emotion had made tearful and whose speech faltered, finally dismissed them from his presence and plunged into the forest where the cave residences were illumined by the iridescence of the crest-jewels of numerous wandering holy men, drowsy with the murmurs of the breeze caught in their garments of birch-bark. 165

Then at the foot of a tree on the edge of a sylvan pool, he made a habitation by filling, for a store of water, the hollow of folded leaves as vessels when the day was dying and by piling up for a high couch the clean foliage of trees. 166

The mountains to whose peaks clung the gleaming sunshine and whose shaded slopes were variegated with the verdant sward; where the shepherd maidens met and slumbered beneath jasmine creepers gay with spotless white flowers; which were resonant with the melody

163. Gavyūti is a measure of distance and equals one Krośa (Hindi kos). In Western India the measure of distance is the 'gau' which is derived from this term and is the equivalent of the Celtic 'league,' or the French lieue de poste=2 miles and 743 yards.

165. Bhūrja is the Birch. The bark of the Birch in Kaśmīr, like that of other varieties of trees in India, was used for making garments worn by those who had renounced life. Such clothes were called Valkala. Birch-bark was and is still used in Kaśmīr as a substitute for paper; birch-bark manuscripts were discovered among the relics in the Stūpas of the upper Kabul valley by the first Western explorers.

In 1892 the leader of the French Mission to Tibet M. Dubreuil de Rhins secured in a place, not far from Khotan, an old birch-bark manuscript in Kharoṣṭhī script. The MS. which was in Prākṛta was deciphered by M. Senart as a version of the Dhammapada. Since then Russian, French and German scholars have discovered a number of valuable old MSS. in Saṁskṛta, Pāli, Prākṛta and the Kushan dialects written on birch-bark which, no doubt, was exported to Central Asia from Kaśmīr.

from the flute of the forest-guards mingling with the falling waters of the cascades—when they came within the range of his vision, not being far, they induced the weary man to sleep. 167

By the trumpeting of wild elephants, from time to time, which held out a challenge to an antagonist like the rattle of a war-drum, and by the cry of the crane, he, who was eager to proceed, reckoned that the night was worn out. 168

The day following, having got rid of sleep in a nearby lotus pool and concluding the morning prayers with the usual rites, the king arrived at the familiar Sodara spring sanctuary of the Lord of created beings situated near Nandīśa. 169

At Nandikṣetra, while he stood in front of the Lord of the three worlds, he of himself became fit for the attainment of what he had hoped for. Proud of his ashes, with his neatly arranged hair tied in a knot, carrying a rosary and marked with Rudrākṣa he was watched wistfully by the aged ascetics. 170

170. Count Kaiserling's reflections inspired by the sight of the figure of Śiva dancing the Tāṇḍava are interesting. "Again and again I must think of the dancing Shiva in the museum in Madras: this many-armed, anatomically impossible bronze realises a possibility which no Greek has ever allowed us to suspect—it is simply a wild undisciplined god; who deliberately dances the world to pieces.—How is such a creation arrived at? Only by the realisation of the God within us, and by the ability to re-create this immediate inner experience as immediately in terms of visibility. The artists of the East have accomplished this apparently impossible task. And they have succeeded in doing so by virtue of what I have been writing during all these days: their culture of concentration. We know little or nothing of the great artists of Hindustan. But we know of those of China and Japan, their heirs, that they were all Yogis, that they saw the only path to art in Yoga. They did, of course, in their first student years, draw after nature with the most earnest perseverance, in order to become the complete masters of their means of expression; but they regarded this merely as a preliminary. For them the essential was the problem of absorption. They became absorbed in themselves, or in a waterfall, a landscape, a human face according to what they wished to represent, until they had become one with their object, and then they created it from within, unconcerned by all outer forms. It is said of Li Lung-Mien, the master of the Sung Dynasty, that his main occupation did not consist in work but in meditating by the side of the mountain slopes, or near the brooks. Tao-tse was once asked by the Emperor to paint a certain landscape. He returned without sketches or studies and replied to surprised questioning: 'I have brought nature back in my heart.' Kuo-Hsi teaches, in his writings concerning landscape painting: 'The artist must, above all, enter into spiritual relation with the hills and rivers which he wishes to paint.' Inner collectedness seemed to these artists to be more important than external training. And, surely, the completely 'inward' individual stands above reason, for its laws live within his mind; he does not need to obey them any more, just as he who knows is beyond good and evil. As his knowledge uncon-

As he wandered about for alms in the hermitage of each Muni, he got a warm reception, owing to his observance of the vows of Śiva, from the women ascetics vying with one another to give him alms. But as his alms-bowl was filled with choice fruits and blossoms by the trees he, who deserved respect, had not to suffer the humiliation of mendicancy even when he lived the life of renunciation. 171

[Thus the Second Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the composition of Kalhaṇa, son of the noble Lord Caṇpaka, the great Kaśmīrī minister.]

sciously controls all his activity, thus the knowledge of the artist-Yogi directs unfailingly even the most capricious delineation. The rhythm of Far Eastern drawing is not of rational origin: it is an inner rhythm, like that of music. If one compares the design of Leonardo or Durer with it, one sees at once what the difference consists in: the one is the outcome of the concentration of reason which necessarily leads to the discovery of objective rules; the other is the product of pure self-realisation, pure subjectivity condensed into form. Thus the East has succeeded in what has never yet been reached in the West: the visible representation of the Divine as such. I know nothing more grand in this world than the figure of Buddha; it is an absolutely perfect embodiment of spirituality in the visible domain. And this is not owing to the expression of calm, of soulfulness, and inwardness which it bears, but it is due to the figure in itself, independent of all concurrence with corresponding phenomena in nature." (*Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, Vol. I, pp. 278–80)

"Give up the elephant hide!"

"In the interior of his temples are pearls worthy of your pointed breasts."

"What is the use of the flame on your forehead?"

"From it may come collyrium worthy of acceptance for your eyes."

Replying in this wise and ready to follow up with a repartee if an objection were raised also to the serpent by the beloved, may Śiva, whose body is composed of two halves, protect you. 1

Meghavāhana

Then Meghavāhana, whose rising fame had spread wide, was brought in by the subjects, who had gone to the territory of Gāndhāra led by the ministers. 2

The love which this king, who was devoted to his subjects, had for humanity, the people came to know later like the whiteness of linen after it is washed. 3

Even the lives of the Bodhisattvas, who were compassionate towards living beings, this large-hearted king, in turn, excelled by his noble actions. 4

At his very coronation the officials, charged with orders in this behalf, caused to be proclaimed everywhere by beat of drum, the regulation regarding non-slaughter. 5

When the slaughter of animals was forbidden in the realm by the blessed king, the butchers and others were helped to gain a livelihood from his own coffers. 6

1. The benedictory stanzas are a special feature of Indian poetry and drama. They ingeniously illustrate the mise-en-scène.. Compare with this verse the first verse in the political play *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* of the Mauryan period when the Greeks were driven out of India by the Emperor Chandra Gupta. In this Taraṅga Kalhaṇa includes a selection of tales of mystery and miracle to illustrate the Adbhuta Rasa (the sense of the marvellous) which he knew would lead to sceptic questioning on the part of his audience. (See below verses 94-95).

2. Gāndhāra. The Kabul valley was the home of Buddhism for nearly a thousand years. The recent finds by learned French archæologists such as M. J. Hackin and M. Barthou in Afghanistan of Gandharan sculpture and specimens of Græco-Buddhist art have now been arranged in the Afghanistan section of the Musée Guimet in Paris.

In the reign of this king who like Buddha, the opponent of Māra, was opposed to slaughter, an animal effigy in melted butter was offered at sacrifices and one of paste during the offerings to the spirits. 7

He created an Agrahāra called Meghavana and this founder of Mayuṣṭagrāma then built the Megha convent supreme in religious merits. 8

For the use of Bhikṣus from the plains, his wife Amṛtaprabhā caused a lofty vihāra to be built known as Amṛtabhavana. 9

From a certain foreign country named Lo had come her father's Guru, who in his language was described as Stunpā; he was the founder of the Stūpa, Lo Stonpā. 10

In Naḍavana the wife of the king, known as Yūkadevī built a Vihāra of marvellous proportions, bent on emulating the co-wife. 11

In one half of it those Bhikṣus, who conducted themselves in accordance with precepts, were accommodated by her; in the other half those who were reproachable being householders with wives, sons and cows. 12

Then another wife of the king, named Indradevī, built Indradevībhavana and a Vihāra with a quadrangle and a Stūpa. 13

By his other queens namely Khādanā and Sammā many magnificent Vihāras, called after their names, were constructed. 14

Though he was born in recent times, the era of this king's regime, owing to incidents which cast into the shade the legends of former kings, became marvellous. 15

Once when the sovereign was engaged in sport in the country, he heard a hue and cry raised by frightened people in this wise, "a thief, here is a thief"! not far from him. 16

10. I am indebted to the learned Bhikkhu Sāṁkṛtyāyana Rāhula, well-known for his deep knowledge of the Tibetan language, for the meaning of the Tibetan word Ston-pā. (Sk. Śāstā, Upadeṣṭā). In Tibetan, the word means Teacher or Preacher and was applied only to the Buddha. According to the learned Bhikkhu the word is still in current use in Ladakh where it is pronounced Ton-pā, while in Lhasa it is now pronounced Tom-bā. South Tibet is still called Loh. This is an interesting reference to Tibet, which at that period must have been in intimate contact with Assam, on account of their common Buddhist culture. The queen of Kaśmīr who was the princess of Assam must have belonged to a Buddhist family since this preceptor, the founder of the Stūpa, was a learned Buddhist Teacher.

16. The Nāgas see I. 201. Note.

"Is any one present here! let the thief be bound" when he, enraged, had thus exclaimed, the hue and cry ceased but no thief could be discovered. 17

A few days later when he had again gone out there appeared in front of him, as suppliants for his protection, two or three women of celestial beauty. 18

When the tender-hearted king had stopped his horse and granted their prayer they addressed him, in the following words, with their hands folded hollow and pressed to the parting of their hair. 19

"Sire! When with divine power the land is being maintained by you how can there be fear from another, O ocean of clemency!" 20

"At the time when our husbands, the Nāgas, having become clouds had screened the vault of the sky, the farmers, fearing a sudden shower of hail-stones and worried needlessly in their minds about sefeguarding the bumper crop of ripening rice, drove them within the zone of your impetuous wrath. For when Your Majesty hearing the cry of distress of "a thief, a thief" angrily ordered "arrest the Nāgas", at your mere command they fell down caught in a lasso. May you be pleased to show them favour, through pity for us, now." 21-24

Having hearkened to this the king, whose face was bright with clemency, smilingly ordered "Let all those Nāgas be released from their shackles." 25

By that order of the king, the Nāgas immediately shook themselves free from the fetters and, having made obeisance to his feet, went off with their spouses. 26

Now in order to compel rulers to desist from violence to living beings he, who was sincere in the observance of the law, set out on a conquest up to the horizon. 27

His plan of campaign was one which Jina himself might have envied owing to his praiseworthy valour and supervision of the populace against terrorism. 28

17. Kaḥ Ko'tra. The ancient *facon de parler* still survives in the Hindustani "Koi hai!" to call a servant.

28. Jina=Literally it means the Conqueror; here it means the Buddha who had conquered the self. See also Taraṅga VIII. 2234. The sect of Jainas derives its name from this very word as the Jainas, too, call their Teachers 'the conquerors.' *Alberuni*, Vol. I. p. 243.

Having overpowered the kings by his valour and having initiated them to the principle of non-violence, the unblemished monarch arrived in the neighbourhood of the lord of the streams. 29

While in the shade of palm-groves his weary legionaries were enjoying a rest he, for a while, pondered over the plan of invasion of the various islands. 30

At this time from the outskirts of the wood on the foreshore, he heard a cry of distress thus "under the very sway of Mehgavāhana I am being slain". 31

Wounded in the heart as if by a hot steel shaft, the king thereupon immediately proceeded to that spot with the moving parasol. 32

Then he saw, in front of the temple of Caṇḍikā, a man with his face turned down about to be slain by some leader of Śabara warriors. 33

"O thou who knowest not thyself! fie on this thy nefarious conduct!" When thus threatened by the king that Śabara, through fear, submitted to him as follows: 34

"My infant son is on the point of death afflicted with disease; this rite prescribed by the deities would bring him much relief." 35

"The obstruction of the sacrificial offering will mean his instant death and may you be warned that, the lives of the entire circle of his relatives depend upon his being alive." 36

"A waif, who has been captured from the depth of the forest, Sire! you are protecting; how is it that you ignore a boy to whom many are related?" 37

Thereupon the high-souled king swayed by these words of the Śabara and the terrified looks of the victim said: 38

"Do not be nervous O Kirāta! I myself will save thy son who has many relatives as well as the victim who is without kindred." 39

"I hereby offer as the sacrifice to Caṇḍikā my own body; strike me unhesitatingly and may these two persons live." 40

Wonder-struk by his nobility of mind and amazing spritual greatness the Śabara, who was thrilled with his hair standing on end, then addressed him. 41

29. The lord of the streams is the sea which in Saṁskṛta poetry is described as the husband of the rivers.

33. Śabara=the Bhils.

39. Kirāta=The Bhils—an aboriginal Indian tribe of the Vindhya hills and Rājputanā.

"While you strive after over-much tenderness, O lord of the earth! some sort of error of judgement arises in your mind." 42

"That which deserves to be safeguarded unhesitatingly, even at the cost of life in the three worlds, your body—how is it that you so easily ignore it, which is nobly fitted for enjoyments on earth?" 43

"Neither honour, nor reputation nor wealth nor even wives nor relatives; neither the law nor sons do kings safeguard in their thirst for life." 44

"Therefore grant this favour O protector of the subjects! do not extend your mercy to this victim and may the boy and all those subjects flourish while you live." 45

Intending to offer himself as the sacrifice the king, as if worshipping Cāmuṇḍā with the lustre of his teeth as the collective oblation, then replied. 46

"How can the taste for righteous conduct, which is like ambrosia, interest you denizens of the jungle? The joy of plunging in the Gaṅgā is not known to those who reside in sandy deserts." 47

"When with the body which surely is perishable I am preparing to purchase imperishable glory thou, O fool! art waxing obstinate to wash out my aim." 48

"Say nothing more! if thou hast an aversion to strike, is not my own sword capable of achieving the purpose?" 49

Having said this, he prepared to offer his body himself and grasped the sword drawn from the scabbard to cut off his own head. 50

Then as he was about to strike, his head was covered with celestial flowers while his hand was held by some one of celestial figure. 51

Then he beheld, while he was in that state, a person of divine form in front of him, but neither Caṇḍikā nor the victim nor the Kirāta nor the little boy. 52

That divine person then said to him "O you moon of the middle world! Ocean of compassion! know me to be Varuṇa brought under your sway by your spirituality." 53

"This parasol which serves you to-day was formerly carried away from my town by the mighty Bhauma, your father-in-law's ancestor." 54

46. Cāmuṇḍā=the terrible; a name of the goddess Kālikā. Human sacrifice to Cāmuṇḍā is an episode in Bhavabhūti's famous play *Mālatī-Mādhava*. In the 5th Act the hero saves the heroine by slaying the priest Aghoraghaṇṭa.

"Without the sole supreme ornament of the nether world—this parasol of miraculous power—our townsmen are suffering mishaps at every step." 55

"Therefore I, who desired to regain it, in order to test your generosity, O compassionate one! created such an illusion." 56

"For the sins of your predecessor, the son of Vasukula, who deprived living beings of their life, you appear to be doing penance through non-violence." 57

"The two produce fear and delight in the dynasty which is worthy of sustaining the land as in the body of Śeṣa, which is capable of supporting the earth, the emission of poison and the cluster of jewels on the hood produce fear and delight; the two bring darkness and lustre on the dynasty whose glory pervades the ends of the horizon as in fire, whose lustre penetrates all directions, there are the lines of smoke and the jets of flame; the two are of the nature of exhaustion and comfort in the dynasty which has held in restraint a galaxy of spirited feudatory princes like a day in the monsoon, overcast with clouds, when oppressive heat and a rain shower bring exhaustion and comfort. It is a wonder that in the same great dynasty is seen the birth of one who was the slayer of three crores and of you, a sovereign who is non-violent!" 58-61

Thereupon the monarch bowed to the lord of sea-monsters while he spoke thus and offered worship, a hymn and the parasol, with the hands folded hollow. 62

When he had graciously accepted the parasol the ruler of the land, foremost among the virtuous, spoke to Varuṇa as follows: 63

"The wishing-tree and the righteous cannot be placed under the same head; since the former yields fruits upon being requested, the latter do so of their own accord." 64

"That parasol—how could it have been vendible for religious merit for us, if Your Honour had not requested a good turn in favour of the distressed?" 65

"The generous donor should do full favour to those who are being

62. Lord of the sea monsters is Varuṇa, who like Neptune, is the Sea god.

64. Samaśīrṣikā. This is an interesting word—Sama means equal or on a level, Śīrṣa is the head. Literally the word means a state of things where the heads are on a level. The same expression which is found later in verse 135 is repeated elsewhere in the poem.

honoured with gifts; while affording comfort with its shade the tree also gives fruits." 66

"Thus, encouraged by the honourable treatment, your humble servant, O lord! prays for another small favour." 67

"The entire earth has been brought under subjection through your favour; for the conquest of the islands may you be pleased to suggest a device to cross the waters" 68

Thus beseeched the lord of the waters replied to the king, "When you desire to cross over, the water of the ocean will be transformed into a solid by me." 69

Thereupon while the king exclaimed, "What a great favour!" the lord Varuṇa together with the parasol became invisible. 70

The next day parting the waters in a line he crossed, with his amazed and delighted legionaries, the ocean, whose surging had been stopped by divine power. 71

Then the king, whose virtues were his collection of precious stones, climbed with his forces the diadem of the ocean, Mount Rohaṇa, the collection of varieties of precious stones. 72

There while his warriors lodged in the shade of groves of palm trees, the sovereign ruler of Laṅkā, Vibhīṣaṇa approached him amicably. 73

Picturesque was the meeting between the ruler of men and the ruler of the giants, where the first hurried words of mutual courtesy were rendered inaudible by the loud plaudits of the bards. 74

Then the lord of the giants, having conducted the ornament of the earth to Laṅkā, hospitably treated him to luxuries available only in the world of the immortals. 75

The designation of giants as the "devourers of flesh" which had been literally true was reduced, upon their accepting his commandment, to a term retained by usage. 76

The lord of the giants presented him with banners, whose crests were decorated with representations of giants' heads, in token of their perpetual submission. 77

These, acquired from beyond the sea, are to this day taken out in

72. There is a pun on the word Ratnākara—'collection of ratna' which means both virtue and precious stones.

73. Vibhīṣaṇa = brother of Rāvaṇa whom Rāma installed as the king of Laṅkā.

the procession of the kings in Kaśmīr and are well-known as the "standards from beyond." 78

In this way, having forbidden, as far as the race of giants, the slaughter of animals, that ruler of men returned to his own kingdom. 79

From that time onwards, the commandment of that paramount sovereign relating to the cessation of slaughter, was not transgressed by any one. 80

Neither by otters and like small animals, nor by lions and others in the deep forests, nor by hawks and the rest in the sky, were living beings killed during his regime. 81

Thus while the time passed a Brahman, overwhelmed with sorrow, brought his son suffering from disease to the portals of the king and began to lament 82

"For lack of animal food demanded by Durgā here is this son of mine, who have no other progeny, about to die to-day of fever." 83

"If through insistence on non-violence, O protector of the land! you do not save him, in the event of his death, who else would appear to me to be the cause of it?" 84

"May you, who are the spiritual authority over the castes, be pleased to give the decision yourself as to what is the difference between the life of a Brahman and that of an animal." 85

"Those protectors of the subjects who killed even persons practising austerities to secure the lives of Brahmans alas! O mother earth! are not to be seen now-a-days." 86

83. Durgā is the goddess Kālikā.

86. The king referred to in this verse is Rāmacandra. A low-caste man practised austerities which resulted in the death of the son of a Brahman. The Brahman protested to king Rāmacandra who went out into the forest, discovered the low-caste man, cut off his head and thereby restored to life the Brahman's son. The deceased then appeared before king Rāmacandra to express his gratitude for having been released from mortal coil. He had been condemned, as the result of a curse, to a life of degradation which was to end upon his being slain by the redeemer Rāmacandra. This story from the *Rāmāyaṇa* is an incident in the second Act of Bhavabhūti's famous play *Uttara-Rāma-Carita*.

Representations of the Earth as the Mother have been discovered from several ancient sites including Mohenjo Daro and Vedic burial mounds of the seventh or eighth century B.C. The figures are found on clay tablets, terracotta, as well as on gold leaf plaques. (See Coomaraswami, *Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pt. XXX. fig. 165) In the Vedic literature, the Earth is referred to as the Great Mother—Pṛthvī-Mātaraṁ Mahīm (*Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 4, 6, 8). The ancient idea underlies our national anthem the 'Vande Mātaram. This patriotic song was adopted by the Indian National Congress from the celebrated Bengali novel *Ānanda Maṭh* of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in which a band of Sannyāsis sing it in honour of Mother India. See also VIII. 1236.

While the Brahman was thus speaking, accusingly in language bitter with grief the king, the remover of the sufferings of the miserable, long reflected in this wise: 87

"That animals are not to be slaughtered, such is the ordinance which I have formerly made, how should I for the sake even of a Brahman upset the solemn obligation?" 88

"If on account of me the Brahman should now die then, too, the case will be one of extreme sinfulness and intentional ruin." 89

"Spinning in doubt my mind is unable to adhere to either side, like a flower fallen into the whirlpool at the confluence of two streams." 90

"So by offering as sacrifice my own body, if Durgā were to be propitiated by me, it would be a just act to preserve, together with the pledge, the lives of the two." 91

Having thus inwardly thought over it for some time the king, ready to sacrifice his body, dismissed the Brahman after saying, "To-morrow I propose to act in your favour." 92

During the night Durgā, having prevented the king who was intent on sacrificing himself, restored to normal health the Brahman's son. 93

In describing such among other incidents which are incredible to the common people about that king, albeit he was of recent times, we feel embarrassed. 94

And yet those who proceed in the traditional way with a certain type of literary composition do not closely conform to the opinions of the audience by following them. 95

When he found peace having enjoyed the land for thirty-four years, the whole world was as if without the sun deprived of light. 96

Śreṣṭhasena

Then king Śreṣṭhasena, his son, protected the country, whom the people called Pravarasena and Tuñjīna. 97

In the jewelled mirror of his sabre, which clung firmly to his pillar-like arm, the glory of the world appeared to be reflected with an eager face. 98

Having first constructed Pravareśvara together with a Mātṛcakra

94-95. K. realises that the age of miracles was over and the contemporary people of Kaśmīr were not likely to hear his poem without ridiculing it, if no explanation was given for the inclusion of ancient tales of mystery and miracle. The explanation of K. is that he followed the traditional method of the Kāvya which made it incumbent on him to obey the rules of its technique.

he consecrated various sacred foundations in the ancient capital. 99

As he treated the territory subject to his authority as if it were the courtyard of his house, included among the villages was the territory of Trigarta which he conferred on Pravareśa. 100

He, supreme over the rulers who unreservedly owned the fields of the Earth as their family property, of merciful disposition, was king for thrity years. 101

Hiraṇya Tormāṇa

Hiraṇya and Tormāṇa, his two sons, enjoying sovereignty and the privilege of heir-apparent respectively, thereafter afforded gratification to the land. 102

Having forbidden the abundant coins struck by the brother, which was improper, Dinnāras struck in his own name were put in circulation by Tormāṇa. 103

"Ignoring me how is it that he has the effrontery to act as if he were king!" thus the king, his elder brother, growing angered placed him in confinement. 104

When owing to his prolonged confinement he had given up sorrowing, his queen named Añjanā, daughter of Vajrendra of the House of Ikṣvāku, became pregnant. 105

When she was nearing delivery, advised by her husband, who felt ashamed, she entered the house of a certain potter and give birth to a son. 106.

By the potter-woman the royal prince was treated as her child, like the young cuckoo by the she-crow, and was duly brought up. 107

102. Tormāṇa. This is a Turkish name. It is found among the early Turks who conquered India and became Buddhists and the later Hindu Turks of Kabul and of the Frontier Province of the 10th century known as the Śāhi. See Taraṅga V. 233.

103. Saṁskṛta Dinnāra is derived from the Roman Denarius which is still used for the coinage current in modern Czecho-Slovakia. In old Kaśmīr the term Dinnāra was used generally for any coin as well as for coins of specific value. Dinnāras were coined in gold and silver as well as in copper. A hundred shell or cowries were equal to one copper Dinnāra. When K. refers to salaries of high officers and others in terms of thousands of Dinnāras he means the copper Dinnāras. See VI. 38, VII. 145 sq, VII, 163, VII. 418, and VIII. 1918, etc.

107. The crow brings up the young of the cuckoo. This is not merely poetical fancy but is a fact which is stranger than fiction. In Saṁskṛta poetry there are many references to this. The cuckoo builds no nest; in the crow's nest she lays her eggs which are hatched by the crow. King Duṣyanta in Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* maintains that "women are deceivers ever" and in support compares them to the cuckoo = Prāg antarīkṣagamanāt svamapatyajātam anyair dvijaiḥ parabhṛtāḥ paripoṣayanti. See also VIII. 3175 and 3178.

To the mother and the potter-woman who looked after him, he was known as the hidden treasure to the Earth and the female serpent. 108

The grandson of Pravarasena, the royal child, was called by the potter-woman, at the behest of the mother, after the same name as his grandfather. 109

As he grew up the child, who loved the friendship of the brave, could not endure the company of his associates as the lotus which loves the friendship of the sun disdains contact with water. 110

Followed only by little boys of high family who were brave and educated, people watched him at play with astonishment. 111

He, who had extraordinary energy, was made by the little boys in their games the rajah of their own group as the lion cub, in the forest, by the young animals. 112

He distributed presents, conferred favours and kept the lads under control; never did he behave in a manner unworthy of a king. 113

When the potters gave him a ball of clay to make pots and the like he accepted it and made a series of Śiva Liṅgas. 114

While at play he, who had a wonderful bearing, was once seen by his maternal uncle Jayendra who politely greeted him. 115

When it was announced to him by the lads, "This is Jayendra", by looking at him with the condescension of a king's son he seemed to confer a favour. 116

From his spirit and noble bearing, believing him to have been born in no common family, Jayendra suspected him, from resemblance to his brother-in-law, to be his nephew. 117

He hastened, tempted by the anxiety to discover the truth, to follow him and when in his eagerness he arrived at the house he saw his sister. 118

She and he, who had seen each other after a long time, were overcome by emotion and the brother and sister continued to shed tears doubly hot because of their sighs. 119

The boy asked of the potter-woman, "Mother! who are these two", and he was thus informed, "Child! this lady is thy mother and he is thy maternal uncle." 120

108. The serpent is the guardian of treasure hidden in the ground; it is said that the miser, the owner of the treasure, becomes after death its guardian in the form of a serpent. Numerous references will be found in this poem to this poetic fancy.

Having counselled the boy who, enraged at his father's imprisonment, was helpless in view of the circumstances, Jayendra then departed to attend to his affairs. 121

When he was preparing to incite an insurrection, by chance, Toramāṇa, the sun among men, released from imprisonment by his brother, died. 122

After dissuading his mother from death Pravarasena, saddened by grief, desirous of visiting places of pilgrimage, then went abroad. 123

At this juncture, after protecting the land for thirty years less ten months, Hiraṇya, too, attained peace, without issue. 124

In those days there flourished in the incomparable Ujjayinī, the glorious Vikramāditya the Emperor, the one lord of the parasol, whose other appellation was Harṣa. 125

To this monarch of wondrous luck, resorted Lakṣmī deserting the four arms of Viṣṇu and the seas. 126

He having used wealth as an instrument for the advancement of nerit, men of virtue even to this day stand in front of the wealthy vith their necks held high. 127

By annihilating the Śakas he had already made light the burden of he task of Viṣṇu, who is to come down as an Avatāra for the extermination of the Mlecchas. 128

To this king, who was renowned in different part of the horizon, vho was easily accessible to men of merit, and whose court was open o all, came a poet of the name Mātṛgupta. 129 *Matṛgupta*

This poet, who had grown up in different courts, observing the ery remarkable character of that profound king, thought to imself. 130

25. K. refers to the king Vikrama hom legend credits with the victory ver the Scythians (Śaka) in commemoration of which, it is said, was started he Śaka era (78 A.C.) which is still bserved in Kaśmīr and the Dekhan. he learned scholar Dr. Bhau Dāji of ombay believed that Mātṛgupta was e famous poet Kālidāsa. According to r. Hoernle the tradition about ikrama referred to king Yaśodharman, onqueror of the Hūṇas, and this view vas supported by Professor Pathak who id stress on the fact that in his account the conquests of Raghu Kālidāsa refers, in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, to the Hūṇas and apparently locates them in Kaśmīr, because he mentions the saffron which grows only in Kaśmīr.

K. refers in verse 330 below to Śilāditya as the son of Vikrama. Dr. Bhau Dāji had first pointed out that this is the same Śilāditya who has been mentioned by Hsüan-Tsang as having ruled in Mālava about sixty years before his visit i.e. about 580 A.C.

128. For an account of the Śakas see Prof. W. Norman Brown's *Story of Kālaka*, Chapt. I. (Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 1933).

"Here is this king, a lover of virtue, whom, through merits of former existence, I have come across; to discover his superior one must turn to kings of antiquity." 131

"While he is king, philosophers, scholars, and those learned in the scriptures need never fold their hands for the sake of honour or appreciation." 132

"Like a well-bred woman, wit, through repartee, makes its own meaning clear to him and intellectual skill does not lie fallow." 133

"Since he has suppressed the conversation of the wicked and he discriminates between what is proper and improper, one does not by serving him reduce one's merit to a state of futility." 134

"The savants and the charlatans not having been placed under the same head, men of merit in his presence have not to experience a living death." 135

"Grace-payments according to worth emanating from him who is discriminate are not bewailed, with the heaving of sighs, by the high-minded." 136

"While he secures his own end by duly honouring according to merit, this king, who has awareness of character, stimulates enthusiasm in every body." 137

"The exertions of officials, who in serving him suffer hardships in order to create a favourable attitude, are not like the sale of snow in the Himālayas." 138

"There is no confidant the reputation of whose merit is misleading, no minister who delights in squabbles and no member of council who does not fulfil his obligations at the court of the king." 139

"His servants do not use coarse language, do not cut to the quick one another with sarcastic phrases, nor do they league together being intolerant of the admission of others." 140

"Of those who follow their own whims, who adore their own wisdom, and who are blinded by the pride that they know everything, this king does not look at the faces." 141

"When conversation with him is going on which is full of promise, it is not open to wicked persons of low birth, ever to cut it off in the middle." 142

136. The translation is literal. The meaning is that the learned felt no heart-burning on account of men of inferior merit having been favoured.

138. Sale of snow on the Himalayas is like carrying coals to Newcastle.

"Having encountered through the merits of the past this king, who is free from all faults and who is worthy to be served, the realization of my ambition is not far distant." 143

"This king who is profound, appreciates merit and is firm in intellect, it seems to me, is one who might be served without fear of trouble." 144

"Nor after accepting reward from this king when he has been gratified, does it seem to me worthwhile, as in the case of other kings, to go wandering on the surface of this earth to find another who may be worth serving." 145

In this wise having very firmly convinced himself, he did not seek favour with that assembly as he would have with a new one, nor did he thrust himself in the midst of the conversation of men of merit. 146

While thus, with conspicuous humility, he displayed his merit, the king realized that he was anxious to please in order to secure a command to prove his special qualification. 147

And he thought to himself, "This high-minded man is not merely qualified; his profundity proclaims that he deserves an honourable treatment for his noble character." 148

Such was the king's view; nevertheless, in order to know the inwardness of his mind and to test him, he was not offered the customary gifts and reception. 149

That intelligent man understood by that lack of formality that, the noble-minded king had accepted him and took to serving him with affection. 150

And in course of time, by the increasing assiduity of service on the part of that intelligent man, the king suffered no more inconvenience than from his own body. 151

By his attendance, which was neither too short nor again too long in duration, he induced in the king, like the nights of autumn, the mood of delight. 152

At the gibes of those who were servants from birth, the changing moods of the door-keepers, or the false plaudits of the sycophants, he was not upset. 153

When he was the recipient of favourable remarks, he remained unshakeable like the pursuing shadow; when ignored he did not grow angered as if he were a competitor of the king. 154

He, who took the circumstances into consideration, did not leer at the maid servants; did not sit with them who were envious of the king, nor hold conversation with the vulgar in the presence of the sovereign. 155

The courtiers and their folk, who by nature are scandal-mongers about royalty, could not get him to disparage the master — they who make a living by backbiting. 156

Those who politely spoke to him, day after day, about the futility of his firm attachment to the king, failed to make him slacken his ardour — they who were unable to endure his enthusiasm for service. 157

By praising, on occasions, the excellence of others, too, he, who was free from prejudices, revealed his own learning and won the hearts of the members of the assembly. 158

In this wise, while he served the king with a mighty endeavour, the indefatigable Mātṛgupta passed six seasons. 159

Thus, weak in every limb, with dusty and worn out garments, the king espied him, by chance, when going out and thought to himself. 160

"This virtuous stranger, who is without refuge and without kindred, has been made to suffer hardships by me from a desire to test his steadfastness." 161

"As to where is his lodging, what food he gets and what raiment he has, I, infatuated by luxury, alas! have not cared about." 162

"As the spring endows with splendour the tree, even to this day this man withering in the cold blast and the sun has not been furnished with decoration by me." 163

"Who would treat him with medicine in illness or cheer him when despondent, who would remove the fatigue, when tired, of him who is impecunious?" 164

"To him, while he serves me, I am not holding out either the philosopher's stone or ambrosia that I should stupidly test him to such an extent!" 165

158. Sabhya is a member of the Sabhā or Assembly. The Sabhā of Vikrama consisted of the famous Nine Gems of whom Kālidāsa, the Shakespeare of India, was one. Sabhā is an ancient political term which, it is interesting to note, is in daily use at the present time. An open air public meeting is now-a-days called Sabhā and in this sense the public meeting of the citizens of Śrīnagara convened by the Pretender Bhikṣācara is called Sabhā by Kalhaṇa; see VIII.912.

"For his merit and the hardships of strenuous service, by what honourable distinctions shall I obtain the discharge of my debt?" 166

While the king thus reflected, no honour whatever seemed to him to be a fitting expression of his own favour towards this servant. 167

Meanwhile winter had set in which, with its frost and winds heavily laden with dew drops, seemed to burn the body. 168

Reduced to perpetual darkness the directions, in the power of the severe cold weather, appeared as if they were enveloped in a dark-blue shawl. 169

Suffering from cold, the sun longed for the warmth of the submarine fire and hastening to move into the sea made the days short. 170

In the living rooms brilliantly illumined with lamps and warmed by cheerful braziers, once, the king awoke, by chance, in the middle of the night. 171

The wintry winds with their loud grating noise having entered the palace to a slight extent, he noticed in front of him the lamps flickering. 172

To relight them as he was looking for the servants, he then called in a clear voice thus: "Among the sentries outside who is on duty?" 173

While all were comfortably asleep, from the vestibule outside he then heard the words: "Majesty! here I am Mātṛgupta." 174

"Come in!" such being the order given by the king himself he, thereupon, entered the apartment, which was lovely with the intimate presence of Lakṣmī, without being challenged by anyone. 175

He was ordered to light the lamps which having done he, with light steps, was about to go outside when he was asked to stop awhile by the king. 176

Nervousness having duplicated his shivering due to cold, he stood in front of the sovereign not too far away wondering: "Whatever is he going to say!" 177

Then the king asked him, "How much is there of the night?" he replied, "Your Majesty, one watch and a half of the night remains." 178

Thereupon the king asked him, "How has the time of night been accurately judged by you; how is it that you have had no sleep at night?" 179

Whereupon having composed this verse in a moment he, bent

upon ridding himself either of his aspirations or poverty owing to his miserable condition, made his submission in this wise. 180

"When benumbed with cold I, blowing at the dying embers with cracked lower lip and throat weak with hunger, was sinking like a bean pod in the ocean of anxiety, Sleep, like a sweetheart in a huff, left me and went somewhere far away; the night, like land bestowed on a deserving person, is not exhausted." 181

Having hearkened to this and praised with thanks his exertion, the king permitted that prince of poets to go to his former place. 182

And he thought to himself, "Fie on me that, while I hear from a man of merit, who is mentally depressed, hot words of anguish, I remain even now just the same." 183

"Believing the thanks from me to be purposeless as if they were from an ordinary person he, to whom my heart is not known, must surely be unhappy outside." 184

"Long have I considered strenuously about some honour worthy of him; no gift of high value has till this day occurred to me." 185

"And yet I am reminded now by his *bon mot* that there happens to be without a rajah the charming realm of Kaśmīr." 186

"To this deserving man that land shall be granted by me, ignoring even great rulers who are eagerly praying for it." 187

Thus having swiftly decided that very night, the king despatched emissaries secretly to the ministers of Kaśmīr. 188

And he commanded them: "He who should show you my ordinance, Mātṛgupta by name, should unhesitatingly be annointed king." 189

Thus when the emissaries had departed the king, having had the ordinance inscribed, passed the rest of that night with the satisfaction of having accomplished the task. 190

Mātṛgupta, on the other hand, thinking that even the conversation with the king had become infructuous, accepted disappointment and felt as if he were rid of a burden. 191

And inwardly he argued: "The task has been accomplished, to-day the doubt has been given the quietus; the demon of hope having left me I shall now move about peacefully." 192

"From the habit of following the trodden path what a delusion this had been on my part that I should have considered from reports among the people that he was worthy to be served!" 193

186. Sūkta is literally the French 'bon mot'. See note, Taraṅga. II. 156.

"The multitude of snakes who live on air are made notorious as the pleasure seekers; those who ward off the singing bees with their wide ears have been termed the singers; that tree has been named the calm in whose interior is stored fire; in this wise by the common people, with unfettered speech, everything is made topsyturvy." 194

"And yet there is no lack of understanding in him, who has made fortunes' favourites the families of those who have been attached to him." 195

"This king who is open-handed and unsullied, how is he at fault? My reproachable lack of merit of the past it is which counteracts any benefit." 196

"If the ocean with the surging waves gleaming with precious stones is hindered by winds while heading for the shore, the fault lies indeed in the reversal of luck of his suppliant but not in the least with the liberality of that donor." 197

"Those who lie recumbent coveting rewards, had better deal with the dependents of royalty and not with their masters who yield fruit after severe tests of hardship." 198

"Those who stand at the pedestal of Śiva, by them is obtained nothing else but ashes immediately; those, however, who secure from his bull the shining gold, what happy days for ever are not for them?" 199

"As I think over it I still see no fault of mine upon discovering which this king lost his affection even while he was being served!" 200

"And yet he who has not been honoured by others, if he presents himself before him, how could he secure reward from the sovereign who follows the trodden path?" 201

"Those very particles of water which for ever are floating unheeded in the midst of the ocean, when they are taken up by the clouds and

194. There is a pun on the words the snake, the elephant and the Śamī tree. The snake is supposed by the poets to live on air, and the Śamī is the mythical tree which hid Fire in its trunk. Literally Śamī comes from Śama meaning inner calm or repose.

197. The sea which possesses a store of precious stones is the donor; it advances with its waves containing gem-stones to be given to the suppliant on the shore but is hindered by the winds.

199. It appears from this verse that, votaries were not found wanting in K's time who worshipped the bull of Śiva as being easier of approach than the mighty Destroyer. The Bull came up upon the churning of the ocean by the gods and the Titans as one of the jewels.

fall down in a shower are embraced and received by the encircling waves and the ocean publicly raises them to the state of precious pearls; as a rule even an insignificant person, when he has received honour from others, is respected on his approach by the lords of men." 202

Musing in this wise, he became devoid of respect towards him who was worthy to be served. The understanding of even a philosopher, when disappointed, suffers a set-back. 203

When the night had merged into morning the king seated in the hall of assembly ordered the chamberlain, "Let Mātṛgupta be summoned." 204

Thereupon being admitted by the ushers, many of whom had rushed out, he entered the presence of the king like one who had given up hope. 205

To him when he had made his obeisance the king, after a little while with a sign of the eye-brow, had a document delivered by the officer in charge of written instruments. 206

And himself said to him, "Well! Is the country of Kaśmīr known to you? Go there and deliver this rescript to the authorities." 207

"By our person is he sworn, who should read the instrument on the way; this obligation you should strive not to forget at any time." 208

Ignorant of its purpose Mātṛgupta, apprehending hardships, deemed the royal command a flame of fire and not the lustre from the facets of precious stones. 209

"It shall be as is the command"—thus having spoken when Mātṛgupta had departed, the king, free from pride, continued the conversation as before with the men in his confidence. 210

Upon seeing Mātṛgupta set out who was unfit for hardship,

202. This is an interesting verse. It refers to the habit of ruling princes to honour those who have been the recipients of honours from other princes. According to poetic fancy, pearls are formed from rain drops in the mouths of oysters while the constellation Svāti is ascendant. cf. "Bhartṛhari "Svātyāṁ sāgaraśuktimadhyapatitaṁ san mauktikaṁ jāyate."

206. Kings in ancient India were supposed to be restrained in speech. The sign of the eye-brow replaced as far as possible verbal orders. Even at the present day such signs may be observed among the older generation of the ruling princes in India. See IV. 221, VIII. 2625. Lekhādhikārin is the officer in charge of record or instruments in writing.

207. Śāsana is a Firman or rescript.

emaciated, without provision for the journey, and without friends the people thus blamed the king:— 211

"O what lack of discrimination on the part of the king that he should have employed a distinguished person on a job suitable for an ordinary man." 212

"The un-understanding king has, forsooth, considered just him fit for suffering who has been serving day and night and supporting hardships." 213

"The mode of approach which a servant adopts for the service of the master the latter, through lack of insight, considers him fit only therein." 214

"This man of merit, seeing that he himself was superior in qualifications to the men of merit whom the king had taken up, had hopefully sought refuge with him." 215

"In the quest for happiness and for relief from the peril of the enemy of the serpents Śeṣa serving with his body as a couch for Viṣṇu on the contrary sacrificed comfort, since the latter, on learning of his ability to bear hardships, has placed upon him the fatiguing and unending burden of the earth." 216

"Who else but him has the lack of insight that to this man of merit, who has displayed superior qualifications, he should, forsooth, have done such honour!" 217

"He who has a taste for variegated colourful objects, who is in love with the bow of Indra though it is unsubstantial, 'on seeing my fan-tail what favour might he not grant me?' thus displaying the glory of the fan-tail he dances but the cloud drops nothing else but particles of water on the peacock; who else is there save him who has an empty heart?" 218

In the mind of the cheerful Mātṛgupta, while he journeyed, there was no inkling whatever, *en route*, of the greatness of coming events. 219

From omens, foretelling good luck, rising up each one trying to be the first, he seemed to get a helping hand and suffered no fatigue. 220

218. The peacock dances before its mate in the season of the clouds. The poet utilizes this love dance and makes the peacock soliloquise on sighting the clouds. The bow of Indra = the rainbow. Śūnyāśaya = empty heart, refers to the hollow or unsubstantial character of the rainbow.

220. Augury exercised a great influence on politics in ancient times. Among the Romans the signs of the will of the gods were eagerly scanned from the flight of birds, warnings of unusual phenomena, etc. Dr. Seyffert writes:

He saw on the way on top of the hood of a snake a wagtail; in a dream he saw himself ascending a palace and traversing the sea. 221

And he thought to himself being learned in the Śāstras: "With these signs foretelling good fortune, the king's command might indeed bring me luck!" 222

"If the fruit were to be mine, however small, in Kaśmīr, in virtue of the glory of that country, what various other things will it not have surpassed?" 223

Roads which could be traversed without difficulty, householders to whom guests were welcome, and hospitable reception offered themselves to him at every step. 224

In this wise, when he had traversed the road in front of him, with the verdure of its undulating trees and gleaming like a dish of yogurt on an auspicious occasion, he beheld the Himālaya. 225

Delightful with the resin of the pines and laden with the spray of the Gaṅgā, the soft breezes of the land, which was to be under his guardianship, rose up to meet him. 226

Thus he arrived in the locality known as Kramavarta at the drum-station named Kāmbuva, which at present is located in Śūrapura. 227

In that place, to which all kinds of people had thronged, he then heard that the principal ministers of Kaśmīr, for some unknown reason, were present there. 228

Thereupon removing the dress he had on hitherto, he clad himself in white raiment and went before them to deliver the king's ordinance. 229

"No public act whether of peace or war could be undertaken without auspices. They were especially necessary at the election of all officials, the entry upon all offices, at all comitia, and at the departure of a general for war." In India Kauṭilya (4th century B.C.) in his work on political science writes in condemnation of these practices as follows: "Wealth passes by the unsophisticated who consult too much the constellations; for wealth is the constellation of constellations how can the stars be effective? Resolute men even by hundred efforts secure wealth; by wealth is overcome wealth as are elephants by counter-elephants." (*Kauṭilya* IX. 4.). For omens see below verse 230 and VIII. 744, 766.

225. The first sight which meets the eye of the tourist from the plains is that of the gleaming white snow on the mountains of Kaśmīr. Dadhi (in Hindi Dahi) = Yogurt which is commonly called 'curd' in India. Yogurt is from Turkish Jugrat. The Europeans among whom Yogurt is now popular, have learnt the use of it from the Bulgarians and the Hungarians.

226. The Gaṅgā mentioned here is not the mighty river; several streams in Kaśmīr are considered as the manifestations of the holy Gaṅgā.

227. The drum-station = a military observation post equipped with a large drum to sound alarm and give warning

When he set out some wayfarers followed him, whose rise had been indicated by portents, to see the advent of the fruit of those omens. 230

Then hearing that an emissary of Vikramāditya had come, the door-keeper immediately announced to the Kaśmīrī ministers that he had arrived. 231

"Be pleased to come, be pleased to enter" thus was he addressed on all sides and he thus met those assembled grandees unhindered. 232

After the ministers, according to seniority, had welcomed him with honour, he then sat down on the highest seat to which he was directed by them. 233

By the ministers who had treated him with respect, he was asked about the king's command and slowly and as if feeling bashful he delivered the rescript to them. 234

They after saluting the sovereign's epistle met together privately and having opened and read it, filled with deference, they addressed him. 235

"Is Mātṛgupta Your Honour's own estimable name?", and he, on his part, said, "Yes, that is so" with a smile. 236

"Who among the masters of ceremonies is present?"—such were the words which were heard and then were seen the requisite materials for a coronation collected together. 237

Thereupon thronged by a large concourse of vociferous people that place, in a mere trice, began to surge like the sea. 238

Next Mātṛgupta, who was installed on a golden chair of state facing the east, was sprinkled with the water of coronation by the assembled ministers. 239

Rolling down his chest, broad like the slope of the Vindhya, the resonant water of the coronation had the semblance of the flowing Narmadā. 240

After his body had been bathed and annointed and all his limbs decked with ornaments, the subjects, while he occupied the royal throne, made their submission to him as the king. 241

"By the king Vikramāditya, who had been petitioned for his personal protection, you who have been delegated as one equal to his ownself, may you rule over this land." 242

239. One should face the east—the direction of the rising sun—for religious and auspicious ceremonies, for energy and well-being generally.

242-245. It is interesting to compare with this passage the welcome accorded to Aurangzeb by the Kaśmīrī poets which Bernier describes as follows: "We were no sooner arrived than Aurangzeb received from the bards poems in praise of this favoured land which he accepted and rewarded with

"By this kingdom have been given away realms as gifts over and over again; O king! do not consider it to be a gift given by others." 243

"As in the case of birth which is secured through one's own Karma, the parents are merely the immediate cause of its advent so are other persons, for the commencement of their rule, in the case of kings." 244

"Such being the case by saying to another whosoever he may be 'I am at your service' you should not, O king! bring us and yourself into contempt." 245

Thus did they rightly say to him, but king Mātṛgupta, recalling the honourable treatment of the master, remained for a while smiling. 246

By abundant largesses worthy of the new sovereignty he made it an auspicious day; in that very place of great good luck he passed that day. 247

Upon being requested the next day by the ministers to enter the city, he then despatched an emissary to the giver of the kingdom with wonderful gifts. 248

In view of the superiority of the land thinking this might mean a rivalry with the master, he felt ashamed in his mind and reckoned himself guilty. 249

Then having summoned other servants with a view to refer to the reminiscence of the service of the master, he sent, though of small value, presents which were worthy of him. 250

Recalling his uncommon virtues with tearful eyes, he himself wrote out one of his verses and sent it. 251

"You do not alter your demeanour, you never boast, you give no indication of your longing to confer gifts, you let fall good fruits. Like the silent shower from a cloud, O king! your favour is noticed only when you are granting it." 252

Then having entered Śrīnagara with the troops, which shut out the edges of the horizon, he began to protect the country according to tradition, as if it had come to him in the order of succession. 253

Whether in liberality or manliness this king whose mind was

kindness. One of them, I remember, speaking of the surrounding mountains observed that their extraordinary height had caused the skies to retire into the vaulted form which we see; that nature had exhausted all her skill in the creation of this country; and rendered it inaccessible to the attack of a hostile force; because, being the mistress of the kingdoms of the Earth, it was wise to preserve her in perfect peace and security that she might exercise universal dominion without the possibility of ever being subject to any."

ennobled by a due sense of proportion had, like a petitioner, no limit to his ambition. 254

In his open-handedness, he made preparations to celebrate sacrifices with extensive Dakṣiṇās, when at the thought of the slaughter of animals he shrank through compassion. 255

He thereupon ordered the prohibition of slaughter in his kingdom and as long as he ruled he offered powder of gold, etc. and flour mixed with yogurt. 256

When this porridge was being distributed by king Mātṛgupta, who did not, with surging joy, experience the quenching of his thirst? 257

This virtuous king, who had seen adversity and was generous, was even more than Vikramāditya accessible to those who sought benefits from him. 258

By his praiseworthy discrimination were made fragrant the joys of dalliance with fortune of that king which charmed men of wisdom. 259

When Meṇṭha represented before him the "*Death of Hayagrīva*" which was new, until the finale no remarks of approval or condemnation fell from him. 260

Then, as he started to tie up the volume, the king placed below it a gold vessel lest its loveliness might percolate! 261

The poet Bhartṛmeṇṭha who had been honoured by such appreciation, on his part, deemed superfluous the gift of money. 262

He installed Madhusūdana known as Mātṛguptasvāmin whose villages, in time, Mamma took for his own temple. 263

In this wise while the king was ruling the land, the government of which he had acquired, five years less three months and one day passed. 264

While the son of Añjanā with the waters of the Tīrthas was gratifying the ancestors, he heard that in his own country had occurred such an encroachment by another. 265

256. Karambhaka is the familiar Hindi 'Khicaḍi', a preparation of rice and 'dal' (beans) cooked together. It appears on the menu in the hotels as Keḍgeree. Khicaḍi is distributed to the Brahmans to this day. See also V. 16 and VIII. 811, where the word Karambhaka recurs. It is interesting to note that Pulāka (rice cooked with meat and dried fruit) was a favourite dish in ancient India. See Note VIII. 1641.

261. Lāvaṇya=Loveliness, beauty. It is thus described in the *Sabdakalpadruma*: Muktāphaleṣu chhāyāyas taralatvam ivāntarā/Pratibhāti yad angeṣu tal lāvaṇyam ihocyate. The lusture of pearls which is their "water" is Lāvaṇya. The meaning is that for fear of the Lāvaṇya oozing out of the poem, a plate was placed below the book!

The melting mood of sorrow for the father disappeared with anger like the moisture of the dew drops on the tree with the solar heat. 266

When he reached Śrīparvata a Siddha, named Aśvapāda, garbed as a Pāśupata, addressed him while giving him roots for food. 267

"In a former birth when I had achieved self-realization I asked you, who were my acolyte, what your desire was and your aspiration was for sovereignty." 268

"When I was striving to secure you the fulfilment of the heart's desire, he who has the moon for his crest instructed me as follows: 269

'This is my own celestial attendant who is your acolyte; in another birth I shall fulfil his desire for sovereignty.' 270

"The blessed Lord, having granted you the sight, will endow your aspiration with fruit" having thus spoken he became invisible. 271

While he aspiring to imperial power was practising austerities there for a year, Śiva, who had been reminded by the words of the Siddha, appeared to him. 272

To Śiva in the guise of an ascetic who had declared that his desired object would be granted, Pravarasena prayed for kingship, vigilant for world conquest. 273

"Ignoring salvation why do you long for the pleasures of royalty which are transient?", thus was he addressed by Śiva desirous of discovering his intentions. 274

He replied to him, "Believing you to be Śiva in the guise of an ascetic I spoke thus; obviously you are not the god, the Lord of the universe." 275

"For the great, to whom prayers are made for small favours, grant rewards in no small measure of their own accord; the generous one granted the ocean of milk to him who, from thirst, had asked for some milk." 276

"Do you know the humiliation which has brought torment, which cuts to the quick this family whose mental peace in the attainment of heavenly bliss has been disturbed?" 277

267. Pāśupata. See Note I. 17. This sect included in their ritual the song and the dance, the devotees expressing their sentiments by movements in accordance with the rules of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the later ceremonial of the Tantras, Śiva was represented by men and his consort Śakti, female energy, by women.

276. For the story of Upamanyu see the *Mahābhārata* XIII. 14-352 sqq. Also VIII. 3390.

The Lord of the universe, whose love is perfect, having made his prayer fructuous and having revealed his figure then spoke to him once more. 278

"While you are steeped in the felicities of sovereignty, by my command, in time, Aśvapāda will make to you the sign which will be the harbinger of the attainment of beatific communion." 279

When after saying this the god had vanished, Pravarasena fulfilled the vow of austerity and taking leave of Aśvapāda returned to his beloved country. 280

Then having learnt the whole story, he stopped his ministers, who had come over to his side, from attacking Mātṛgupta and spoke these words: 281

"My mind is straining to root out the proud Vikramāditya; towards Mātṛgupta our mind is not provoked by anger." 282

"What is the use of even crushing a foe who is unable to bear sufferings? The ambition to conquer is glorious against those who have the power to exterminate." 283

Those lotuses, who detest the rising of the moon, who else but he is their antagonist? What kind of policy indeed is this that he should split the tusks of the mighty tuskers who are the enemies of the lotuses? To proclaim their might the great, having given up the rivalry with these who are not their equals, it is a wonder! vent their waxing wrath upon those who hold sway over the former. 284

After conquering the territory of Trigarta as this king was marching forth, he heard that Vikramāditya had succumbed to death. 285

That day the king, who sighed repeatedly, had neither bath nor sleep and remained with his face cast down. 286

The next day he heard that Mātṛgupta, who abandoning the country had departed from Kaśmīr, had made a halt at no great distance. 287

"By some of my own partisans he must have been expelled" thus apprehensive Pravarasena proceeded to him with a meagre retinue. 288

284. There are two kinds of lotuses—the sun-lotus which opens and closes with the rising and setting of the sun and the moon-lotus which opens and closes with the rise and the setting of the moon. The moon would therefore be the enemy of the sun-lotus. Poets love to describe ivory as the rival in whiteness of the moon. The moon is thus described as hostile to ivory which is said to crack in the moonlight! The elephant is the enemy of the lotuses because he destroys the lotus pool and tears up the lotus plants. See VII. 1099, also VIII. 2856, 2865 and 3142.

Having done him honour and after he had been seated comfortably the king, bowing with courtesy, in due course, asked him the reason for the abdication of the throne. 289

He replied to him after a while having sighed and smiled "the benefactor has departed, O king! through whom we were in enjoyment of the land." 290

"So long as on its surface are the rays of the sun the crystal is illumined in all directions, otherwise it does not shine in the least and is just a stone." 291

"Then the king asked "Who has wronged you that with the desire for revenge against him you are mourning for that sovereign?" 292

Thereupon Mātṛgupta replied while his lower lip was blanched by the smile of disdain, "none dare do us an injury by superior might." 293

"When we were raised to an honourable position by him, who had an insight into character, he had not offered melted butter as sacrifice in the ashes nor had he sown corn in saline soil." 294

"But those, who remembering benefits admit being under the sway of gratitude, follow the foot-steps of their benefactors—even they who are inanimate." 295

"Does not the sun-stone after sunset suffer extinction of light and the moon-stone wane after the waning moon?" 296

"Therefore by going to hallowed Benares, eagerly looking for the bliss of repose, I propose to renounce everything as is meet for a twice-born man." 297

"In the absence of that monarch who was like a jewel-lamp, the earth has been darkened at which I fear even to look—What need is there to talk about association with luxuries?" 298

Pravarasena

In this wise hearing the speech of that sea of propriety, the brave Pravarasena was amazed and he, too, said what was meet. 299

"Of a truth this goddess Earth, O king! is one who gives birth to jewels; by the birth of men like yourself who are righteous and grateful she is resplendent." 300

294. The meaning is that, Vikramāditya, who raised the speaker to exalted position, was a shrewd and prudent person.

296. The sun-stone, according to poetic fancy, radiates the heat of the sun whereas the moon-stone melts in the moonlight.

298. Jewel-lamp. Lustrous jewels used as night-lights, see IV. 15.

"Who else but that king is worthy of praise for appreciative insight into character? In such a commonplace world he alone understood you according to your merit." 301

"Long indeed would the paths of gratitude have been spurned were it not, O brave one! for you who have yourself shown how to tread them." 302

"If it is not the maturing of my good luck to-day, why then had he not given ere long; if he has no selfish end with me, why does he not favour his own poor kinsmen; if from me who has watched his loopholes, he had no fear why should this avaricious man part with this;" in this wise inwardly a mean man thinks, as a rule, when a good turn is done to him." 303

"Among persons of very superior qualifications honourable treatment, however meagre, being nourished by their merits of the past, grows to be a plant with a hundred ramifications." 304

"Thus you are the foremost among men of virtue and have been appreciated by philosophers; like a jewel that has been appraised, it is clear, you are highly thought of among the righteous." 305

"Therefore please confer a favour on us and do not renounce kingship; let me acquire a reputation for having been on the side of the righteous." 306

"The country which was formerly bestowed by him and later by me also, may you be pleased to let it show affection towards you once more." 307

Having hearkened thus to the words of the king, who was guileless in his generous conduct, Mātṛgupta having smiled spoke these words with deliberation. 308

"Those words, without which what has to be mentioned cannot be expressed, in saying them what alternative is there save overstepping the bounds of decorum?" 309

"Hence I must say something even though it be harsh albeit I am convinced that guileless and straightforward has been your conduct as a gentleman." 310

"All remember every one else's unimportance in the early conditions of life. To one's ownself alone is, however, known one's dignity at the present moment." 311

310. Āryatva=the conduct of an Ārya or gentleman.

"My former status in life is in your mind while yours is in my mind, by them we both have been deluded and do not understand each other's heart." 312

"Having been a king how is a person like me to accept fortune as a present and with one stroke wipe out all that is meet and proper? 313

"Uncommonly glorious was the generosity of that king; could a man like me, for the mere enjoyment of pleasures, reduce it to a commonplace?" 314

"Moreover if I did yearn for pleasures, O king! so long as I keep up my pride, by whom have they been denied to me?" 315

"The benefit conferred upon me by him, were it to remain unrequited, would go waste in my limbs—let this resolution now exert its power." 316

"By my following the way which was that king's, I would bring publicity to his reputation for discriminating between worthy and unworthy recipients." 317

"In discharging my duty to this extent when fame is his only relic, I should at least prove myself true to obligations by the renunciation of pleasures." 318

When after saying this he fell silent, the king declared, "So long as you are alive your riches shall not be touched by me." 319

Then going to Benares Mātṛgupta assumed the ochre-brown garment and, having renounced everything, that good man became a Yati. 320

King Pravarasena, too, duly sent the entire revenue of Kaśmīr to Mātṛgupta, being firm in his resolution. 321

He distributed the wealth, which came in spite of him, among all his suppliants and subsisting on alms the just man supported life for ten years. 322

This account of the three, whose bearing towards one another

320. Yati=from 'yam' to control—is a person who is self-controlled. The word is in common use at the present day as a designation of those who live the life of renunciation. It is also used among the Jains for those who have retired from active life.

was one of pride and who were full of mutual consideration, is like the waters of the river of the three-fold course. 323

King Pravarasena thereafter compelled the rulers of other territories to bend and his martial glory rendered the directions easy to traverse for his growing renown. 324

The military glory, which swallowed up the seas and traversed the mountains, was in its rise like Agastya bringing calm to the world. 325

His army caused the leaves of the Tamāla to wither and destroyed the palm groves on the sea-shore; at the same time it compelled the wives of his enemies to remove from their faces the forehead marks and tear off the ear-ornaments. 326

To the eastern sea which embraces the body of Gaṅgā, by the streaming ichor of his war elephants, he gave the semblance of a union with the Yamunā. 327

On the shore of the western sea with his armies in contact with the edges of the horizon, he invaded the country of Saurāṣṭra and having uprooted the people broke up their kingdom. 328

Of this Indra on earth, who sought glory, the righteous conquest, free from hatred and worldly attachment, grew in extent among the rulers of the earth. 329

He restored to his ancestral realm the son of Vikramāditya, Pratāpatśīla, whose other name was Śīlāditya, who had been expelled by his enemies. 330

The lion-throne of his ancestors, carried away by the enemy, was then brought back by him from the city of Vikramāditya to his own city once more. 331

323. The river of the three-fold course is the Gaṅgā. The three courses are: the one in heaven, (the Via Lacta=Sk. Viyat-Gaṅgā), the second one on Earth, the third in Pātāla or Hades where the waters of the Gaṅgā restored to life the sons of Sagara as described, in the *Mahābhārata,* in the charming story of the prince Bhagīratha. See 530 below and Appendix C.

326. There is a pun on the word Tamāla which means the tree Tamāla as well as the forehead, and Tāḍī-dala which means Palm leaf as well as ear-ring.

328. Surāṣṭra known to the ancient Greeks as Surastrene is the modern Sorath or Kathiawad.

329. The rules of Kṣatriya chivalry insisted on Dharmayuddha meaning war for righteous purpose; Dharmavijaya would therefore mean conquset by righteous war. War of might against right would contravene the rule of Kṣatriya chivalry; the verse refers to this traditional view of warfare in India.

When, citing various pretexts, king Mummuni failed to acknowledge defeat, he conquered him seven times and let him go. 332

When, from effrontery, on the eighth occasion he was ready to allege an excuse, "curse the beast; let this man be manacled" exclaimed the king in anger. 333

"I should not be killed being an animal, O brave one!" thus he spoke and anxious to be free from peril he danced, in the midst of the assembly, imitating a peacock. 334

After witnessing the dance and the cry of the peacock, the king gave him, together with the promise of safety, a present befitting an actor. 335

While he was residing in the city of his grandfather after conquering in all directions, there arose the desire in his heart to found a city after his own name. 336

Thus, on one occasion, to discover a site and the auspicious time the brave man, sun among kings, set out during the night on a ramble of adventure. 337

As he walked, the cluster of stars reflected in the front jewel of the king's diadem bore a semblance to the protecting mustard seeds. 338

Then in his wanderings he approached, on the outskirts of a crematorium, a stream on the bank of which the trees vividly lit up by the numerous funeral fires looked weird. 339

At that time, on the further side of that stream facing this man of great courage, there appeared a mighty giant shrieking with upraised arms. 340

The king looked flame-coloured owing to the giant's glowing eye-glances which fell on him and like a proud mountain, embraced by the blaze of a meteor, he began to shine. 341

Then filling the directions with echo while he laughed aloud, the night-walker spoke to the unaffrighted king. 342

"Leaving aside Vikramāditya, Śūdraka overflowing with courage, and you O protector of the land! resolute courage in perfection is difficult to find elsewhere." 343

338. Mustard seeds are still used to keep off the evil eye and evil spirits.

342. The giants, demons, the Titans and others are the Powers of Darkness and are called Niśācara, literally night-walker.

"O supreme lord of the country! your desire shall be fulfilled; cross over on this bridge and come near me." 344

So saying the giant extended his leg from the further side and bridged the waters of the Mahāsarit. 345

Realizing that the bridge was made of a limb of the giant's body, the valiant Pravarasena bore the short sword unsheathed. 346

He having chopped off the giant's flesh made a flight of steps, hence that place is nowadays called Kṣurikābal. 347

He spoke to the king, who had approached him, about the auspicious time; "at dawn after seeing the measuring line put down by me construct the city" as he said this the giant vanished. 348

He discovered the line dropped by the Vetāla in the village of Śārīṭaka where resided the goddess Śārikā and the Yakṣa Aṭṭa. 349

Through devotion while he was about to carry out in that place, first of all, the consecration of Pravareśvara, Jayasvāmin having broken through the diagram, took his seat of his own accord on the basement. 350

This image was made known by the king after the name of the architect Jaya, who knew the auspicious time declared by the Vetāla. 351

To show favour towards the city because of Pravarasena's pious devotion, Vināyaka Bhīmasvāmin with his face to the west, turned, of his own accord, to face the east. 352

346. Kṣurikā has been translated as the short sword. It may also mean a knife. The Kṣatriyas in India like the warriors of medieval Japan had two swords—the long and the short swords. The Japanese knight followed a code of chivalry which bore a close resemblance to the Kṣatriya code of India. Indeed up to the 13th century the long and the short swords in Japan bore on them a Saṁskṛta inscription as legend.

347. The modern Khudbal. Bal in Kaśmirī is 'place' and forms part of several place names.

349-350. From the goddess Śārikā is derived the name of the hill Hārparvat (Śārikāparvata) which, with Akbar's fort on it, is a prominent land mark near Śrīnagar. The shrine of Śārikā on the slope of the hill is still a place of pilgrimage. The temple from where Pravarasena ascended to heaven is now no more, only its high gate-way and large blocks of stone remain which may be seen at the corner of the cemetery which surrounds the Ziarat of Bahauddin. The cemetery walls and tombs are full of sculptured stones and relics of Hindu temples.

Five temples of goddesses, Sadbhāvaśrī and others, bearing the characteristic epithet of Srī, were placed in that city by him, who was the ruler of the Pañcajana. 353

Over the Vitastā this king had the Great Bridge constructed and only since that time has the design of such boat bridges become well known. 354

Jayendra, the maternal uncle of the king, carried out the construction of Srī Jayendra Vihāra and the colossal image of Buddha. 355

The minister, who enjoyed Ceylon and other isles, of the name of Morāka constructed the world famous Morākabhavana. 356

Famous with its thirty-six lakhs of houses was the city, which had for its boundaries Vardhanasvāmin and Viśvakarman. 357

Only on the left bank of the Vitastā, it is said, was the city formerly built by him, provided with markets in its wards. 358

The high mansions there kissed the sky; by ascending them one could, towards the end of summer, see the world glistening with rain-showers and efflorescent in Caitra. 359

Apart from this city, where on earth could one have easily found clean and charming canals from the river in pleasure houses and streets? 360

Nowhere else was seen a recreation hill in the centre of a city, from where was visible a panoramic view of the houses as if from the way to heaven. 361

Where else but there, could residents have got in front of their houses the water of the Vitastā on an oppressive summer day with large lumps of snow and sugar? 362

To each temple of the gods in that city, such treasure had been given by the kings that, it would have been possible to buy with it a thousand times the Earth draped by the seas. 363

353. Pañcajana. This is an intriguing word with many possible meanings. It may mean:

(1) The four castes with the barbarians as the fifth, see the exposition in *Śārīrabhāṣya* on *Brahma Sūtras* 1.4, 11-13.

(2) The five classes of beings viz. the gods, men, Gandharvas, Nāgas, and the Pitṛ. (3) or does it possibly mean the Pañcāyats as we know them!

354. This is an interesting verse which dates the building of boat bridges in Kaśmīr.

359. Caitra is the name of the Lunar month in which the full moon stands in the constellation Citrā. It corresponds to March-April in Spring.

362. The love of the Kaśmīrīs for cold drinks in summer is again referred to in VIII. 1863.

While the king who was like a father to his people resided in that city, in time, it was sixty years since his acquisition of paramountcy. 364

On his forehead marked with the trident, the locks white with age, wore the grace of the waters of the Gaṅgā clinging to it mistaking it to be Śiva's. 365

Then it was that Aśvapāda, by command of Śiva, employed a Kaśmīrī Brahman named Jayanta, who had arrived at this juncture and was by his side. 366

"You are weary O wayfarer! From no other country is to be secured what you desire. To king Pravarasena you should show this letter." 367

When having thus spoken, he delivered the letter "I am weary with marching and unable to go a long journey immediately" so said the Brahman to him. 368

"In any case bathe to-day being a Brahman who has been touched by me a Kāpālika" after saying this he was thrown by the latter into the waters of a pool nearby. 369

On opening his eyes he saw himself standing in his own country and the servants of the king, who was absorbed in worship, busy in carrying water. 370

In order to announce himself, he then threw the letter without hesitation in a bath pitcher which was being carried to the king from the river. 371

But when the letter, fallen from the pitcher, was read by the king, who was giving a bath to Pravareśa, he had Jayanta brought near him. 372

"Duty has been discharged; much has been given in charity, the pleasures of life have been enjoyed, a life-time has been spent, what else remains to be done by you! Come away and proceed to the abode of Śiva." 373

Thereby having realized the sign, he gratified the Brahman by

365. The Gaṅgā is carried on the head by Śiva. The waters of the Gaṅgā are always referred to as white, the Yamunā water as dark. This description is accurate; one sees at Prayāga (the modern Allahabad) at the confluence of these two mighty rivers a line which divides the cream coloured waters of the Gaṅgā from the dark-blue waters of the Yamunā.

373. This is the verse which formed the contents of the letter.

granting him his cherished desire and penetrating that palace of stone plunged into the stainless sky. 374

He was seen by the people going in the direction of which Kailāsa is the ornament, occasioning in the bright sky the rising of a second sun. 375

Jayanta, who through the miraculous events had obtained riches, made them free from stigma by founding after his name Agrahāra and other pious works. 376

In this wise having enjoyed the sovereignty of the world, the best among the rulers of the earth attended with that very body the court of the Lord of beings. 377

In the temple of Pravareśa at the spot where the king had achieved salvation, there is to be seen, even to this day, a gate which rivals the gate of paradise. 378

Yudhiṣṭhira II

His son, born from queen Ratnaprabhā Devī, king Yudhiṣṭhira, ruled for forty years less three months. 379

His ministers known by the appellations of Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta gained distinction by their Vihāras, Caityas and other works. 380

He who made the township of Bhavaccheda, famous with Caityas and other sacred edifices, Vajrendra, the son of Jayendra, was also his minister. 381

Those who like artists painted with the sandal of fame the faces of the ladies, the Directions,—Kumārasena and others—were also among his principal ministers of state. 382

Lahkhaṇa Narendrāditya

By Padmāvatī he had a son, Narendrāditya, whose other name was Laḥkhaṇa; he founded Narendrasvāmin. 383

The two sons of Vajrendra, Vajra and Kanaka were his ministers, renowned for their pious acts and his queen was Vimalaprabhā. 384

He founded an office of state for the preservation of written records; this powerful armed king ascended to heaven after thirteen years. 385

382. The art of making up the face must have been in vogue in old Kaśmīr with trained artists to do the Beauty Parlour treatment. The ladies of Nepāl to this day enamel and make up their faces artistically. The meaning of the verse is that Kumārasena and other ministers spread the king's fame in all directions. K. utilizes the feminine gender of the cardinal points in Saṁskṛta for a play on the word and makes them the ladies for whom the ministers acted as the artists.

Raṇāditya

His younger brother, Raṇāditya, then became king, whom the people soon began to call by his other name Tuñjīna. 386

Unique in this world was his head marked with the sign of the conch; it bore the extraordinary beauty of the sun's lustre merged in the lord of the night. 387

On the forest of the necks of his enemies descended like torrential rain his sword, while the eyes of their wives became pools holding excess of water. 388

Unprecedented was the fire of his valour which, on entering hostile territory, put currents of water in the eyes of the women of the enemy and caused grass to sprout in their houses. 389

When the sword was enamoured of his hand, none but headless trunks could hold a dance in the forces of the enemy. 390

The beloved queen consort of unsurpassed glory of this king of divine figure, was the Śakti of Viṣṇu come to earth as queen Raṇārambhā. 391

For he, it is said, had been formerly a gamester in another birth and on one occasion, was reduced to desperation by the gamblers having won everything he possessed. 392

Ready as he was to give up the body, he yet mused how he might gain something; not even at the fagend are gamblers indifferent to achieving their own purpose. 393

He planned to visit in Mount Vindhya the goddess Bhramaravāsinī, whose sight was never infructuous, desirous of asking for a boon, unmindful of his own life. 394

With wasps, hornets and other insects he, who would enter her abode, would find five Yojanas difficult to traverse. 395

Against those adamant wasps, the sensible man reckoned that a counter-measure should not be difficult to devise for a body, which eventually has to be thrown away. 396

First with a steel armour and then with a buffalo hide he covered the body and then gave a coating of clay mixed with cow-dung. 397

Thus with repeated coatings of clay dried by the sun-rays on his

387. The sign of the conch is one of the divine signs of royalty.

391. Śakti is a mystical term which, like aura, is a subtle emanation, glory—envelope—of the spirit.

394. This account of the goddess is remarkably like that of the Bhramaravāsinī of the Vindhya described in his Prākṛta poem by Vākpati.

body, he set out, like a moving clod of earth, with grim determination. 398

Leaving behind the straight path together with the desire for life, he plunged into a cave which was terrifying in its dense darkness. 399

Thereupon there rose up from the recesses, frightful swarms of wasps rending the ear with the whir of their wings like the rattle of Death's drum. 400

Their eyes being injured by the dust from the dried up coating of clay, they could not attack him impetuously although they struck to hurt him. 401

The wasps which had their eyes blinded by dust retreated, but others, ever new ones, falling on him broke to pieces the clay coating. 402

While the infuriate wasps were attacking, he went over three Yojanas and the clay coating, while he was yet on the way, was in turn worn out. 403

Thereafter as they repeatedly struck at the buffalo hide, a weird noise, rat-a-tat, arose which was dreadful. 404

When he had done half of the fourth Yojana, he realized from the ringing sound that the wasps were attacking the steel armour. 405

Thereupon he began to run with great speed and while he was being torn by the wasps, he lost the steel armour; his mind did not part with fortitude nevertheless. 406

When the shrine of the goddess was as near as one Gavyūti, the resolute-minded man ran on, shaking off the wasps with his arms. 407

Thus with bones and muscles remaining on his body, stripped of flesh by the wasps, protecting the eyes with the hands, he reached the shrine. 408

The attack of the wasps died down; beholding a light he fell in front of the feet of the goddess unconscious of life. 409

To comfort him in whom a little life yet remained, the goddess having made his body lovely then touched him on the limbs with her hand. 410

By the touch of her divine hand streaming with nectar, he was soon restored to normal health and began to cast his eyes in all directions. 411

But the goddess, whom just when he entered he had seen, of terri-

fying appearance seated on the edge of the lion-throne, he did not see her now any more. 412

Instead he beheld a lovely lotus-eyed woman, standing in a bower of creepers in a garden on the edge of a lotus pool. 413

She had accepted as an offering a necklace of pearls; and Youth in prayer folding hollow its hands, which were represented by her round breasts, had worshipped her limbs with inestimable blossoms of loveliness. 414

Pink like new barley were her two feet which suffered distress and were practising austerities for the sight of her face hidden by the breasts. 415

Her lower lip was bright like the red Bimba, her tresses were black, her face was like the white-rayed moon, her waist was like the lion's, she had a glorious figure; she seemed to have been made up of all the gods. 416

Gazing in that solitude at her, whose limbs were irreproachable in the pride of her youth, he was reduced to subservience by desire which was unrestrained by the god of Love. 417

For she, who had camouflaged her unapproachability in a flood of beauty and sweetness, seemed to his mind to be an Apsarā and not a goddess. 418

Softened by compassion she said to him, "You have long been wrung with pain on the way; gentle friend! having composed yourself, in a while, ask for an appropriate boon." 419

He replied to her, "My fatigue has been extinguished at the sight of your ladyship; but how can your ladyship, not being a goddess, be competent to confer a boon?" 420

The goddess said to him, "My good man! what is this delusion in your mind? Whether I am a goddess or not a goddess, I am, however, able to let you choose a favour." 421

Thereupon having extorted a promise to gain his desired object and transgressing far beyond the bounds of decency, he begged her for union. 422

415. The breasts being prominent obstructed the 'darśan' of the face which the feet were anxious to have.

416. A similar description is to be found in the first Act of Bhavabhūti's play *Mālatī-Mādhava* and in Kālidāsa's poem *Megha-dūta*.

"You foul-minded one!" she exclaimed, "what is this unseemly behaviour on your part! ask for something else for I am the Bhramaravāsinī." 423

Even after knowing that she was the goddess, his mind could not take notice of it; desires, which are connected with former births, by whom have they been stemmed? 424

He replied to her, "O goddess! if you wish to honour your own word comply with my request. I want nothing else." 425

"For in the case of living beings the fragrance which, as in the case of seasamum, has once adhered to them cannot be removed from them until the end." 426

"Maybe you are a goddess or a lovely woman, whether terrifying or charming, such as I saw you before so you appear to me." 427

In this wise he spoke and perceiving that he was firmly resolved she, from generosity, said, "Thus it shall be in another birth." 428

"Those who are subject to the law of mortality dare not touch divine beings; therefore, go! man of brutal thoughts!" and thereafter she vanished. 429

"With the company of that goddess I might have an enriched birth," thus reflecting, from the end of the branch of the Banyan tree at Prayāga, he then renounced the body. 430

He was born as Raṇāditya and she as Raṇārambhā, who, despite the existence as a mortal, did not lose the reminiscence of the other birth. 431

Ratisena, king of the Colas, while he was preparing to worship the ocean, received her from the midst of the waves flashing like a row of jewels. 432

From her childhood her divine speech was manifest and when she was adorned by youth, the king considering her worthy of a divine person declined to give her to terrestrial rulers albeit they were suitors. 433

When the ministers of Raṇāditya arrived on a mission and he in the very same manner was about to refuse, she herself declared this suit to be the best. 434

430. The 'Undecaying Vaṭa' of Prayāga in those days was not near the confluence of the rivers; the credulous threw themselves down from it to die so that they may gain eternal happiness. This practice is referred to by Hsüan-Tsang. See *Beal* Vol. I.p. 232. For Vaṭa see IV. 449 note.

For this purpose the father was then told about the origin of her birth and he immediately sent her to the family of his friend, the king of Kulūta. 435

Overjoyed, Raṇāditya journeyed to that country which was not remote and having married her made her the presiding deity of his Pure Interior. 436

Fearing the touch of a mortal, although she was the principal queen, she kept him by her glamour in a state of infatuation and did not touch him at any time. 437

Having placed a phantom woman on the King's couch in her own likeness, she herself in the form of a bee went out at night. 438

He who was a devotee of Śiva founded two temples after the names of himself and of the queen and he had two Liṅgas executed out of large slabs by the sculptors. 439

The next day at the time when the ceremonial installation was about to be performed, an astrologer, who had come from abroad, denounced the two Liṅgas. 440

He who had experience and prescience repeatedly declared that the inside of the sculptured Liṅgas was filled with bits of stones and frogs. 441

To the king who not knowing what to do was bewildered and dismayed by the hindrance to the consecration, the queen, of divine vision, spoke of her own accord. 442

"O king! on the occasion of the wedding of Pārvatī, of yore, the Creator, who was officiating as the priest, took from the votive vessels an image used for worship by himself." 443

"Seeing that image of Viṣṇu being worshipped by him, Śiva then considered it inane as a form of Śakti without Śiva." 444

"Thereupon having lumped together the jewels presented by the gods and the Titans who had been the invited guests, he himself made a Liṅga adored by the world." 445

"The image of Viṣṇu and that Liṅga worshipped by Śiva, which was worthy to be worshipped by the Creator himself, in time, came into the possession of Rāvaṇa. 446

442. Vighna=impediment; a hindrance in a religious ceremony would tend to bring disaster on him who was about to perform it.

"By him also the two gods were worshipped in Laṅkā and after the death of Rāvaṇa they were carried off by the monkeys." 447

"After the wont of animals those stupid monkeys who lived on the Himālaya, when their curiosity had died down, deposited the two gods in the Uttara-mānasa." 448

"From that lake with the help of skilful artisans they have been already salvaged by me; early in the morning you will no doubt see them brought here." 449

"They should both be installed with ceremony"—having thus spoken to the king, the queen went to the Pure Interior and remembered the Siddhas who move about in the sky. 450

No sooner had she thought of them than they appeared and having, at the bidding of the queen, salvaged from the water, placed the two gods Hari and Hara in the king's palace. 451

In the morning seeing Hara and Nārāyaṇa crowned with celestial flowers in the royal residence, the people fell into exceeding wonderment. 452

When the auspicious moment for the consecration approached, while the king being a devotee of Śiva was intent on formally installing Raṇeśvara first, owing to the divine power of Raṇārambhā the miraculous image of Raṇasvāmin, of a sudden, having pierced the holy diagram, of its own accord, took its seat on the pedestal. 453-454

To test its power, the queen thereupon made offerings of treasure; the self originating one himself had villages granted to his various devotees. 455

A Siddha named Brahmā who, working as a waterman had been living incognito, was recognized and made to perform the ceremony of consecration for these two; the mode of his life having been discovered he, after consecrating Raṇeśvara, moved away in the sky and secretly concluded the consecration of Raṇasvāmin, but the people had not noticed that he had descended to the pedestal in person—such a version exists to this day in the mind of some. 456-458

The queen caused a magnificent Brahmamaṇḍapa to be erected in honour of that Siddha, supreme among the philosophers, who was comparable to Brahman. 459

Raṇārambhāsvāmin and Raṇārambhādeva were built by this couple and by them was also constructed a convent for Pāśupatas on the crest of the Pradyumna. 460

A handsome sanitorium for diseased persons to convalesce as also to relieve the danger to queen Senāmukhī was constructed by him. 461

In the village of Siṁharotsikā he founded Mārtaṇḍa, whose fame has spread everywhere under the name of Raṇapurasvāmin. 462

By Amṛtaprabhā, another consort of that king, was constructed Amṛteśvara there, on the right of the temple of Raṇeśa. 463

In the Vihāra, built by a queen of king Meghavāhana known as Bhinnā, a fine statue of Buddha was also placed by her. 464

To the king who was enamoured of the queen and sympathetic towards her she, on one occasion, imparted the Hāṭakeśvara Mantra which gave access to Pātāla. 465

"His possession of me should not be in vain"—thinking in this wise the Mantra had been imparted and having secured it, he achieved the acme of his desire for many years. 466

Having practised dire austerities at Iṣṭikāpatha, he went to Nandiśilā and for several years had the joy in the way of love through the realization of the Mantra. 467

Through dreams and omens of realization, his confidence became inviolable and penetrating the waters of the Candrabhāgā, he entered the cavern of Namuci. 468

When the cave was laid open for twenty one days, he entered and led the citizens to participate in the enjoyments with the Daitya women. 469

Thus the king, having enjoyed the land for three hundred years, obtained the lordship of the nether world as the laudable culmination of Nirvāṇa. 470

460. Pradyumna Hill is the Hārparvat on the crest of which is Akbar's fort.
465. Pātāla, the nether world (Greek Hades), was the region of the Nāgas and other semi-divine beings.
469. Daitya=sons of Diti are the Titans in contrast to "the shining ones" (the Devas), viz. the gods.

When with his retinue the king went to join the Daitya women that queen, the Śakti of Viṣṇu, vanished to the White-isle. 471

Among the numerous royal dynasties, there are two dynasties and in them two kings only, who attained perfection in loving-kindness towards the subjects. 472

Of Raṇāditya in the house of Gonanda and of Rāma in the House of Raghu the happiness was shared, even in the other world, by the subjects. 473

Vikramāditya

The son of him who was the founder of Vikrameśvara and who had overwhelmed the world by his valour was Vikramāditya who was valiant like Viṣṇu. 474

That king, comparable to Indra, with his two ministers, Brahman and Galūna, protected the land for forty years. 475

The minister Brahman founded the Brahma convent and Galūna, who picked out the evil-doers, created a Vihāra after his wife named Ratnāvalī. 476

Bālāditya

That king's younger brother, who became the sovereign after him, the terror of hostile kings, was Bālāditya of glorious power. 477

His military glory made the mouths of the women of the enemies suffer an excessive thirst by drinking of the salt sea of their tears. 478

As if they had been poles brought to ascertain the unfathomable minds of the enemy, his victory column are standing even to this day on the eastern ocean. 479

By a military demonstration after conquering the Vaṅkālas, he built for the residence of Kaśmīrīs a rest-house called Kālambī. 480

In Kaśmīr the king founded in Maḍavarājya an Agrahāra for the Brahmans, endowed with riches, called Bheḍara. 481

His wife Bimbā, whose lips were like the red Bimba, founded Bimbeśvara in Ariṣṭotsādana which destroyed the subjects' ill-luck. 482

471. Śvetadvīpa=literally the white island. Dvīpa according to the ancients was a division of the terrestrial world; the divisions are variously stated to be four, seven, nine and thirteen. According to the *Naiṣadhacarita* there were eighteen such divisions. The Dvīpas were situated round Meru, the mountain of gold, like the petals of a lotus flower. The central one is Jambu-dvīpa in which is included India. By Śvetadvīpa was perhaps meant Europe in the past. Dvīpa also means an island.

The three brothers his ministers, founders of a convent, a temple, and an embankment, were Khaṅkha, Śatrughna and Mālava 483

The king had a daughter, whose grace was the marvel of the world, named Anaṅgalekhā who was the shimmering moon-light on the ocean of love. 484

Seeing the gazelle-eyed lady, endowed with indicative marks, by the side of her father an astrologer of unfailing prescience had openly spoken as follows: 485

"Your son-in-law is destined to secure the enjoyment of the land; till your death only is the sovereignty of those born in the House of Gonanda." 486

Thereupon the king, not desiring the sovereignty for the descendants of his daughter, bent his energy to conquer destiny by human endeavour. 487

"If bestowed on one who is not of royal family, she could not usurp sovereign power"—musing in this wise he would not give her in marriage to any territorial ruler whatever. 488

Alleging handsome appearance as the sole reason, the king then made Durlabhavardhana, the official in charge of horse-fodder, his son-in-law. 489

By the Kārkota Nāga, who having had access to his mother after she had had her purificatory bath, he had been begotten expressly for the crown, but of this the king had no knowledge. 490

For, on the very person whom the self-opinionated obstinately hold to be unfit, Providence, as if wishing to triumph, confers favour. 491

Through jealousy avoiding the planets, the lord of the day when about to set imparts his light to fire, which is not his equal, believing in its fitness and becomes ridiculous as one unaware of destiny. The fire indeed! let that be apart—even the lamps, which originate from it and are under its control, make the world forget the fierce-rayed sun. 492

On account of his wits following his luck Durlabhavardhana, too, behaving with prudence, as was meet, became the cynosure of all eyes. 493

492. The lamps, like the moon, are supposed to derive their light from the sun.

He, who was radiant with intelligence, was raised to fame as Prajñāditya and, by slow degrees, to ownership of a fortune like that of Kubera by his father-in-law. 494

Puffed up with pride through the parents' fond love and the intoxication of youth, the princess royal did not accord him due consideration. 495

Association with wanton women, the pleasures of life, the presence of young men, the father's house, the meekness of the husband thus what was lacking to furnish obstacles in her chastity? 496

Anaṅgalekhā was, by slow degrees, involved by the minister Khaṅkha, who possessed her mind through the intimacy of constant sight, in a liaison. 497

The continued delights of furtive love having destroyed shame, fear and nervousness, she went strong in boldness from day to day until she became absorbed in him. 498

The minister, having through bribery and honours gained control over the retinue, amused himself, in the Interior as it pleased him, in her company. 499

In course of time, the shrewd Durlabhavardhana detected the ruin of her moral conduct from signs of her lack of affection which had become apparent. 500

For, a woman who has sold her soul for love, as a rule, reveals the changed attitude due to the orgy of the demon of unchastity. In the midst of her women friends, in private, she is bright with smiles, she changes colour on seeing her husband; rising quite abruptly she goes on looking at the road; if the husband is angry, she indicates defiance by the curve of the brows, the eyes, the chin; while he speaks ungently, she smiles with her gaze fixed on him; she is indifferent to those who are like him in character but interested in being praised by his opponents; on perceiving that he desires to amuse himself with her, she confines herself to conversation with her women friends; if he kisses her, she turns her neck away; her limbs cannot bear his embrace; in union with him she has no joy; on his couch sleep is a make-believe. 501-505

494. Prajñāditya means "sun of intelligence." Kubera is the god of wealth.

Then Durlabhavardhana, whose body from anxious thought had grown thin owing to his wife's secret corruption of soul, on one occasion entered the Pure Interior during the night. 506

He saw his wife, relaxed in slumber which comes over easily after the fatigue of love's ecstasy, as if she were inlaid in the limbs of the paramour. 507

With her breath which had not dropped its quickness and which made her pointed breasts heave, she indicated that the consummation of love had occured at that very moment. 508

Seeing her in that condition which would have been the cause of wrath even in a stranger and which was in any event unforgivable, he flared up in anger. 509

As he was about to strike, he was thwarted by reflection, and he considered he had relieved himself as if by striking and smiting. 510

Thereupon the surging sea of the paroxysm of his anger, while he was in that state, was perforce reduced to calmness by the beach of deliberation. 511

A salute to him—and who else but he can be considered the leader of the self-possessed—by whom are absorbed the severe spasms of the poison of jealousy. 512

He pondered, "O these wretched women, pursuers of physical love, barren of thought, by whom men are soon hurled downward!" 513

"A woman as such is indeed an object of a sense just like other objects of the senses. That being so they surely are common to all; why should there be anger, in this matter, on the part of the self-controlled?" 514

"Women are by nature wayward. Who is competent to restrain them? In any case, by restraint what purpose worthy to be remembered by the virtuous could be served?" 515

"If, like a struggle between two dogs set on a common object, is the sense of honour of two passionate men, then what humiliation could be worse than this?" 516

"A sense of personal ownership in gazelle-eyed women why should this be on the part of sensible men? What is incomprehensible even

506. Śuddhānta=literally the Pure Interior, is the term applied to the apartments and living rooms of the ladies of the royal household.

15

in the case of one's own body, how should that be considered right in the case of others?" 517

"For having caused unhappiness, if she appears to me to be deserving of death, how is it that the love of her has been forgotten which is the root of the tree of unhappiness!" 518

"The tree of love sends its roots down to the seven nether regions; without removing jealousy, which is its soil, how can it be uprooted?" 519

"This jealousy is indeed difficult to assail. By the man of discernment who has conquered it, in half a moment only, the very name of passionate love is also destroyed." 520

"Having seen this with divine sight, the panacea should be recommended to the impassioned; jealousy should be conquered, thereafter passion will flee of itself in all directions." 521

Having thus mused he wrote on the edge of Khaṅkha's scarf the following:—"Remember that you have not been slain though you deserved to be killed." 522

Then after Durlabhavardhana had departed, unobserved by the attendants, the minister woke up from sleep and, seeing the writing, read it. 523

At the time he forgot Anaṅgalekhā and instead resolved in his mind to requite him who had, through generosity, spared his life. 524

While he longed to do a kind act in return worthy of that benefactor, anxious thought entered his mind but not the five arrows of love; sleeplessness made overtures of intimacy to his eyesight but never the royal princess. 525

After having been for thirty-seven years minus four months a jewel at the head of rulers of men, at this juncture, Bālāditya, radiant with good actions, reached the world of him whose head is adorned by the crescent-moon. 526

His issue having already died when he, who was the last of his dynasty, attained peace, the line of Gonanda, like a lotus-pool when the tuskers have bent the lotuses and then the stalks are uprooted by a violent invasion of flood-waters, became striken. 527

Then having undermined the impediments of diversity of opinions of the principal ministrs, the grateful Khaṅkha performed, in accord-

525. Kāma, the god of love is armed with five arrows of flowers.

ance with rite, high on the head of the king's son-in-law, with the waters of the Tīrthas released from pitchers of gold, the desired and sacred royal Abhiṣeka. 528

While this Kārkoṭa-begotten monarch, whose mighty arms were lit up by his diadem studded with lustrous pearls iridescent like the top of a row of hoods, was supporting the land, he was resplendent with his garland of clusters of golden lotuses heightened by the blossom-like glances of the serpent Seṣa who beamed in contentment from affection for his kinsman. 529

Thus the land, having slipped from the dynasty of the pure king Gonanda, came to abide in the very pure family of the Kārkoṭa Nāga like the river of the immortals falling from her long familiar meandering course in heaven to take refuge on the head of Śiva, the Lord of the three worlds. 530

[Thus the Third Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the composition of Kalhaṇa, son of the noble Lord Caṇpaka, the great Kaśmīrī minister.]

529. Śeṣa is the mighty Snake on whose head rests the Earth.

Fourth Taranga

Durlabhavardhana

May the form of the Unchangeable One, which blends unimpeded in perfect union with the figure of the Maid of the Mountain, keep off your misfortunes in this world; wherein enveloped by Her braid of hair, which has the glamour of the dark sinuous body of the female snake, the snake-like shape of His matted hair, too, has the semblance of being united with the body of its sweetheart. 1

This king, who had got the land as well as the princess royal from the same dynasty, became the possessor of precious stones and sons in due course. 2

The king's wife, whose unchastity had been concealed by her husband and whose dignity was matched by her good luck, constructed the Anaṅga-Bhavana-Vihāra. 3

While yet a minor, musing over the shortness of life predicted by an astrologer, the king's son named Malhaṇa founded Malhaṇasvāmin. 4

Near the fort of Pārevisoka at Koṭādri, Candragrāma was granted by the king who had conferred distinctions on learned Brahmans. 5

In Śrīnagarī, after consecrating the shrine of Viṣṇu Durlabhasvāmin, this king who had protected the land for thirty-six years died. 6

Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II

Born of Anaṅgalekhā his son, the virtuous Durlabhaka, who was comparable to Indra, thereafter ruled the land. 7

To the grandfather he, who was the daughter's son, had been declared by the mother to be the son and accordingly he bore the appellation of Pratāpāditya in pursuance of the usage of that dynasty. 8

1. See Taraṅga I. 1.
5. Pareviśoka=literally "beyond the Viśokā." Viśokā is the name of a stream. Like the word Jumnāpār (beyond the Jumna) it was used for a territorial division on the further side of the river.
8. Bālāditya had died without male issue. According to law the daughter's son, though strictly a Bandhu or Bhinna-gotra sapiṇḍa, (being related through a female) inherits with Gotraja sapiṇḍa, by virtue of express texts (*Mitākṣarā*, *Mayūkha*, *Dāyabhāga*) and succeeds as full heir to the grandfather—See also *Manu-smṛti* IX. 131 Sqq. and *Yājñavalkya*, II. 128 and 135.

This is an interesting point of the law of succession to the crown in favour of a daughter's son. Saṁskṛta literature deals with the law where the succession devolves on the eldest or other sons of the king who has retired or is dead—but there is no instance of the daughter's son or other remote heirs succeeding. See Taraṅga III. 487.

His minister Hanumat, the son of Uḍa, who had obtained wealth from Kubera and whose fortune was in pursuance of his merits of the past, founded Agrahāras. 9

This long armed king, who withered his enemies by his military glory, built the town of Pratāpapura which vied with the city of Indra. 10

In his country, to which thronged numerous merchants who came from different directions, there lived a Baniyā named Noṇa from Rauhītaka. 11

For the residence of Brahmans born in the territory of Rauhīta, this very virtuous man had built the Noṇa convent which was pre-eminent for piety. 12

He, on one occasion, was invited to the royal residence by the king out of friendship and was honoured for a day with courteous treatment worthy of a king. 13

In the morning when asked by the king with kindness if he had been comfortable, he spoke of headache caused by the soot of the lamps. 14

Thereafter, in turn, when the king had, on one occasion, been invited by him, while living in the latter's house he saw, during the night, lamps made of jewels. 15

At his life of luxury and such wealth, the king marvelled and for two or three days he remained in that very place being treated with due honour. 16

One day Śrīnarendraprabhā, his wife with a lovely figure and face like the moon, was seen by the king on the terrace. 17

She had full breasts curvilinear like the jar, to which was added the charm of her exquisite hips; she was the personification of felicity in love as well as in the ménage. 18

In the privacy of the terrace, she was at her ease amusing herself and he, while he watched her whose limbs were irreproachable, was touched by desire. 19

She, too, when her companions pointed towards him, with a

11. Baniyā is the anglicized form of Vāniyā (Sk. Vaṇik=a merchant). The English factors of the East India Company learnt the word at Surat and later the term was applied to Indian agents of foreign firms and manufacturers. In this sense "Baniyan" is still in use in the commercial parlance of Calcutta.

Rauhītaka=modern Rohtak near Delhi.

slight turn of the face looked at the lord of Kaśmīr with eyes stretched wide up to the ears. 20

Either because of a tie of affection from a previous birth or of the bidding of the mind-born god, she by that very look rendered his mind sympathetic. 21

In an instant even without gaining contact he felt that she, who was the very ambrosia of bliss, had touched him to the very marrow. 22

After screening her limbs behind a column of the mansion for a while, she walked away, turning her face backwards and looking at the king again and again. 23

With his heart captivated by the lady of graceful limbs by just that much he, with eyes lowered pensively, slowly proceeded to the royal residence. 24

There while his vision concentrated in meditation on her figure, together with his love for the ladies of the Interior his body was reduced to thinness. 25

And he mused, "Curse the ill-luck that in this garden of my mind has grown the poison-tree called passion which brings misfortune." 26

"O how agreeable is the course of love which having triumphed over reason removes to a distance the friends, discretion and other virtues as antagonists." 27

"I, who should be scandal-fearing and righteous as the supporter of the land, what is this intolerable reversal of good conduct on my part!" 28

"Where the king himself commits abduction of the wives of the subjects who else indeed is there who could punish the transgression of the moral law?" 29

While the king ruminated in this wise, he was not able to forget either the course which the righteous should adopt or the lady with the elongated eyes. 30

To him, whose ill-health had become known and who was nearing death, the good natured merchant who had learnt the news from the people then spoke in private. 31

21. The mind-born god is the god of Love, Kāma. He was burnt by the flame which issued from the eye of Śiva. The story forms the theme of Kālidāsa's famous poem *The Birth of Kumāra* (the war-god). See Taraṅga I. note I.

27. See IV. 119 note.

30. Dīrghalocanā = elongated eyes.

"To such a state you have been reduced, why allow yourself to be restrained by the law? When the life of a living creature is in jeopardy there is nothing whatsoever which he may not do." 32

"Those, whose views are sought by the learned on doubtful points of law, even in their case one has heard that, in such affairs, self-control had been given up." 33

"In consideration of fame itself it is not meet that the body should be ignored; one's own reputation which is widespread is no elixir to the ears of the dead." 34

"Let there be no consideration about me on your part; since for the sake of your interest, O king! life itself is of no value to me, what need be said about the objects of the senses?" 35

"If after this statement you do not accept her, then may you be pleased to take her from a temple as a danseuse when she has been offered by me on account of her knowledge of dancing." 36

Urged in this fashion by him as well as by the powerful mind-born god, he was at first shy but later accepted with difficulty the lady of the lovely eyes. 37

With noble acts that consort of the king cast into the background the frivolity of conduct of that kind and founded a temple of Śiva as the Śrī Narendreśvara. 38

And in time owing to the merits of the subjects the king's wife gave birth to a son named Candrāpīḍa like the earth to treasure. 39

The blemish on his lineage was cut out by his clean virtues like the flaw of the precious stone, which comes from the mine, by the grindings of the touchstone. 40

Through vapour which is dense and dark the advent of rains gives birth to pure water; the birth of the very sharp steel is from a mountain which consists of a series of blunt boulders; moreover from the cold dull waters arise dazzling sheets of flame; the individual character of the great, forsooth, is nowhere in conformity with their soil of birth. 41

35-37. By objects of the senses is meant women. See Taraṅga III verse 514.
36. Temple women. For women dedicated to the temple see note I. 151 and verse 269 below. Also *Alberuni*, Vol. II. p. 157.
40. The blemish on the lineage is due to the fact that king Candrāpīḍa's mother was a divorcée Baniyā woman.
41. K. expresses his opinion on heredity and the offspring of inter-caste marriage. The vapours referred to are clouds; the dazzling sheets of flame which arise in cold water refer to submarine fire.

A son Tārāpīḍa, too, was in due course begotten out of her by that king as well as Muktāpīḍa whose name should have been Avimuktāpīḍa. 42

Also by the designations of Vajrāditya, Udayāditya and Lalitāditya were known these sons of Pratāpāditya, Candrāpīḍa and the others. 43

After enjoying the land for fifty years, king Durlabha by the stairway of piety ascended to holy heaven by slow degrees. 44

Candrāpīḍa

Thereafter the illustrious Candrāpīḍa became the crest-jewel among kings, who by his glory which eclipsed the lustre of the moon caused distress to Kali. 45

The figure of Law with a single Pāda had been left by the kings as if it were a Samasyā; by him who was a faultlessly bright versifier it was completed with three Pādas. 46

Him the virtues, such as forgiveness and valour which exclude one another, served in equal measure like the seasons the garden of heaven. 47

In their respective places to all the dependents, his glory equally became the source of refreshment like the water channel in a garden to the trees. 48

After leaving the flaws with other kings, Fortune in her purity resorted to him as the river deposits on the rocks on the way the impurities of the flood. 49

Versed in affairs of state he did not do that which in the result brought repentence; on the other hand, while putting into execution that which deserved praise when he was eulogised, he felt bashful. 50

He was not guided by the ministers, he himself instructed them in the right policy—diamond is not cut by any of them—it, however, cuts other precious stones. 51

From a fear of what was unlawful in a doubtful point of law, he preferred to give up even his own interest like the Garuḍa his wing through fear of Indra. 52

42. Muktāpīḍa=he who has pearls in the diadem. It is also capable of another meaning viz. he who has given up his crown. K. therefore suggests Avimuktāpīḍa=he who was never separated from the diadem.

45. There is an alliteration in this verse and a pun on the name Candrāpīḍa.

46. Samasyā. A part of a verse from a well-known work taken as a text, in an assembly of poets and the literati, to be completed by the addition of the remaining Pādas of the stanza. This is still in vogue in the Mushairas which are popular in North India.

47. The garden of Heaven is Nandana.

52. Indra's thunderbolt in the sky is a danger to the mighty Guruḍa (Eagle), the vehicle of Viṣṇu.

By that king, who showed the way of justice, was established legal procedure free from laxity as the sun wards off the Mandehas from his diurnal course. 53

If the brake is applied to this narrative in the recital of his virtues, it is in order to check prolixity but not because so much only was available. 54

When he began the construction of the temple of Tribhuvanasvāmin, a certain leather worker would not give up his hut which was on the suitable site. 55

Though he had been constantly promised money by the officials in charge of the new construction he, who was in the grip of his native obstinacy, did not brook the laying down of the measuring line. 56

Thereupon they approached the lord of the earth and reported this matter; he, however, held them to be at fault but not that tanner. 57

He exclaimed, "Fie on their lack of foresight that they should, without first having asked him, have entered upon the new construction." 58

"Stop the construction or build somewhere else; by seizing the land of another who would tarnish an act of piety?" 59

"If we ourselves, who are the judges of what is right and unright, enforce procedure which is unlawful who should tread the path which is according to law?" 60

While the king was speaking in this wise, a messenger sent by the cabinet of ministers on behalf of that shoemaker arrived and prayed. 61

"He wishes to see the liege-lord but he says, 'If it is not the correct thing for me to enter the hall of audience then let this be during the hour of the vestibule session.' " 62

The next day he was given an audience by the king outside and was asked "why art thou the sole hindrance in our work of piety?" 63

"If that house appeals to thee as charming then thou mayst apply

53. Mandeha = The Titans who obstruct the rising of the sun on Mount Udaya.
55. Carmakṛt is a hide worker; apparently he was an Untouchable in those days, as he still is, in India. In verse 57 he is called Carmakāra (modern 'Cāmār') and in verse 61 Pādukṛt = shoemaker.
61. Mantripariṣad = cabinet of ministers.
62. The tanner being an Untouchable had no right of audience in the king's Hall of Assembly.

for one better than that or in the alternative for a large sum of money" thus it was put to him. 64

Thereupon to the king who remained silent the tanner, who was as it were endeavouring to gauge the measure of his probity by the lines of rays from his gleaming teeth, prayed. 65

"O king! for what I am about to submit which is straight from the heart, you should not be prejudiced since you are the judge in this matter." 66

"I am not less than a dog nor is the king greater than Rāmacandra; why then do the councillors to-day get agitated, as it were, at this private talk between the two of us?" 67

"In the mundane existence the body of the being, which has had its birth, is a fragile armour and is fastened with only two clasps called the instinct of self and the possessory instinct." 68

"As in the case of Your Highness who is resplendent with bracelets, armlets, necklaces and the like we, too, who own nothing are proud of our own body." 69

"Just as much as this palace, joyous with the gleaming stucco, is to your Majesty, the cottage, where the window is made of the mouth of an earthen-pot, is to me." 70

"Since my birth this little cottage has been the witness, like a mother, of both happiness and unhappiness; I could not bear to see it to-day levelled to the ground." 71

"The distress of mankind at the seizure of their dwelling-house, either an immortal fallen from the Vimāna or a king deposed from sovereignty is capable of describing it." 72

"Notwithstanding this, if after coming to my dwelling Your Majesty were to ask for it, yielding to the rule of good manners it would be the proper thing for me to give it." 73

When he had given the reply in this way, the king after going to his place purchased the cottage with money; there is no pride for those who are seekers after bliss. 74

And the leather worker spoke to him at that place with hands folded hollow, "O king! yielding to another under the compelling influence of the Law is proper on your part." 75

70. This is an accurate description of the huts of the tanners ('Vātal' in Kaśmīrī).

72. Vimāna. See V. 371.

"As in the past that of Pāṇḍu's son by Dharma in the form of a dog, so by me who am an Untouchable has been tested to-day the righteousness in your case." 76

"Hail to you! long may you live to exhibit such a series of upright acts according to law fit to be relied upon by the law-officers." 77

In this manner that king, whose conduct was stainless, sanctified the land by the consecration of the image of Keśava as Tribhuvanasvāmin. 78

His wife who, on account of her acts which had the lustre of luminous ether, had the appellation of Prakāśadevī, caused to be constructed the Prakāśikā Vihāra. 79

His Guru named Mihiradatta was a man of refinement and merit; he was the founder of an image of the preserver of the universe by the name of Gambhīrasvāmin. 80

His officer in charge of Śrīnagara named Chalitaka, who cut at the root of the stability of all tribunals, founded Chalitasvāmin. 81

On one occasion, to the king who was seated in the assembly a certain Brahman woman, who had sat down in hunger-strike, spoke when questioned by the law-officers. 82

"While you, the annihilator of what is reprehensible, are ruling the land my husband, when he was peacefully asleep, has been deprived of life by an unknown person." 83

"This indeed is a great humiliation for a king of noble conduct that premature death should touch his subjects." 84

"Owing to the power of the age of Kali, if even people like you can bear to look at that, how can you be indifferent to this offence which is more sinful than sin?" 85

"Though I am anxiously thinking over it, I know of none who was my husband's enemy; for him, who was innocent, the directions on all sides were cool like the white sandal." 86

"He was free from envy and arrogance, soft of speech and a lover

76. The story is told in the *Mahābhārata* XVII. Adhyāya III.

81. The meaning probably is that Chalitaka by arbitrary action superseded the authority of the courts.

82. This is another illustration of a hunger-strike to get from the king a judicial decision.

84. The king was responsible not merely for good government but for the maintenance of the moral law and the spiritual progress of the people. Premature death among the people was consequently believed to be a calamity due to the fault of the king. Thus the Brahman whose young son had died prematurely blamed Rāmacandra for the death. See Taraṅga III. 86.

of virtue; easy of address, free from greed, he was not hated by any one." 87

"A Brahman, who is of the same age as he and who since childhood has been his inferior in study—a resident of Mākṣikasvāmin, versed in sorcery is one who should be suspected." 88

"Mean persons, who have failed in the competition for fame and who have lost their sleep on account of poverty of merit, injure through jealousy the lives of those who are blessed with cleverness." 89

"There is not a son of a harlot but is immoral, no one is free from treason who has always been a suspect, no one who talks too little speaks uselessly, no one who is not a government servant has an ungrateful mind; no one is a miser but one born in the house of him who refuses to give in charity, no one is continuously miserable save the envious, none is universally ridiculed save he who is subdued by the wife, none is soft of speech but he who is of mature age; none is hostile to the father if not begotten by another, there is none lustful who is not devoid of shame, no one is a greater miscreant than he who has a little learning; thus the anthology of epigrams which are facts." 90-92

When the Brahman woman had thus spoken, the king had the Brahman, on whom her suspicion had rested, summoned and he asked him for an explanation. 93

Again the Brahman woman stated to him, "Majesty! he is well-known for his knowledge of sorcery; he will unscrupulously interfere with the divine test." 94

Thereupon with faded countenance the king said to her, "If the guilt is not proved, we who are the judge in this matter what are we to do?" 95

"The question of punishment does not arise even for an ordinary person whose guilt has not been ascertained; how can, however, a Brahman be punished who, even when guilty, is exempt from death?" 96

88. Mākṣikasvāmin = the island of Māysum to the south-east of Śrīnagar which is now a European quarter. See VIII. 1171.

94. Divyakriyā = literally a divine test; an ordeal.

96. A Brahman is even at the present time exempt from capital punishment in Kaśmīr. In the *Manu-smṛti* an exception to the ordinary rule is provided in regard to the punishment for theft, which was severest for Brahmans and *pari passu* lesser for the other three castes. See *Manu*, VIII. 337-338.

When after saying this he had ceased, the Brahman's wife said once more, "Four nights have been worn out, O king, since I have been starving." 97

"I did not follow in death the husband because of the yearning for retaliation against the murderer; in the event of punishment not being meted out to this one in this matter, I am to give up life by fasting." 98

Such being the position of the Brahman woman, the king himself observed a solemn fast with reference to the feet of Tribhuvana-svāmin. 99

After three nights of the fast there, the best among the sleepless gods, he whose vehicle is Garuḍa, spoke in a dream to the king who was true to his word. 100

"This way of investigation of truth is not meet O king! during Kali; at midnight who has the power to put the sun in the heavens?" 101

"Yielding to your spiritual power this will be carried out for once; in the court-yard of my temple have rice-powder strewn." 102

"In this place when he is doing the circumambulation three times, if behind the imprint of his footsteps is seen the trail of the foot-steps of Brahmahatyā, then he being the murderer will deserve a suitable sentence; this procedure should be carried out at night, by day the sun is the remover of evil." 103-104

Thereupon this was done and the Brahman having been proved guilty, the king acting as the chastiser awarded punishment which owing to his being a Brahman excluded death. 105

When the Indra on earth had awarded sentence on that murderer of the husband, that Brahman's wife thereupon spoke in this wise as she pronounced blessings. 106

"So many rulers of the earth have been born, but the punishment of secret crime has been seen in the case of Kṛtavīrya's son and in thy case O lord of the earth!" 107

99. Uddiśya='with reference to'. The meaning is that it was directed against the god in order to get from him a redress of the wrong.
100. Viṣṇu is the god whose vehicle is Garuḍa.
103-104. The killing of a Brahman is a sin and one of the heinous crimes. He who has committed this sin is followed by a female spectre which is called Brahmahatyā.
105. Daṇḍadhara=is the king.
The holder of the Daṇḍa or Sceptre. Daṇḍa in the sense of chastisement means criminal jurisdiction and Daṇḍadhara means a judge in criminal cases.

"While thou, O protector of the land! art the chastiser ruling this country, who is disappointed by not having got to the furthest end of enmity and love?" 108

In this manner, with legal decisions and points conceivable in the Kṛta age, the period of his reign, although very brief, was fully occupied. 109

By contact with the lotus which is his pedestal it seems to me that, in the mind of Brahman frigidity has without hindrance closely made its presence felt. 110

How else would Brahman contrive that he, who shone owing to the ordered classification of society, should like the mighty Indra's bow, which is beautiful owing to its variegated colours, vanish just when he had become visible! 111

By making that Brahman, who was severely enraged over the punishment, use sorcery the younger brother Tārāpīḍa put an end to the period of glory of that ruler. 112

For the sake of enjoying the pleasures of life, stained by evil deeds, the miscreants crush him who is exalted by virtue like young camels the Ketaka plant in order to get at thorns. 113

From that time onwards, kings desirous of sovereignty in this kingdom made use of witchcraft and other foul processes against the elders. 114

When that final act of forbearance of the illustrious king Candrāpīḍa is recalled who is it whose body is not thrilled with the hair standing on end? Inasmuch as when on the point of death, he had that Brahman necromancer in his power, he did not kill him saying "what is the fault of this poor fellow who has been made use of by another!" 115-116

Having been forgotten in the row of the kings of the Kṛta age he was, forsooth, placed by adding the crow's foot now in the list of kings, during Kali, by the Creator. 117

111. There is a double entendre on Varṇa. The bow of Indra (the rainbow) and the king both soon disappeared. The rainbow shone with variegated colours and the king shone through maintaining the four orders of the caste system.

117. Kākapāda=literally crow's foot ∧ is the sign for an interlineation. The meaning is that the king deserved a place in the Kṛta age.

During eight years and eight months having conferred an obligation on the earth, the self-controlled one made his entry into paradise as well as the heart of the righteous for ever. 118

Tārāpīḍa

Inspiring fear by repression which was befriended by the blood of fratricide, Tārāpīḍa, the terrible, bore the burden of the terrestrial globe thereafter. 119

At the birth of the infant Prestige he, who had looted the enemies' glory which rivalled the filled cups of the birth ceremony, compelled the headless trunks to dance. 120

Even the brilliant fortune of this man, whose acts were extremely wicked, produced sorrow like the light of the fire in the crematorium. 121

"By spells is brought about the spiritual presence of the gods by the Brahmans"—thinking in this way that hater of the gods meted out punishment to the Brahmans. 122

For a month and four years less six days, he had the mastery on earth when his merits were ended by the rising tide of the treason against his elder brother. 123

Thereupon by secret sorcery his life was made to wear out by the Brahmans and he found peace like his brother but not his passage to heaven. 124

He who in order to injure others devises a plan, through that very one he is, forsooth, ruined; fire gives birth to smoke which blinds the eye, after becoming a cloud it extinguishes that very fire by torrents of water. 125

119. Repression and fratricide are sins described as working hand in hand. Vices and virtues are often personified in poetry. In the Buddhist drama they came as actors on the stage. In the dramatic works of the celebrated Aśvaghoṣa discovered in Central Asia (Turfan) in palm-leaf Mss. written in the script of the Kuṣāṇa period we find as actors Buddhi, Dhṛti and Kīrti. (*Prof. Lüders' account*, Prussian Academy, 1911).

120. The Jātakaraṇa, one of the Saṁskāras, was celebrated with a sacrifice and religious ceremonies.

Headless trunk is the Kabandha—the demons which dance in battle. Apparently at the birth ceremony a dance was included as a prominent feature.

Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa

The illustrious Lalitāditya then became king who held sway over all lands; he was beyond the purview of the intellect of Fate which creates parochial rulers. 126

With the mass of rays of his military glory, which were of the nature of perfumed powder, he decorated Jambudvīpa which was like a lordly elephant. 127

As soon as the rajahs had folded their hands hollow in submission during his victorious campaign, the king, whose military exploits were famous, ceased to be angry in battle. 128

Owing to the mass of humanity fleeing in terror on hearing his kettle-drums for the attack, the dwellings of the enemy seemed as if they were women who had dropped the foetus. 129

With their faces where the edges of the forehead-mark had been spoilt and the eyes were full of tears, he caused the women of the foe to offer handfuls of funeral oblations. 130

Like that of the sun moving round the earth the lifetime of the king, ambitious of conquests, was mostly spent in expeditions. 131

While he exacted the tribute from the eastern direction in the territory between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, the Mahārāja attended by his flaming valour, was radiant with his own fame which he wore as the turban. 132

126. Sārvabhauma=a monarch of all lands; an emperor. This is an ancient term; it occurs in the play *Mudrārākṣasa*, III. 22. There is a close resemblance to Vākpati's Prākṛta poem *Gauḍavaho* in K's description of the expeditions of Lalitāditya. European Scholars have doubted the accuracy of the date assigned by K. to Lalitāditya's reign. Per Contra, see Appendix A for the note by S. P. Pandit in support of K's chronology. The *annals of the T'ang dynasty of China* mention without any date the arrival of an embassy from the king of Kaśmīr Mu-to-pi who has been identified by European scholars with Muktāpīḍa.

131. This is poetic license based on, a pun on the word Yātrā. That the Earth revolved round the Sun was known early to Indian astronomers. For *Sūrya Siddhānta* and other Saṁskṛta works see *Alberuni*, Vol. I. Chapt. XIV.

132. Mahārāja (like other titles which are found in the *Ṛg-Veda*, III. 55,7 Samrāj, Rājādhirāja, Ekarāja etc.) is an old title assumed by powerful rulers who acquired supremacy over other states. Mahārāja occurs also in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 34, 9), *Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa* (V. 5), *Śatapatha*

At Gādhipura, where the wind-god had made the virgins hump-backed, in that very place he, who was worthy of eulogy, bent the back of men smitten with terror. 133

Withering in a moment the mobile army of the mountain-like Yaśovarman, king Lalitāditya attained the heat of the sun which dries up the mountain streams. 134

The ruler of Kānyakubja appeared to those, who were versed in affairs of state, to be one possessing understanding inasmuch as he, after turning his back, paid homage to the brilliant Lalitāditya. 135

His colleagues were even more than him full of self-assurance; more fragrant than even the spring is the breeze from the sandal tree. 136

Thus in the treaty of peace with the illustrious Yaśovarman, the minister for peace and war, Mitraśarman, could not brook in the formal document what had been written with diplomatic skill—"This is the treaty of peace concluded between Yaśovarman and Lalitāditya" realizing that the document which did not give precedence indicated the lack of superiority of his sovereign. 137-138

Though disliked by the generals who were uneasy at the prolonged duration of the war, the king thought highly of his demand for strict observance of forms. 139

Brāhmaṇa (16, 4, 21, II. 5, 4, 9.). It also occurs in this poem in Taraṅga VIII. 1352.

Antarvedi=literally mesopotamia, now called the Doab between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. Antarvedi is an interesting geographical term for the territory extending from Kuru-kṣetra to Prayāga (Delhi-Allahabad) including the Doab. The Maratha chroniclers referred to Hindustan proper as the Antarvedi during the Maratha occupation of Delhi and Allahabad. In the Pūjā and Saṅkalpa in the United Provinces, the Hindus still call this territory Antarvedi.

Mahārāja=(1) king (2) a bridegroom. There is a double entendre in this verse. In the case of the bridegroom 'Vedi' is the altar where he takes the hand of the betrothed before the glowing fire wearing a festive head-dress.

133. Gādhipura=the city of king Gādhi is Kānyakubja, the modern Kanauj. The verse explains the name Kānyā-kubja (humpbacked maidens). This name of Kanauj occurs also in Vākpati's Prākṛta poem *Gauḍavaho*. Hsüan-Tsang relates the legend at length, Vol. I. pp. 206-210.

134. Vāhinī is a word applicable to a river and an army.

136. Kusumākara, the season of flowers, is Spring, the prince of all perfumes.

Being gratified he made him the recipient of five high titles, but that king Yaśovarman he tore up from the root. 140

Over the eighteen offices which had been established formerly, the five offices of state, which he originated, gained precedence from that time onwards. 141

These had the designations of 'the office of the high chamberlain', that of 'the principal minister for peace and war,' of 'the chief of the stables,' of 'the high treasurer' and the fifth the office of 'the high sheriff', whereof ruling princes such as the Śāhi became the office-bearers. 142-143

Yaśovarman, who had been served by the poet Vākpati and the illustrious Bhavabhūti, upon being defeated was reduced to the position of a minstrel to eulogize his virtues. 144

What more need be said? the territory of Kānyakubja from the bank of the Yamunā to the bank of the Kālikā was, like the courtyard of his residence, under his subjection. 145

Passing over Yaśovarman, like the Gaṅgā over the Snow-Mountain, his army reached in comfort the eastern ocean. 146

His elephants, after they had seen the land of their birth, were made to march from the Kaliṅgas on the road with difficulty by the curses of their impatient drivers. 147

As if they had come attracted by friendliness for the tusker who bore the couch of Lakṣmī, all the elephants from the kingdom of Gauḍa resorted to him. 148

The eastern ocean was seen as a prisoner of his advanced troops seized by the hair—its waves—in the trunks of the mass of war-elephants. 149

He marched along the shore of the sea, darkened by the line of forests, towards the direction which is presided over by Yama; his enemies, however, went there by his sword. 150

The people of Karṇāṭa, who wear the hair with a top-knot, as they bent down in homage dropping the golden Ketakī leaf, bore his glory as their ornament on the head. 151

147. For the elephants of Kaliṅga see Hsüan-Tsang, Vol. II. p. 206.

150. The direction of Yama is the South.

At this epoch a lady of Karṇāṭa known as Raṭṭā, who had lovely eyes and whose glory was wide spread, protected as the sovereign ruler the region of the south. 152

The passes of Mount Vindhya were guarded after killing those, who were thorns in her side, by this queen whose power, like that of Durgā, was without limit. 153

She, too, was gratified when she bowed at the sight of her own image reflected in the round mirror-like nails on the lotus-feet of Lalitāditya. 154

His legionaries got rid of fatigue, in the breeze on the banks of the Kāverī river, sipping the cocoanut wine at the foot of the palm-trees. 155

On Mount Malaya, the snakes slipping from the groves of sandal trees gave the impression of sabres falling from the arms of the mountain through terror of the king's invasion. 156

Placing his foot on the islands as if they were stepping-stones, without mishap, he made trips to and fro over the ocean as if it were a hill-stream. 157

Thereafter, with the roar of the ocean waves providing the welcome song of victory, he marched towards the western direction, who was second to none among those who aspired to conquer. 158

While he overran the seven Koṅkaṇas darkened by the areca-nut trees and glowed like the hot-rayed sun driving the seven horses, his military prestige spread wide. 159

152. By Raṭṭā is meant the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty which at the end of the Cālukya period (550-757 A.C.) ruled in Mahārāṣṭra and lasted from 757-953 A.C. The magnificent sculptures at Ellora, the temple of the Kailāsa (757-783) and the Śivaite sanctuary at Elephanta (850-900) belong to this period. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty had conquered the Carnatic.

155. Nārikera-surā=cocoanut wine.

156. Mount Malaya is the home of the sandal tree. Snakes are said to be fond of the scent of the sandal.

159. Tigmāṁśu is the hot-rayed sun—the Savitṛ, Sūrya, Āditya of the *Vedas*. One of the Vedic hymns to the Sun is as follows: "With thy light thou dost

Rising into view amid the surf of the wind-swept western sea, Dvārakā gave to his armies the keen desire for entry. 160

Mount Vindhya, where the sky was hidden by the mineral dust swirled up by his forces, appeared to have stood up abandoning limits as if copper red with anger. 161

As his elephants entered the territory of Avanti, the rows of their tusks were cracked only by the light of the moon on the crest of Mahākāla. 162

In all directions, thereafter, seeing that most of the kings had been conquered, he entered the very extensive area without paths of the region of the north. 163

There he had to battle with the spirited Rajahs at every step like

cover the earth which beareth mankind, thou dost flood the heavens and the vast air, and thou lookest upon all that doth exist—seven tawny-rayed stallions draw thy chariot, O dazzling Sūrya! thy beautiful hair is crowned with beams of light, thou god who seest all things!"

Koṅkaṇa is the narrow strip of land between the long range of the Western Ghats (Sahyādri Mountains) and the Sea. It includes the present Ratnagiri District and extends up to Malabar to the south.

Kramuka=the areca palm generally known as Betel Nut which is an old mistake. K's description is accurate—It is a lovely land where the glare of the sea is softened by the cool shade of the areca trees (A. Catechu), one of the most graceful of our palms. Mr. Markham observes: "I have seen palm-trees in the South-Sea Islands, many kinds in the forests of South America and in India; but of the whole tribe, the Betel-nut palm is certainly the most elegant and beautiful. Dr. Hooker likens it to an arrow shot from heaven, a raising its graceful head and feathery crown in luxuriance and beauty above the verdant slopes" (*Travels in Peru and India*, p. 349).

The seven Koṅkaṇas are Kerala (Malabar), Tuluṅga, Govarāṣṭra (Goa), Koṅkaṇa proper, Kerātaha, Varalaṭṭa, and Berbera.

160. This is a picturesque description of Dvārakā which K. had perhaps visited as a pilgrim.

162. Avanti, the modern Ujjain (Sk. Ujjayinī), one of the seven sacred cities of India. The temple of Mahākāla is described by the poet Bāṇa in the *Kādambarī*, the first Indian novel which was written in Saṁskṛta. Avanti was a flourishing city in the time of the *Mahābhārata* and the capital of a kingdom which extended up to the Narmadā. It is believed that the learned men of Ujjain were acquainted with the developments of the Greek drama and their intellectual contact was aided by the brisk exchange of trade which existed between Alexandria and Ujjain through the port of Barygaza (Sk. Bharukaccha) modern Broach. Thus the plays of Kālidāsa, one of the Nine Gems, at the Court of king Vikramāditya of Ujjain are said to have been written on the Greek model. Ujjain was celebrated as the centre of astronomy. The light of the moon is said to affect the ivory tusks of the elephants. Vide III. 284 note.

Indra with the noble mountains when he bent his energy to clip their wings. 164

The stables of the Kāmbojas were deprived of horses and their darkness caused the delusion, as if, they had been filled up with buffaloes by the enemy. 165

The Tuḥkhāras, who having abandoned their horses had escaped to the peaks of the mountain ranges, lost their eagerness for them after seeing the people with the horse-face. 166

After defeating three times in battle Mammuni, he reckoned that he had gained victory; for a single victory in battle is considered by the brave like a letter inscribed by a wood-worm. 167

The anxiety of the Bhauṭṭas could not be noticed on their faces which are naturally pale, like anger on the faces of the monkeys which are naturally tawny. 168

His prestige could not brook the constant use of wine among the Darads like the rising sun in the morning the iridescence of the medicinal herbs in the caves. 169

The north wind, which had caressed the musk-deer and fanned the filaments of saffron flowers, added grace to the army like a woman. 170

The town of Prāgjyotiṣa having been evacuated, he saw the smoke of incense rising in the forest conflagration from the forest of black aloes. 171

164. Indra according to ancient myth clipped the wings of the mountains and made them immobile.

165. Kāmboja=ancient name for the people of Afghanistan. The term occurs (500 B.C.) in the Yāska's *Nirukta* (II. 2-8). In Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (I 1, 1.) the text of the *Nirukta* is quoted to show the difference of dialect between the Kāmbojas and the Āryas. An ancient tradition, which is anterior to the rise of Buddhism, mentions the Gāndhāras and the Kāmbojas in a list of sixteen large republican communities (Mahājanapada).

166. The Tuḥkhāra. The Tokharish country was in central Asia south of the Altai Mountains and north-west of the Gobi Desert. Kucha, Turfan, and Kara-shahr were the principal cities. For centuries they were menaced by the Chinese and the Turks on either side. The people were Buddhists and Saṁskṛta was the language of culture among them. They were also under the influence of Iranian culture and art, as is proved by the paintings and finds brought to Berlin by Von le Coq.

Tuḥkhāra=Country which included the upper Oxus valley with Balkh and Badakshan and extended on the east to the frontier of China.

169. A certain kind of mountain herbs were believed to be iridescent. See Taraṅga VIII. 1216, 2388.

170. This is a graceful compliment to women.

In the sea of sands, where the mirage caused the illusion of an expanse of water, his mighty elephants had the semblance of a collection of large alligators. 172

The resoluteness of his warriors was made to ooze out by the womankind in the Realm of the Amazons by the display of their prominent breasts though not by the fronts of their elephants. 173

Seeing the tremor and other emotional changes of the queen of the Strīrājya in his presence, no one could be certain if it was nervousness or amorous desire. 174

The Uttarakuras, through terror of him, rushed to their native trees like mighty serpents into the earth-holes through fear of the destroyer of snakes. 175

Having acquired wealth by conquests, he now entered his own kingdom as the lion turns to the mountain with his paw filled with the pearls torn from the elephant. 176

By granting Jālandhara, Lohara and other principalities as favours, he raised his dependents to the status of royalty. 177

As an admission of defeat, the ruling princes were compelled to adopt various emblems showing humility by that stern man which they carry even to the present day. 178

To denote the sign of bondage, it is manifestly by his order that, the Turks carry their hands at the back and shave half the head. 179

The king made the people of the South wear on the loin-cloth a tail which touched the ground as an indication of their being the lower animals. 180

172. Vālukāmbudhi='the sea of sand' is perhaps the desert of Gobi.

173. The fronts of the war elephants carried armour plates.

Strīrājya=Realm of the Amazons. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira. The Pāṇḍyas had women rulers according to the Greek ambassador at the Mauryan court (see *Megasthenes—Ancient India*, McCrindle's translation, Fragm. LVI.) Among the ancient Greeks there were legends about the Realm of the Amazons in the Mediterranean.

175. The destroyer of snakes in Garuḍa. Uttarakuru is the name of the mythical region of the North. See *Alberuni*, Vol. I p. 302.

177. Jālandhara=Town and district of Jullundher in the Punjab.

Lohara was the famous fortress which figures prominently in this poem. It was the unsuccessful siege of Lohara which saved Kaśmīr from being devastated after the destruction of the kingdom of the Śāhi, when Mahmud and his Turkish horde invaded Kaśmīr.

179-180. The Turkish people of the high lands to the north of Kaśmīr may be seen in this characteristic pose to this day.

The people of the North have been known to entertain a feeling of contempt for those of the South. And the Kaśmīrī is not yet free from the ancient prejudice against Southern Indians.

There was not a township, no village, no river, no sea, no island where this king did not lay down a sacred foundation. 181

As some places befitting his exploits, at others in pursuance of convention, that proud man usually assigned names to his foundations. 182

He found Suniścitapura where he had formed the resolution for conquest up to the horizon; in the pride of triumph he founded Darpitapura consecrated to Viṣṇu. 183

When he was accepting fruits, the king had founded Phalapura, Parṇotsa where he had received leaves and the Vihāra of Krīḍārāma where he held sports. 184

By fixing one magnet above which pulled upwards and another which in the same way exerted a pull downwards, he put up without supports in Strīrājya an image of Nṛhari. 185

While that monarch was abroad, it is said that his architect built a town to bear his name and suffered from his anger as a consequence. 186

In that town, which had been named Lalitapura, that king bursting with pride, offered to the Sun the territory of Kānyakubja together with the villages. 187

By this high-minded king was founded at Huṣkapura the blessed Muktasvāmin and a colossal Vihāra together with a Stūpa. 188

Having taken one crore, he had marched forth for conquest up to the horizon; when he returned, he offered eleven crores to Bhūteśa for purification. 189

And the king there achieved the construction of a stone temple of Jyeṣṭha Rudra with the grant of land and villages. 190

At Cakradhara he made a diversion of the waters of the Vitastā and by constructing a series of water-wheels dealt them out widely among the villages. 191

The munificent king built the marvellous temple of Mārtaṇḍa with massive stone walls inside encircling ramparts and a township which rejoiced in grape-vines. 192

184. Parṇotsa = modern Punch (in Kaśmīrī Prunts).

192. This is the famous temple of the sun whose imposing colonnades in Greek style attract the attention of visitors to Kaśmīr.

Mārtaṇḍa = the sun (from Mṛtāṇḍa which Aditi, the wife of Kaśyapa, brought forth). The Kaśmīrī Chronicler Jonarāja mentions (verse 599 of his chronicle) that the Sultan Sikander (1319-1414 A.C.) known as the But-Shikan (Image-breaker) destroyed this magnificent temple.

At Lokapuṇya having founded a town replete with various material resources, the conqueror presented it, together with villages, to Viṣṇu. 193

Thereafter the terrestrial Indra, who was by nature extremely humorous, founded Parihāsapura which ridiculed the abode of Indra. 194

Resplendent was the silver statue of the god, the holy Parihāsakeśava, as if he were annointed with the lustre of the pearls during slumber in the ocean. 195

As if pleased with the mass of filaments of the lotus on the navel, the statue of Viṣṇu—the holy Muktākeśava—was resplendent in gold. 196

Mahāvarāha was radiant wearing the armour of gold like the Sun when he carries the beams of light to annihilate darkness in Pātāla. 197

He had a statue of the god Govardhanadhara cast in silver; the whiteness which it bore was due, as it were, to the floods of milk from Gokula. 198

After erecting a colossal stone fifty-four hands high, he placed, on the crest of the standard, Garuḍa, the emblem of Viṣṇu. 199

With large quadrangle, lofty chapels and a colossal statue of Buddha the king, who was free from the passions, constructed the Rājavihāra which always had abundant provisions. 200

He had used eighty-four thousand Tolakas of gold for the figure of Muktākeśava. 201

The very same number of Palas of silver the pure-minded one collected and constructed the holy Parihāsakeśava. 202

Further, with as many thousands of Prasthas of brass he founded a colossal statue of the blessed Buddha which filled the heavens. 203

195. Viṣṇu sleeps on the body of Śeṣa in the ocean which is the home of pearls.

197. The verse refers to the story of Viṣṇu's avatāra as the mighty boar.

198. Gokula=the native village of Nanda, the cowherd and his wife Yaśodā who brought up Kṛṣṇa in his childhood. Kṛṣṇa, the divine cowherd, according to legend, had held Mount Govardhana on his finger to form a shelter over his cows.

200. The colossal image of Buddha mentioned in verse 203 below is again referred to in VII. 1097.

202. Tolaka is the modern Tolā. 1 Pala=4 Tolās. 1 Tolaka=16 Māṣas=96 Raktikā (modern rati).

203. Prastha=32 Palas.

The quadrangle and chapel were built with equal amount of money—thus the five structures were treated alike by him. 204

At some places of silver, at others of gold, the king who was comparable to Kubera founded images of the gods by the side of the principal deities. 205

How many precious stones, villages and materials he granted them! Who has the capacity to fix their number accurately? 206

By the ladies of the royal household, the councillors, the rajahs who were in his service, hundreds of sacred foundations were made which were the marvels of the world. 207

His queen Kamalavatī, who had founded Kamalāhaṭṭa, founded a large-size silver image of Kamalākeśava. 208

The minister Mitraśarman, too, made a foundation for Śiva as Mitreśvara; the rajah of Lāṭa named Kayya founded the holy Kayyasvāmin. 209

The holy Kayya Vihāra which was a marvel was also founded by him where, in course of time, there arose the Bhikṣu Sarvajñamitra who was comparable to Jina. 210

The Tuḥkhāra Caṅkuṇa, the founder of the Caṅkuṇa Vihāra, founded a Stūpa, lofty like the king's mind as well as gold images of the Jinas. 211

By Īśānadevī, his wife, was constructed a pond the water of which was limpid like the nectar-juice and restorative of health for invalids. 212

The favourite of king Lalitāditya, Cakramardikā, founded there Cakrapura which had seven thousand dwelling-houses. 213

The Ācārya named Bhappaṭa founded Bhappaṭeśvara and several foundations, too, such as Rakchaṭeśa were made by many other persons. 214

In the other capital, too, in this country by the principal minister

204. Verses 200-204 show the tolerance of the king and equal regard for different religions which indeed was characteristic of Indian culture.

211. Caṅkuṇa=Tsiang-Kiun (Chinese). The Chinese pilgrim Ou-Kong who visited Kaśmīr mentions the Vihāras founded in Kaśmīr in the 8th century by members of Turkish ruling families of Central Asia. Stein identified the Vihāra mentioned in verse 215 below with a Vihāra mentioned by Ou-Kong ("le monastère du général" tsiang-kiun =senā-pati). Prof. S. Lèvi is of opinion that the Tokharan minister had the Chinese title tsiang-kiun, the Saṁskṛta transcription of which is Caṅkuṇa.

Caṅkuṇa was founded, together with a chapel, a Vihāra distinguished for works of piety. 215

The physician named Īśānacandra, brother-in-law of the minister Caṅkuṇa, founded a Vihāra having acquired a fortune through the favour of Takṣaka. 216

In this manner the lord of the land, having made the country golden by his virtues, liberality, valour and the like, cast Indra into the background. 217

A command of this king, though it had issued from his mouth through heedlessness, was not at any time by the very gods transgressed. 218

Thus when on the shore of the eastern ocean he was camping with the army he, on one occasion, ordered cherries to be brought. 219

While those in front of him blindly stood by not knowing the way out, at this time some divine person brought cherries as a present before him. 220

At the sign of the brow of the sovereign, the chamberlain went forward and accepting the present asked him "whose servant are you?" 221

He said—"Being given the cherries which the king loves I, who am the keeper of the Nandana garden, have been sent to-day by the mighty Indra. In private I am to deliver a certain message of the great Indra." Hearing this the chamberlian removed the people from the hall of assembly. 222–223

Thereafter the divine person spoke "Indra says to you—O lord! may you be pleased to forgive this speech, which even though brutally frank owing to friendly feeling, is salutary." 224

"Even in the fourth aeon, O protector of the land! listen to the reason why we, though guardians of the quarters, salute and receive your command." 225

"Formerly, in another birth you were in fact the labourer and ploughman of a certain wealthy householder in a village." 226

"On one occasion during summer, when wearied after having driven the big bullocks, you found yourself in the waterless jungle, the day was nearly worn out." 227

219. Kapittha=cherry. See below verse 237. Cherries ripen in Kaśmīr about the middle of May and last for a few weeks.

"Then from the master's house, near you, exhausted by hunger and thirst, some one carrying a pitcher of water and a loaf arrived." 228

"After washing the hands and feet you were about to eat when you saw a wandering Brahman, whose breath was at the throat, in front of you." 229

"He said to you, "Don't eat; I am famine-stricken, the breath which is about to escape is at the throat through lack of food." 230

"Though prevented by him who was by your side, you lovingly gave him half the loaf and the pitcher of water while you spoke soothing words." 231

"By that gift to a worthy recipient, at the proper time, with a willing mind, you had a hundred indisputable orders to your credit in heaven." 232

"By that gift of water, at the mere disclosure of your wish, rivers of sweet water arise even on the paths in the desert." 233

"O king! the plant of charity, howsoever young, throws into the background the wishing-tree and the like if it is planted in the right soil, a bed round it is made with courteous words, if it is sprayed with the limpid water of a flawless mind—it fruits, in time, in favour of the donor securing, forsooth, all manner of desired objects." 234

"A few of those commands now remain to you, O lord of the land! since you waste the words, which cannot be transgressed, here and there, thoughtlessly." 235

"And what is easily found in other kings—the lack of thought—how is it that even in you, who are great, it waxes in the mind?" 236

"The fruits which but for a few days are produced in Kaśmīr at the advent of the clouds, whence could they come to the eastern ocean in winter?" 237

"In whichever direction you plunge, in each one of them its respective guardian will endeavour to execute your order owing to the spiritual power of the previous gift." 238

"Since you are actually in the direction which is under the mighty Indra, this your command, though of small importance, has been somehow accepted by Indra of unbroken power." 239

228. Apūpa is a loaf. It was the precursor of the Kulchih now sold in the bazars of Kaśmīr.

"Therefore, without an important reason an order should never again be given by you heedlessly since very few remain." 240

Thus having spoken when he had vanished from view, the large-hearted king pondering over the great power of charity marvelled exceedingly. 241

From that time onwards desirous of securing such seemly rewards, he made permanent provision for a big festival at Parihāsapura. 242

At this, which is celebrated under the name Sahasrabhakta, a lakh and one plates served with food, together with Dakṣiṇā, are distributed. 243

With this very view he founded towns in waste lands so that some one suffering from thirst might get a drink of water. 244

He gathered from many lands various learned men who were discriminate, like the zephyr the mass of flowers from the trees. 245

By him was invited the womb-brother of Kaṅkaṇavarṣa named Caṅkuṇa, skilled in alchemy, from the Tuḥkhāra country who was exalted by virtue. 246

He, by his alchemy, having brought much gold into the treasury proved a benefactor of the king like the lotus-pool of the lotus. 247

Obstructed in the Pañcanada, on one occasion, by the confluence of rivers which were difficult to cross, the king whose army was held up on the bank fell into anxiety for a while. 248

Then he asked the ministers about the means for crossing the waters; into the unfathomable waters Caṅkuṇa, who was on the bank, threw a crystal. 249

Owing to its magic power, the water of the river parted and the king having crossed with his troops soon gained the further bank. 250

The crystal was, however, by means of another crystal drawn out by Caṅkuṇa and, in a moment, the water of the river became as it was before. 251

After watching this miracle that king, with his mouth full of praise through affection, asked Caṅkuṇa for the two crystals. 252

He said to him smiling, "The two excellent gems do the task only when in my hand; what would be the use of your possessing them?" 253

243. Bhakta-pātra=plates served with food. Pātra might mean either a plate or what is called 'pattal' in Hindi—which is made of leaves.

246. See IV. 166. fn.

248. Pañcanada=Five rivers, Pañjāb.

"Only among common people a thing which has excellence acquires a reputation; what is its attraction among the mighty who have a variety of excellent things?" 254

"The oozing of the moon-stone is worth consideration so long only as it is situate on the sandy foreshore of the ocean; if it is taken up by the latter then its flow, however profuse, can not be distinguished in the water of the ocean." 255

When after speaking thus he had fallen silent, the king asked in wonderment, "Dost thou consider that I possess a jewel which excels these two?" 256

"And if perchance thou seest something belonging to me to excel these, take it and give in exchange this pair of crystals." 257

Thereupon "this is a great favour!" exclaimed Caṅkuṇa and added "the two gems are the property of the liege-lord; may you be pleased to grant me what is desired by me." 258

"The statue of Sugata which has been brought from Magadha after being placed on the back of an elephant—by the gift of it may this humble servant be obliged." 259

"The means of fording waters—the two crystals—may your Majesty be pleased to accept; the means of traversing the cosmic existence may Sugata be delivered to me." 260

Thus cleverly besought by him, the king gave the statue of Jina; who has the ability to be proof against the words of those who are fluent in speech? 261

In his own Vihāra he then installed the Blessed One who shines in lovely bronze as if he were dressed in ochre-brown garments. 262

Even to this day one can see the pedestal encircled in iron straps which indicates that it had been fastened on the elephant's back. 263

It is amazing that in pursuance of the wishes of kings of mighty power, the earth should reveal what is desired by them. 264

On one occasion that king, who was an expert in horsemanship, took into the jungle all alone an untrained horse in order to train it himself. 265

In that place which was remote from human habitation, he saw from a distance one maiden with a lovely figure who was singing and another who was dancing. 266

While he was training the horse he saw that after a while, having

concluded the song and the dance, the two doe-eyed maidens after bowing slightly were going away. 267

Mounting that horse he came to that place day after day and seeing those two lovely girls in the same attitude he went and asked them in astonishment. 268

To him the two of them said," We are dancing girls belonging to a temple; yonder is the village Śūravardhamāna, our house is there." 269

"Upon the spiritual instruction of our mothers, who used to obtain a living at this place, by our family the dancing has been ceremoniously carried on here." 270

"This usage which has come from one generation to another has been established in our house; neither of us nor any one else is capable of knowing the reason for this." 271

In this wise after hearing the statement of those two girls, the king was amazed and the following day, as declared by them, he had the entire terrain excavated by labourers. 272

When they had removed the earth far down the king, as reported by them, saw a couple of ancient temples the doors of which were closed. 273

When the door-panels were opened, he there saw two images of Keśava which the letters inscribed on the pedestal declared to have been founded by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. 274

By the side of Śiva at Parihāsapura, the illustrious king after constructing a separate stone shrine performed the ceremony of consecration of Rāmasvāmin. 275

In the very same way, too, the god Lakṣmaṇasvāmin, with leave of the king, was installed by Cakramardikā in the vicinity of Cakreśvara. 276

During his victory campaign up to the horizon, a certain man who had received fresh wounds threw himself in front of the king who was mounted on an elephant. 277

Of him who was streaming with blood from the injuries on the hands, nose and other limbs and who prayed for protection the king, moved to pity, enquired regarding his own tale. 278

277. There is a close resemblance between this account and the story of Kaniṣka's expedition against Kanauj given by *Alberuni*, II. p. 11 sqq.

To him he spoke of himself as the minister of the chief of the land on the edge of the sea of sand and well-known as a worker in his cause; for having advised in his interest that he should make submission to king Lalitāditya, the ruler therefor had punished him. 279-280

He was thereupon promised by the king that his master would be, punished and he was healed of the wounds by those who were experts in the art of restoration of health. 281

Then when the expedition was on the march, that minister who had received honourable treatment, on one occasion, when no one was by spoke thus to him who owned the earth. 282

"That I safeguard the body such as it has now become O king! is because this chastening hope of vengeance is seducing me." 283

"After offering with tears the water-oblation to Misery and Happiness I, who have achieved the task, ought, forsooth, to give up life which has been smitten with humiliation." 284

"One should throw into the background the meagre damage caused by the foe by inflicting injury in greater measure like the hill by its deep echo the sound of one's shout." 285

"The territory which is a march of three months from here how can it be reached rapidly? If perchance it can be reached would the foe, in that event, stay in that very place?" 286

"Therefore a route which can be traversed in half a month is what I should advise you; although waterless it is possible for the armies to march if water is carried." 287

"My relatives who are natives of the territory will not report your approach; the Rajah with the ministers and the Pure Interior can be captured by this ruse." 288

Thus having addressed he induced him to enter the sea of sand; and when a fortnight had worn out the army found that it had no water. 289

Even in this state the king carried on for two or three days but finding the troops afflicted with thirst he spoke to that minister. 290

"Days in excess of the time stated have been passed en-route and

279-280. Sikatā-sindhu=ocean of sand. Perhaps this refers to the Desert of Gobi.

284. In the funeral ceremonies water is the main offering mixed with Sesamum seeds.

the army is on the point of death owing to thirst; so how much of the way still remains?" 291

"Thereupon mockingly he replied "O you, who aspire to be a conqueror! Is Your Highness asking about the remainder of the way to the enemy's realm or the realm of Yama?" 292

"In the interest solely of the master and disregarding my own life you, together with the army, have in fact been artfully made to enter the jaw of death." 293

"It is no mere desert land, this is the terrible sea of sand; water is nowhere to be found here, who will be your saviour now O lord of the earth!" 294

Hearing this the whole army came to lose morale and was like rice-land when the crop is ruined by hail and the stalks only survive. 295

Pacifying the loud wailing of the timid, who had abandoned hope of life, by raising the arm the king thereupon said:— 296

"O minister! by the action of thee, who art the master's well-wisher, we are gratified; even in this desert as if we were suffering from cold, the hair stands on end." 297

"On me, however, who am the quintessence of impregnability it is clear that, even such an endeavour on thy part loses its edge like iron in the case of diamond." 298

"With the delusion that it is a ruby having taken up a bit of fire thou hast as it were burnt the fingers; thou wilt, to be sure, repent this day the limbs that have been mutilated in vain." 299

"At my mere command, behold! the earth will to-day give birth to water as by the rumbling of the water-bearing cloud is produced the jewel by the emeraldland." 300

After saying this, in order to draw up water he scratched the ground with the lance like the three-eyed Lord with his trident when he was desirous of raising up the water of the Vitastā. 301

Thereupon charming like the flirtatious smile of the Lakṣmī of the nether world a stream welled up from the base of the earth together with the hope of life of the armies. 302

That stream cut out the fatigue of his legionaries and at the same time the end desired by that minister who had in vain mutilated the limbs. 303

301. See I, 27.

That mutilated minister, the herald of inauspiciousness, whose efforts had become fruitless was the first to enter the city of his own master and Death thereafter. 304

The king, on his part, punished that ruler of crooked conduct and reduced him to a plight on a par with his own minister. 305

As and when required, at various places streams were produced by this very king with the lance, which are even at the present day flowing in the region of the north. 306

By the thousand are current about him other tales, the marvels of the world, which for fear of prolixity have not been recited. 307

It has been observed that even the noble rivers, whose waters flow in silence, resound in a rugged region crowded with rocks with a very terrifying roar and that although limpid they are, in the season dark with the clouds, sullied by turbidity; the fact is that Place and Time are a pair which, forsooth, give even the great the urge to mould their conduct in harmony with them. 308-309

On one occasion while staying at Parīhāsapura the king, in the company of the ladies of the household being intoxicated with wine, ordered the ministers as follows: 310

"The city of Pravarapura founded by Pravarasena, if you are of opinion that its beauty is like that of my town, then burn it down." 311

Hearing this grim order of the monarch, whose command could not be transgressed, they went and set fire to the cavalry hay-stacks at Vātulānaka. 312

As he watched from the terrace of the palace, his countenance lit by the sheets of fire, he was like a goblin bursting with laughter in wild glee. 313

It is amazing that another person should, altogether erroneously, appear to be superior to one when under the influence of envy and like morbid corruptions despite one's pure soul; the moon and the rest one sees magnified two-fold while the eye, naturally luminous, is smitten with the fault of obscurity. Were it not so that one town of king Pravarasena, he who was the founder of countless towns, how could he have regarded as superfluous! 314-315

304. A mutilated person was an emblem of inauspiciousness. See Taraṅga VII.312.

308-309. Kalhaṇa repeatedly refers to the influence of Time on the character of public men and politicians.

Then after the intoxication had worn out, pondering over the sin of the burning of the city, he was touched by the fire of remorse whose intimate friends are hot sighs. 316

Those, whose inner minds are hollow, do that by which they are consumed in secret until their bodies perish like old trees in whose hollow there is fire. 317

Thus in the morning when the ministers saw him sorrowing and unhappy, to remove his misery they informed him that the burning of the town had merely been a fake. 318

Hearing that the city had not been burnt the king became free from sorrow like one who having dreamt of the loss of the son finds him, when awake, standing in front. 319

Eulogizing those ministers who had acted rightly he spoke to them as follows:—"An oral order by me when I am intoxicated should never be carried out." 320

A curse on those officials who, seeking their own ends, emoluments and comfort, encourage in unseemly amusements the ruler who is master of the land, as one is master of a woman of the town, for the moment; in this world they who guard the king who is on the wrong track by force disregarding even their own lives—by those high-minded men this earth has been sanctified. 321

Although the high-mindedness which dwelt in that monarch surpassed that of Indra, this was also another fault which was worthy of ordinary kings. 322

Inasmuch as even after making the holy Parīhāsakeśava as the surety he murdered, through desperadoes at Trigrāmī, the king of Gauḍa. 323

Very amazing was the morale of the dependents, of Gauḍa who for the sake of the liege-lord, who was out of sight, sacrificed their lives. 324

317. The belief about fire which lives in old trees is referred to by Bernier when he was on his way to Kaśmīr. "I observed trees consumed by fire; but I am unable to say if they were struck by lightening or ignited by friction, when hot and impetuous winds agitate the trees against each other, or whether, as the natives pretend, trees, when grown old and dry, may ignite spontaneously."

323. Gauḍa=Bengal. The ruins of the mighty city of Gauḍa, the capital of Bengal stretched for miles and are covered with jungle. This region has not yet been touched by archaeologists. Recently photographs of the ruins taken from aeroplanes have been published.

324. Sattva=morale.

They having secured entry into Kaśmīr, under the pretext of visiting the goddess Śāradā, mustered and surrounded the abode of the god who had been the surety. 325

As the lord of the land was abroad the priests, seeing them intent on entering, closed the gates of the temple of Parīhāsakeśava. 326

Flushed with martial pride they secured the silver statue of Rāmasvāmin and mistaking it for Parīhāsakeśava pulled it down and reduced it to powder. 327

And reducing it to particles they scattered it in all the directions while they were being slain at every step by the troops who had come out of Śrīnagara. 328

These dark men, splashed with blood, fell to the ground when slain and appeared like stone fragments from a hill of antimony gleaming with red liquid mineral. 329

By the showers of their blood was made replendent their extraordinary devotion to the liege-lord and the earth became blessed. 330

The peril from the thunderbolt ceases on account of the diamond, prosperity comes through the ruby, all kinds of poisons are allayed by the emerald; thus each of the precious stones does its work throngh its specified inherent power, but by jewell-like men, on the other hand, who are endowed with immeasurable greatness, what is difficult to achieve? 331

What a long time the road must have taken to traverse and what loyalty to the master who had found peace! Even for Fate it was not possible to achieve what the people of Gauḍa did at that time. 332

Possessing the spiritual power of remarkable loyalty to the master such jewel like liege-men, the kings in those days, found at every step. 333

The holy Parīhāsakeśava loved by the king was preserved by the sacrifice of Rāmasvāmin in the upheaval of the giants of Gauḍa. 334

Even at the present time the temple of Rāmasvāmin may be seen empty; the cosmic universe is filled, on the other hand, with the fame of the brave men of Gauḍa. 335

329. The dark colour of the people of Bengal is referred to here. In Kṣemendra's *Deśopadeśa* the sixth chapter is devoted to a skit on the Bengali students of dark complexion reading in the University in Kaśmīr.

333. Kalhaṇa apparently deplores in this verse the lack of brave and loyal men among his contemporaries.

In this manner in various adventures were passed the days of the king—a few in his own city, the majority in other lands. 336

Curious to see the lands which no one else had explored, he once more penetrated into the limitless northern region. 337

At that time he had various encounters with the demons who were sent by the Giver of Wealth to test his power. 338

The lands which even to this day have not been seen by the very sunbeams in them, that king's authority was promulgated at will. 339

Thereafter a messenger who had been sent by the ministers, who for a long time had been without news, returned from his presence and reported to them as follows: 340

Thus the lord instructs you, "What is this delusion on the part of men like you that you await my return after I have penetrated into this region?" 341

"After giving up the acquisition of ever new triumphs day after day, what work do you see for me in my own realm if I should return?" 342

"For rivers which have set out from their own region the ocean is the limit, but nowhere is there a limit for those who are frankly aspiring to be conquerors." 343

"Therefore I shall speak of what is the gist of governance suitable for my own country; in pursuance of it you should, without mishap, carry on the government and be blameless." 344

"Those who in this country desire to have the mastery must at all times guard against dissentious among themselves; for in their case no peril arises from alien enemies as there is none for the Cārvākas from the world beyond." 345

"Even for no offence in this country the dwellers in the depths of the mountains should be fined, for if they should accumulate wealth, they might become impregnable in the shelter of the forts." 346

340. The testament of Lalitāditya is one of the most interesting portions of this book which describes the difficult art of government.

345. The Cārvākas were a sect of materialists who did not believe in God, the Soul, Immortality or the next world (Paraloka). This school of undisguised Atheism ascribed its origin to Bṛhaspati but its authoritative text-book, the *Bārhaspatya Sūtra*, is so far only known from a few quotations. The Cārvāka considered the human person (Puruṣa) to be an organized body endowed with Sensibility and with Thought resulting from a modification of the component material elements.

"Action should be taken repeatedly so that the people in the villages should not possess grain for consumption and bullocks for the area of the fields in excess of annual requirement." 347

"For if they were to have excessive wealth, they might become very terrible Ḍāmaras in a single year able to violate the authority of the king." 348

"When once the rural population secures raiment, women, woollen blankets, food, trinkets, horses, dwellings which are worthy of the capital; when fortifications which ought to be cared for are neglected through arrogance by the kings, and when they show lack of appreciation of the character of their officers; when from a single district is exacted the maintenance for the armed forces; when the civil servants have formed a league by matrimonial alliances with one another; when the kings take the same view as the civil servants in the departments of state, then it may be known without doubt that there has been a reversal of the good luck of the subjects. 349-352

"After inferring the secret designs in their hearts by closely following the activities of the royal princes, you should bear in mind the distinction to be mentioned by me." 353

"The proximity of the maddened elephant is indicated by the wind through the odour of the rut, the birth of the thunderclap from the water-giving cloud by the lightening with its brilliant flashes; the mentality of a living being, which is repeated from another birth and which is changeless, is proclaimed by his actions, the true nature of which is inferred by the skill of men of intellect." 354

"Kuvalayāditya as well as Vajrāditya are equally my sons; the intellect of those two brothers who have different mothers is of a different type however." 355

348. Ḍāmara=The well-to-do landed gentry or feudal barons. The term is used by Kṣemendra a century before K. and by the later Chroniclers as well. The barons or the rustic aristocracy of Kaśmīr were not equal to the Rājaputras in social scale yet K. mentions instances of intermarriage between them and between the Ḍāmaras and the ruling family of Kaśmīr. Any one could become a Ḍāmara who apparently began as a prosperous cultivator (the Russian Kulak). He could wax strong in course of time as a powerful feudal baron capable of being "a thorn in the side of the king." See VII. 494, VIII. 709, 2334 sq., 2953.

"The Abhiṣeka should be performed on the elder for the throne; but if he should prove powerful you should overstep his authority, on principle, in that event." 356

"Whether he gives up his life or the government, the king should not be mourned by any one. Remember these words of mine." 357

"The younger should not be made king. If this mistake takes place, his authority should not be transgressed and he should be safeguarded even though he may be difficult to understand." 358

"Among my grand-sons he who is the youngest, the little lad Jayāpīḍa, should be instructed thus "may you be like the grandfather" at all times." 359

Their hopelessness being confirmed, they having bowed to the last considered order of the liege-lord accepted it with reverence while they let fall tear-drops like grain for a sacrificial offering. 360

Caṅkuṇa then addressed all the subjects who had foregathered while he sprinkled with his tears the earth which was hot owing to the fire of separation from the lord. 361

"The Abhiṣeka should be performed on Kuvalayāpīḍa, the prince royal, for the throne, the king—blessed be his name—of noble deeds has gone to heaven." 362

"And thus the magic power which the gods had created in me in order to swell the coffers of that virtuous king has come to an end." 363

Though he had remained at a distance, that king, by some extraordinary power of his good luck, had been able to put through with ease even the affairs of state which were difficult to arrange. 364

The sun although hidden by a mass of clouds gives refreshment to the lotuses, the cloud although far away gives a touch of extreme coolness to the sunshine; there is some extraordinary power in the great through whose mighty influence, it is amazing, that the remotest tasks are achieved, at their will, without obstruction. 365

356. According to the ancient constitutional law of India the eldest son is entitled to succeed as king. Vasiṣṭha in his speech to Rāmacandra said, "Among all the descendants of Ikṣvāku, the first born becomes king; you are the first-born O Rāma! and should be installed as king to the exclusion of the younger. You should not reject this prescriptive law followed by your family."

This is an interesting verse. It refers to the right of the executive council of ministers to set aside a king and replace him by another.

361. The meeting of the assembled subjects was a survival of the ancient ceremony of election of the new king.

After giving delight to the earth for thirty-six years, seven months and eleven days this moon of the people set. 366

Some say that in the land named Āryāṇaka he perished by untimely and heavy falls of snow. 367

In order to safeguard his prestige, highly honoured among kings, which he had long conserved, he entered the flames during some crisis—so say others. 368

According to the view of some, however, that king in the remote regions of the north penetrated into territory, which is easily accessible to the immortals, surrounded by his army. 369

Just as one hears of his exploits which are very amazing, in the same way indeed even of the death of the king the report is very wonderful. 370

When the jewel of the sky sets, some say, it goes into the waters of the oceans, others that it enters the fire, others again that it goes to another world; it is amazing that in the case of the mighty, whose ardent desire is for expeditions without a parallel, stories suggesting their uncommon greatness become current even with regard to their death. 371

Kuvalayāpīḍa

Thereafter Kuvalayāpīḍa began to enjoy the lordship of the earth who had been born out of Kamaladevī like the glorious Indra out of Aditi. 372

366. The date of Lalitāditya is discussed at length by S. P. Pandit in support of the chronology of Kalhaṇa. See Appendix A.

Lalitāditya reigned from 700 to 736 A.C. according to Sir A. Stein's interpretation of Kalhaṇa's chronology. *The Annals of the T'ang Dynasty of China* record the arrival of an embassy from Mu-to-pi king of Kaśmīr during the reign of the Emperor Hiuen-tsung (713-755 A.C.). But the date of the embassy is not mentioned by the Chinese. Mu-to-pi is believed to be Muktāpīḍa which was another name of Lalitāditya. The Kaśmīrī king, according to the Chinese chronicler, asked for an alliance against Tibet and for a Chinese army of 200,000 to be encamped in Kaśmīr on the bank of the Vulur lake which is mentioned as the Mo-lo-po-lo-no-lung (Mahāpadma-saras). As the embassy is recorded to have arrived after the successful Chinese expedition in Baltistan (Po-liu) which took place between the years 736-747, the date of Lalitāditya given by Kalhaṇa would be wrong if we are to accept the identification of names as suggested by European scholars. A possible explanation might be that K's date is correct and the Chinese recorded the name of Muktāpīḍa, which must have been well known to them, as a generic name for the kings of Kaśmīr.

367. Āryāṇaka—According to S. P. Pandit was Irān (Persia). In the inscriptions of Darius the people of Iran are referred to as Aryans and their language Aryan. Āryāṇa=the country of the Aryans. Airyāṇa. (Zend).

By his open-handedness he made royal fortune, the nature of which is unclean and which was enamoured of him, bright like a mighty snake by casting off its slough which has been attached to him and though it is naturally dirty. 373

By his brother who had equal power he, for some time, was deprived of splendour just as a lamp overpowered by the flame of fire fails to radiate light. 374

The retainers through greed for largesses served alternately the two of them, like bees greedy for ichor the two temples of the elephant in rut, whereby the fortune of both became unstable. 375

Then together with the intrigues of the officials, who had been taking money from both, the king Kuvalayāpīḍa soon broke the younger brother. 376

After making the realm free from thorns the king, who had then acquired power, marched in glory having collected the necessary equipment for conquest up to the horizon. 377

One minister at this time transgressed his command, either because he recollected the instructions of his father or because he was obsessed with pride. 378

When the night approached the king, perturbed by anger, on the couch could not even for a moment go to sleep the while he ruminated over that transgression of his order. 379

In this state while he longed to kill the guilty minister many seemed to deserve death, on account of their connection with the latter, to him whose anger had been aroused. 380

From the ocean of his mind, when churned with the mountain of reflection, there arose after anger, which was like the Kālakūṭa poison, the ambrosia in the form of the inner calm. 381

Thereupon his rage disappeared and he thought to himself "to what end indeed had such destruction of life on a large scale appeared worth doing to me?" 382

"That body, whose benefit is sought even by doing acts which should not be done and the laying by of a store of sin, in whose case has it been permanent?" 383

373. A king's fortune is unclean because of its method of acquisition. The slough of a snake glitters like silver. There is a pun on the word Anurakta.

375. There is a pun on the word Dāna= (1) gifts as well as (2) ichor which exudes from the temples of a rutting elephant.

381. The reference is to the legend of the churning of the ocean. See App. C.

"To what person, whose memory is not worn out, would the eternal paths appear worthy of destruction for the sake of this ungrateful body?" 384

"Living beings, alas! do not realize that their own condition like that of food in the process of cooking is brought about by the *chef de cuisine* Time and varies from one moment to another." 385

"This face of ours must surely be an object of amusement to beings whose existence is eternal; they see it, yesterday, bright with the smile without cause appearing like the calyx of the pink lotus, soon becoming hard with the growth of the beard to-day and the tint of polished copper, deformed next morning by decaying grey hair resembling the head of an aged goat!" 386

The thought of this evanescent character, among other things, gave him a sense of appreciation of the comfort of quietism and abdicating the throne he proceeded to the Plakṣa-Prasravaṇa park. 387

"Go, gentle friend! to the woods, put your mind only into penance; perishable and evanescent are luxuries of this sort." 388

When he abdicated the crown, by writing on the throne this Śloka he gave vent to his overflowing desire for renunciation. 389

This king, who had achieved self-realization by the strong current of unbroken inner peace, comes within the range of sight of men of exalted life even at the present day on Śrīparvata. 390

In this manner, when the son of his liege-lord had gone away, Mitraśarman, inlaid with sorrow, at the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu accompanied by the wife gave up his life. 391

After a reign of a year and half a month this wise king attained perfection which is the ladder to get to the state of blessedness. 392

Vajrāditya Bappiyaka

Vajrāditya, who was known as Bappiyaka and also as Lalitāditya, then became king, whose mother was Cakramardikā. 393

This man of cruel conduct was indeed unlike his brother, who was

390. Śrīparvata, a sacred mountain mentioned in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*. See also Taraṅga III.267.

391. As among the Japanese, the Kṣatriya sense of loyalty was manifested by seeking voluntary death. Perhaps both India and Japan borrowed this idea of the vassal seeking voluntary death from the ancient custom prevailing among the Scytho-Tartars. The history of China furnishes instances of Turkish Khans, vassals of the T'angs, committing suicide on the corpse of the Emperor.

The confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu is held sacred like the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā at Prayāga.

the delight of the people, as was Durvāsas different from the cool-rayed moon. 394

From Parihāsapura the king, who was of evil conduct, resumed the series of different endowments of his father yielding to avarice. 395

This lascivious king had many women in the Pure Interior; like a stallion with the mares, he made love to numerous women in turn. 396

Delivering by sale many men to the Mlecchas, the practice worthy of the Mlecchas he introduced in the realm. 397

After enjoying the land for seven years, this miscreant king went to perdition through the disease of consumption which had its origin in excessive sexual-intercourse. 398

Pṛthivyāpīḍa

Thereafter Pṛthivyāpīḍa, begotten by him out of queen Mañjarikā, the destroyer of the subjects, became king for four years and one month. 399

Saṁgrāmāpīḍa I

After pulling him down Saṁgrāmāpīḍa, begotten by Bappiya out of Mammā, became king for seven days. 400

When the two brothers had access to it, sovereignty did not at all look splendid like the orb of the hot-rayed sun after reaching Hemanta and Śiśira. 401

Jayāpīḍa

Upon the death of Saṁgrāmāpīḍa, the youngest son of Bappiya, the illustrious king Jayāpīḍa, obtained the throne thereafter in the order of succession. 402

Recalling the words of the ministers that he should emulate the grandfather he, aspiring to be a conqueror, mustered the forces and marched forth for conquest up to the horizon. 403

394. Durvāsas. This sage according to the Purāṇas was the brother of Soma, the moon-god. His bad temper has become proverbial. Kālidāsa makes use of him in his celebrated play where Durvāsas curses the heroine *Śakuntalā*. Similarly in a play by Bhāskara Kavi (*Unmatta-Rāghava*) Durvāsas curses, Sītā who becomes a gazelle.

397. This verse shows that up to the time of king Kalaśa slavery did not exist in Kaśmīr. Slavery is against the law of the Āryas. The *Arthaśāstra* prescribes the punishment for the sale of Āryas into slavery as follows:

"The selling or mortgaging by kinsmen of the life of a Śūdra who is not a born slave and has not attained majority, but is an Ārya by birth, shall be punished with a fine of 12 Paṇas; of a Vaiśya, 24 Paṇas, of a Kṣatriya 36 Paṇas, and of a Brahman 48 Paṇas. If persons other than kinsmen do the same, they shall be liable to the three amercements and capital punishment respectively. Purchasers and abettors shall likewise be punished. It is no crime for Mlecchas to sell, or mortgage the life of, their offspring." Then follows the celebrated Injunction—"But never shall an Ārya be subjected to slavery." (Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* translated by R. Shamaśastry, chapterXIII, section 181, pp. 205-6. Ed. of 1929).

Just as he was about to leave his own country, together with the ruling chiefs whom he had brought under subjection, he, who was versed in diplomacy, asked the old men who lived within sight of the frontier of Kaśmīr. 404

"How large was our grandfather's army when he set forth; say now you, who were numbered among the legionaries in the campaigns." 405

Smiling they said to him, "What is the use sire! of this question? A thing of the by-gone age no one is capable of emulating now." 406

"Of covered litters of that monarch there was a lakh and a quarter; there are only eighty thousand to-day in Your Majesty's equipments for victory." 407

Hearing this Jayāpīḍa did not think much of the conquest of the earth, which through the superior force of the Time-Spirit was rapidly diminishing. 408

Seeing that such was the spirit of that king who was ambitious of being a conqueror, the old men were convinced of king Lalitāditya's knowledge of character. 409

When he had marched far away, his wife's brother named Jajja treasonably over-ran Kaśmīr and himself occupied the royal throne by force. 410

Day after day from the royal army the soldiers, who were thinking of their own land, thereafter returned and turned their faces away from devotion to the liege-lord. 411

Jayāpīḍa, on the other hand, desirous of proclaiming his own power despite the lack of retinue resolved on some suitable plan. 412

It was the self-assurance of this man of determined character which alone had remained steady whereby even the perversity of Fate had been upset. 413

He, after giving leave for departure to their respective lands to the ruling princes who had followed in his train, went to Prayāga with his limited troops. 414

There collecting the horses, swift as thought, which was all that remained with him, he gave as a gift to the Brahmans one lakh minus one with ample Dakṣiṇā. 415

407. The method of transport was by litters which by Bernier's time was adopted by the Mughals. Alberuni says about the Kaśmīrīs "the noble among them ride in palankins called Katt carried on the shoulders of men."

"Whosoever should give in gift in this place one complete lakh of horses, by his seal this my seal should be replaced"—announcing in this wise he granted a seal, for the water of the Gaṅgā to go to the countries in all directions, engraved with the following words "of His Majesty the illustrious Jayāpīḍa." 416-417

While drinking the water of the Gaṅgā, free from impurity, which is marked by his seal even to the present day, in the mind of proud princes there grows a sense of burning shame. 418

After granting permission to return to the native land to the army, through the mouth of a trusted man, during the night all alone he got away from the heart of the camp. 419

In search of a spot where he could display his martial glory, he moved in the states of ruling princes like the sun in the mass of clouds. 420

In course of time, he now entered the city of Pauṇḍravardhana which was subject to the king of Gauḍa under the protection of a ruling prince named Jayanta. 421

Delighted with the citizens' prosperity which good government had made charming he, to witness a dance accompanied by vocal and instrumental music, entered the temple of Kārtikeya. 422

There on the slab at the door of the temple he, who was versed in the histrionic arts of the dance, song and the like in accordance with Bharata, sat himself down for a while. 423

As the people moved away from his vicinity being awed by his

417-418. The water of the Gaṅgā, apart from its sacred character, is very good as drinking water. Bernier mentions that the Emperor Aurangzeb and his nobles drank the water of the Gaṅgā. During a march the Gaṅgā water was carried on camels. The Mughals, like the former princes of India, were connoisseurs in the matter of good water and the following extract from the *Ain-i-Akbari* regarding the state department (Abdar-khaneh) which had to do with the supply of drinking water from the Gaṅgā and 'ice', which was then brought in the form of frozen snow from Kaśmīr, is interesting.

"His Majesty calls this source of life "the water of immortality" and has committed the care of this department to proper persons. He does not drink much but pays much attention to this matter. Both at home and on travels he drinks Ganges water. Some trustworthy persons are stationed on the banks of that river who despatch the water in sealed jars."

423. The sage Bharata brought the divine art of dramaturgy from heaven to earth. The Śāstra referred to in the verse is the *Nāṭya Śāstra*.

Lāsya = is the tender emotional dance of Pārvatī as opposed to the Tāṇḍava of Śiva.

peculiar lustre, a danseuse named Kamalā saw the prince possessed of glory. 424

Of this man, who had an uncommon figure, she saw with amazement the hand stretching forth to the shoulder-top at intervals. 425

Whereupon she reflected, "This, forsooth, wandering incognito, is either a rajah or a prince royal born in a family which is well-known in the world." 426

"Thus he is accustomed to take the rolled up Tāmbūla from attendants standing behind and that is why his hand goes up to the shoulder-top every moment." 427

"The elephant moves the lobes of the ears even after the attack of the bees for the ichor has ceased, the lion even when the herd of elephants is not there turns back and stares, the peacock's throat is agitated by shrill notes even after the eager expectation of the cloud has passed; even when the basis of the practice has gone, a habit of long duration retains its hold." 428

Thinking in her mind in this wise she, after entrusting a plan, sent a woman friend, whose heart was not disparate from hers, to approach him. 429

When as before the hand went up to the shoulder she offered betel-nut in fragments; Jayāpīḍa put them in the mouth and turning round looked at her. 430

By the sign of the brow he thus enquired of her who had lovely eyebrows "to whom dost thou belong" and he got the information about her who had sent the Viṭikā. 431

By her who had aroused in him a courteous sympathy through various ways of mellifluous conversation he was conducted, by degrees, to the residence of her friend who had concluded her dance. 432

That graceful lady, who was of surpassing loveliness and whose conversation was refined and subtle, treated him with such courtesy that even he was amazed. 433

Thereafter, when the face of the night was lit by the moon, taking the king by the hand she entered the bed chamber. 434

431. Viṭikā=now known in the Dekhan as the Viḍā and in N. India as Bīḍā, is the Pān leaf rolled up with various ingredients.

There, while he lay on the golden couch, although besought by her who was elated with wine, he did not untie the nether garment. 435

Thereupon he, who was broad-chested and long armed, hugged her who had felt humiliated and as if by way of an introduction spoke as follows with deliberation. 436

"O thou with eyes like the lotus petal! it is not that thou hast failed to captivate my heart; on the contrary, it is the compelling force of circumstances which has made me an offender." 437

"Thy bondsman am I, O lovely one! bought by thy guileless charm; soon when thou hast learnt the facts thou wilt, forsooth, feel sympathy." 438

"O proud one! know me to be a person who has made up his mind not to participate in pleasures until a certain task, which remains to be achieved and which is under preparation, has been successfully accomplished." 439

Having said this to her and as if playing a note with his hand which had rings on the fingers, he, heaving a sigh, muttered this Śloka. 440

"What does a man of determination, whose ambition for conquest is unfinished, care about women? Until he has overrun the entire world the Sun does not make love to the Lady of the Twilight." 441

By this Śloka which the king had murmured to himself she, who was an adept in the arts, understood that he was some high personage. 442

When at day-break the king desired to depart she, who was enamoured of him, ardently begged and asked as a favour of him not to go away for a long time. 443

On one occasion, when he had gone to the edge of the river to offer prayer to Sandhyā and delayed in returning home, he saw that she had been exceedingly worried. 444

"How is this", he asked whereupon she, who had a bright smile, said to him, "A very big lion here attacks and kills embodied beings at night." 445

"Day after day he has been making a slaughter of human beings, elephants, horses; when your return was delayed, on account of that danger I became perturbed." 446

444. It is customary to offer prayers to Sandhyā, the Lady of the Twilight. See Taraṅga VIII. 3142.

"Whether Rajahs or Rājaputras they have been demoralised by terror of him and do not go out of the houses when the hour of night approaches." 447

When the young woman was saying this, after interrupting and ridiculing, Jayāpīḍa passed that night as if he were ashamed. 448

The day following he went out of the city at the close of the day and awaited the arrival of the lion beneath a mighty Vaṭa tree. 449

After a while there was visible from a distance the king of animals, graceful like the Bakula in full blossom, as if he were Death's wild laughter in motion! 450

Then as he, at a slow pace, moved away by another path the lion among kings shouted to the lion and challenged him with defiance. 451

With fixed ears, gaping mouth, quivering mane, glowing eyes, and raised forepart of the body the lion, with a roar, rushed upon him. 452

As he came down in his rage, putting the elbow in the cavity of his mouth Jayāpīḍa swiftly pierced the chest with the short sword. 453

Pouring out blood resembling the red paint on the elephants which he had devoured, he who had been stabbed by a single blow was deprived of life. 454

By tying a cloth bandage the king protected the elbow and entering the house of the danseuse he slept as usual. 455

When morning dawned, the prince Jayanta hearing that the lion had been killed went out in person to see him through curiosity. 456

Seeing the animal of large proportions slain by a single stroke, he was amazed and considered that the slayer, forsooth, must have been superhuman. 457

From inside his jaw was found an armlet which was handed over by the retainers and he saw engraved on it the name "His Majesty Jayāpīḍa" and was wonder-struck. 458

"How could that monarch possibly be here!" no sooner had the ruler of the land thus spoken than the town, apprehending the approach of Jayāpīḍa, was thrown into a panic. 459

449. Vaṭa=the tree known in the Dekhan and Western India as Vaḍ and in the North as Bargat, is the Ficus Bengalensis commonly called the Banyan.

450. Bakula=Mimusops Elengi. This is a large timber tree much cultivated in the gardens for the beauty of its foliage as well as for the delightful fragrance diffused by the innumerable fawn-coloured flowers which it bears in March. Some fine specimens of the Bakula may be seen in the gardens of the Taj at Agra where they are known as the Maulsari.

Thereupon Jayanta, the protector of the land, having thought over the matter spoke to the citizens as follows—"At a time of rejoicing O fools! why is it that fear has arisen among you!" 460

"For there is a rumour that the king Jayāpīḍa, proud of the power of his arm, is for some unknown reason wandering about quite alone abroad saying that he is the Rājaputra Kallaṭa; to him, being without a son, I have resolved to give in marriage Kalyāṇadevī." 461-462

"If he, who is sought by us, has himself arrived then it is as if one, who being intent on bringing precious stones is about to set out for the jewel-island, should discover treasure in the house." 463

"In this very town must be present that ruler of the world. He who discovers him and gives information, to him I shall grant his heart's desire." 464

The citizens had confidence in the speech of the lord of the land who spoke the truth; after searching they reported that he was staying in the residence of Kamalā. 465

Approaching him with the ministers and the ladies of the Pure Interior and by endeavour having gained his favour, the ruling prince then conducted him to his own residence with pomp and circumstance. 466

Then by him, who desired to offer all that was felicitous, the king was requested to accept the hand of Kalyāṇadevī as if it were that of the royal fortune which he had discarded. 467

Even though he lacked in equipment his might was brilliant in that place and having conquered the five Gauḍa princes he made the father-in-law their suzerain. 468

The minister Devaśarman, son of Mitraśarman, who had been busy mustering the troops, which had remained after the rest had departed when forsaken by the sovereign, joined him. 469

Towards his country he then set out at his request, placing in front the goddess of victory and in the rear the two ladies with the lovely eyes. 470

From the king of Kānyakubja, conquered in battle, that king, magnificent in prowess, carried off the lion-throne which was the emblem of royalty. 471

466. The ladies of the royal household participated in the welcome to Jayāpīḍa by accompanying in public the ruling Prince, and the ministers.

When he entered his own land, flushed with gallant exploits, Jajja with his forces ready for battle came out to fight. 472

At the village named Śuṣkaletra he had a grim struggle with Jayāpīḍa for many days. 473

The king, who was loved by the subjects, was supported in battle by bands of villagers and woodsmen who were not able to tolerate the sway of Jajja. 474

Śrīdeva, a village Caṇḍāla, had accompanied the villagers to the battle—"which is Jajja here" thus he, wandering about, had been asking the soldiers everywhere; they showed him from a distance Jajja who, distressed by thirst, was drinking water from a gold pitcher mounted on a horse in the midst of the battle-field; swinging round the sling he discharged a stone at his face and he, whose aim was unerring, exclaimed, "There, I have killed this Jajja." 475-477

"I am going as an auxiliary of the king"—speaking in this wise he had asked for his food and had joined after vowing before his mother, who had laughed, that he would kill Jajja. 478

Jajja, fearfully gashed on the face by the stone, fell from the horse in dying condition and while he wriggled on the ground his own men deserted and fled. 479

He, who was perpetually uneasy through anxiety about the attack of his powerful foe, was deprived of the realm, which he had acquired by treason, after three years. 480

The prosperity of merchants acquired by misappropriation of safe-deposits, of harlots by deceiving the lovers, and of princes by treason is, in any case, impermanent. 481

After Jajja was killed, Jayāpīḍa who was once more restored to his own fortune carried with his arms the burden of the land and by his acts the mind of the righteous. 482

Where that king achieved, by the death of his opponent, good luck Kalyāṇadevī founded in this country Kalyāṇapura. 483

The king who was the founder of Malhāṇapura built Vipulakeśava; and Kamalā, too, founded Kamalāpura after her own name. 484

Conferring the office of the High Chamberlain, through loving kindness, on Kalyāṇadevī he raised her to a still more exalted position. 485

Learning, which had vanished to distant lands, was made to descend in this land of its origin by him like the Vitastā by Kaśyapa. 486

On someone who openly said the words, "Here am I a fool!" he bestowed gifts; he brought into contempt the all-knowing and made all apply themselves to learning. 487

Summoning from other lands learned expositors, the king reinstated the *Mahābhāṣya*, the study of which had been interrupted. 488

He studied grammar deeply with a teacher named Kṣīra and the erudite Jayāpīḍa gained a reputation on a level with the savants. 489

A competition with his ownself he did not brook on the part of any king whatever; he, whose intellect was faultless, however, esteemed highly his own ability to vie with the learned. 490

Such was the fame of this epithet savant which was even higher than the title of king that it has not, in spite of his many faults, faded like other things with the changing times. 491

The king being under the influence of the learned the princes, who

486. The sage Kaśyapa, according to legend, prayed when the divine stream the Vitastā brought by Śiva had disappeared and restored her to Kaśmīr.

489-490. For the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali see I. 176 note.

Kṣīra, known as Kṣīrasvāmin, was the author of several grammatical treatises and a commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*. He is not mentioned by Alberuni who enumerates eight well-known grammarians including Candra. He is probably the oldest of the writers of elementary grammar for educational and school purposes who flourished under king Abhimanyu of Kaśmīr in the 2nd century A.C. (I. 176). Only portions of his grammar with a commentary by Ānandadatta have as yet been discovered. Alberuni has interesting remarks on the love of the Hindus for the study of grammar. He writes: "The two sciences of grammar and metrics are auxiliary to the other sciences. Of the two, the former holds the first place in their estimate, called Vyākaraṇa, i.e. the law of the correctness of their speech and etymological rules, by means of which they acquire an eloquent and classical style both in writing and reading. We Muslims cannot learn anything of it, since it is a branch coming from a root which is not within our grasp—I mean the language itself." After giving a list of eight works on grammar including that of Pāṇini he tells the following story about Ugrabhūti: "I have been told that the last-mentioned author was the teacher and instructor of Shāh Ānandapāla, the son of Jayapāla, who ruled in our time. After having composed his book he sent it to Kashmir, but the people there did not adopt it, being in such things haughtily conservative. Now he complained of this to the Shāh, and the Shāh, in accordance with the duty of a pupil towards his master, promised him to make him attain his wish. So, he gave orders to send 200,000 dirhams and presents of a similar value to Kashmir, to be distributed among those who studied the book of his master. The consequence was that they all rushed upon the book, and would not copy any other grammar but this one, showing themselves in the baseness of their avarice. The book became the fashion and highly prized." Vol. I. pp. 135-6.

had come to serve him desiring a favourable attitude on the part of the king, crowded in the houses of the savants. 492

To such an extent did the king search and collect all learned men that there was a dearth of learning in the territories of other rulers. 493

The minister Śukradanta's superintendent of the alms-house named Thakkiya was taken up, on account of his learning, by him and raised to dignity. 494

The learned scholar Udbhaṭa, for whom had been fixed a daily allowance of one lakh of Dīnnāras, was the President of the Assembly of this king. 495

He made the poet named Dāmodaragupta, the author of *The Thoughts of a Procuress*, the leading minister among political advisers as Bali had appointed Śukra. 496

Manoratha, Śaṅkhadanta, Caṭaka, Saṁdhimat, in the same way, became his poets and Vāmana and others the councillors. 497

When he saw in a dream the rising of the sun in the western direction, he believed that a distinguished master of the Law had entered the country. 498

The king had a refined mind and was discreet in showing praise; he was a connoisseur in his taste for the emotions which are worthy of enjoyment. 499

The kings, who do not perceive the superior flavour of the emotions and distinguish what is dainty to taste, what do they, who are like blind oxen, know save eating? 500

What the embrace of the beloved, who is preparing to follow in death, is to one who has mounted the funeral pyre, what the drink of

495. Sabhāpati=president of the assembly or deliberative body. Sabhya or Sabhāsad was a member of the assembly. The term Sabhāpati is very old. See *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* XVI. 24; *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* IV. 5, 3, 2 and *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā* XVII. 13, etc. Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa was the author of the *Alaṁkāra-Śāstra*. See VIII. 2227.

496. Bali, the king of the Asuras or Titans, had as his preceptor the wise Śukra-Ācārya who knew the secret of Immortality. The work *Kuṭṭanīmata*(Reflections of a Procuress) was discovered in the Cambay Temple Library by Professor Peterson. It contains an interesting account of the drama *Ratnāvalī* which was acted in Kaśmīr in accordance with stage directions which we find in copies of this play.

497. Verses of Manoratha are quoted in the *Subhāṣitāvali*; of the other poets mentioned no poetical works have so for been found.

498. May it be that this verse refers to an event similar to the arrival of the great Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang which literally means Master of the Law!

the juice of the red sugar cane is to one who is oblivious in an overpowering swoon, what the scent of flower-garlands and wreaths is to one whose soul has sped, such is the charm of sensations, which by nature is glorious, to one of unrefined mind. 501

His single figure as if reflected in the dual mirror of statecraft and valour multiplied a thousandfold. 502

On one occasion an envoy who was in attendance upon him was told, "Bring five Rākṣasas from the ruler of Laṅkā" and he bowed before the order which on its merits was excessive. 503

He was the minister for peace and war and on his way having fallen from the ship into the sea he became the morsel of a Timi; cutting up the Timi he came out and reached the shore. 504

Being a friend of the mortals on account of his devotion to Rāma, Vibhīṣaṇa guided him, who had presented the credentials of the king, to his own land accompanied by the Rākṣasas. 505

The king filled the envoy with riches and a deep lake with the help of the Rākṣasas and built the fortress of Jayapura which was comparable to heaven. 506

He erected three colossal statues of Buddha and a Vihāra and he, who did acts of piety, founded Jayādevī within Śrīnagara. 507

In his town, Keśava of the four forms as well as of the recumbent position on Śeṣa, abandoning the permanent residence in the world of Viṣṇu, has no doubt fixed his abode. 508

Getting the Rākṣasas to carry out some other works he covered the waters with the help only of the labourers—so state some. 509

For he had been told in a dream by the enemy of Kaṁsa thus: "In the waters make Dvāravatī for me," and he had made that kind of construction. 510

And that is how the famous capital Dvāravatī is called the outer fortification and Jayapura the inner citadel even at the present time by all the people. 511

501. Apparently Kalhaṇa like his compatriots was a gourmet. The Kaśmīrīs are well-known for the excellence of their cuisine of which they are justly proud.

503. Laṅkā is commonly believed to be Ceylon. It is really a mythical island and not Ceylon which is called Siṁhala. See I.294; III. 356.

504. Timi=a large sea-fish. See VIII. 3333.

505. Vibhīṣaṇa=Rāvaṇa's brother whom Rāmacandra installed as ruler of Laṅkā after killing Rāvaṇa.

506-511. Dr. Bühler identified the site of the twin cities of Jayāpīḍa, Jayapura and Dvāravatī, near Andarkoth (K's Abhyantara Koṭṭa) on the Sambal lake.

The king's minister Jayadatta, who was the recipient of the five high titles, constructed a convent in that citadel of Jayapura. 512

The royal chamberlain was Pramoda, the ruler of Mathurā; his son-in-law the pious Āca built the temple Ācesvara to Śiva. 513

Once more having collected stores he set out for world conquest and his army of numerous elephants elongated the mountain range on the foreshore of the ocean. 514

Though it had reached the eastern ocean, the army which followed him had not become detached from the Snow Mountain and glittered like the Gaṅgā following Bhagīratha. 515

Escorted by the terrible Caṇḍālas the kings, prominent among whom was Mammuni, moved round his camp and were his sentries during the watches of the night. 516

Announcing his other name to be Vinayāditya, the king ornamented the eastern direction by Vinayādityapura. 517

The reputation of even mighty kings, whose persistent endeavour is towards perilous adventures, is placed in jeopardy by overweening self-assurance. 518

For he in the disguise of a silent ascetic, in the company of ascetics, entered the castle of a ruler in the eastern region named Bhīmasena. 519

While he was searching the loopholes, the brother of Jajja named Siddha, who had long been staying there, recognized and went and reported him to the Rajah. 520

Thereupon Bhīmasena suddenly arrested that king as the python Nahuṣa did with Bhīma of dreaded valour. 521

When that brave man, the leader among men of manly exploits, was bound in that way methinks Fate, jealous of human endeavour, had raised its head. 522

Jayāpīḍa, however, unbewildered, although in this very terrible

516. Mammuni=This term occurs in III. 332, IV. 167 and again in VIII. 1090, 2179; in the latter case it appears as the name of a Rājaputra who came from foreign parts to seek service under Sussala. Mammuni was perhaps the title of chiefs of Turko-Mongol origin in the frontier of Kaśmīr—as Mammuni in IV. 167 is placed between the Tuḥkhāras and the Bhauṭṭas (Badakshan and Ladakh).

520. Loophole. The word Chidra or Randhra is often used in a political or military sense of the opponent's weakness or deficiency. The *Mahābhārata* says: "Let not the enemy discover the king's loophole, the enemy should be scanned for loopholes; the king should conceal his limbs like the tortoise, he should guard his own loopholes." (XIII. 83, 49.). See also Taraṅga VIII. 1598, 1833.

calamity and eagerly watching the dawn of good luck, continued to make all manner of plans. 523

At this juncture in the principality of the Rajah, there arose among the townsmen a calamity caused by the epidemic of Lūtā. 524

The disease is contagious and fatal there owing to a peculiarity of the country and hence the living being who is attacked by Lūtā is forsaken. 525

Hearing this Jayāpīḍa's wits were busy planning the means and through his servant he secretly brought in the necessary articles. 526

By swallowing these, which tended to cause an overflow of bile, his bile was excited and he got fever; by applying the milk of the Vajravṛkṣa he was covered with boils. 527

His adversary having heard from the mouth of the guards that he was attacked by Lūtā and thinking that he would no doubt perish expelled him from the country. 528

In this manner having crossed with the might of his own intelligence the ocean of calamity he seized the hill-fort, which extended up to the sky, as well as the fame of the antagonist. 529

That which at all times is the butt of ridicule of the ignorant since it does not ever put forward root, sprout and the rest of it—the tree of knowledge does, in fact, by bearing fruit all of a sudden, in the hour of peril, remove the misfortune of man. 530

The rajah named Aramuḍi, skilled in magic, protector of Nepāla, endowed with the arts of peace and war planned to overreach him. 531

When Jayāpīḍa entered his principality, he did not make his submission but retired from before him to a great distance with his army. 532

Thus it was that he who was ambitious to conquer inflicted, while in pursuit of Aramuḍi, defeats on the various ruling princes which would have necessitated special efforts to achieve. 533

524. Lūtā=literally a spider. It is a common belief that a certain kind of spider if it walks over the human body produces skin eruptions, hence a kind of skin trouble—rash and pimples—is known as Lūtā.

527. Vajravṛkṣa=A shrub like the Arka, the juice of which if applied to the skin produces eruptions.

531-32. The reference is to the independent kingdom of Nepal where the legend of Jayāpīḍa, it is said, is still remembered. (*Nepal*, Chapt. I. Stephen Langden, 1930). The valley of Nepal has been singularly free from invasion and no Mahomadan or Christian army has succeeded in penetrating into it.

He proceeded in each country to search the enemy, who was in hiding somewhere and was occasionally visible just like to the hawk the pigeon in the thicket. 534

Then when he had exhausted the perilous adventures while engaged in conquest up to the horizon, he planted his army on the bank of a river which was in the vicinity of the ocean. 535

After two or three days he marched with his face set towards the eastern ocean while the army bore the standards which fluttered high at the touch of the coastal breezes. 536

At this time on the further bank of that river on the right of the king was found posted Aramuḍi, displaying his army with the emblem of his own parasol. 537

Seeing his powerful army which resounded with the rattle of massed kettle-drums Jayāpīḍa flared up like fire which has absorbed melted butter. 538

He, on seeing that the river water which was knee-deep was no impediment, in his anger plunged in to cross, unacquainted with the terrain as he was for never having been there before. 539

When the king had reached the middle the river, which was near the sea, was filled by the rising tide and unexpectedly became unfathomably deep with the waters. 540

The king's army teeming with men, elephants and horses sinking in the river, which was rising in that manner, in a trice came to an end. 541

The king, whose ornaments and clothes were torn off in the rushing waves, penetrated the waves with his arms and was carried off far by the flood waters. 542

With the pitiful shrieks of the one army, the triumphant shouts of the other and with the roar of the waves of the river the directions became full of tumult. 543

The enemy made haste and with armed men on inflated skins he drew out Jayāpīḍa from the midst of the river and took him prisoner and held a feast. 544

544. Dṛti=an inflated skin. It was the primitive method of crossing a stream cheaply which is still employed in Kaśmir and on the river Ṣutlej in the Pāñjāb. The skin generally used is that of the buffalo (Mahiṣa) from which the modern word Masak is derived. The inflated skin is again referred to in verses 569 and 577 below and in VIII. 1129

In the case of Providence and the cloud there is no certainty whatever about their favourable attitude; the one shows favour and in a moment brings about a terrible disaster for a living being; and the other after holding out the hope of relief, from the oppressive heat of a long summer day, to the tree makes haste to hurl the lightning upon it. 545

On the bank of the Kālagaṇḍikā in a very high stone building, he put Jayāpīḍa into the hands of guards who were in his confidence. 546

Thus the Kaśmīrī king was once more submerged in adversity and, puzzled as to what should be done, was consumed by concealed sorrow. 547

That wise Rajah so guarded him that, among the artful not even the Moon and among the brilliant not even the Sun could see him. 548

He saw upon coming out a little bit and fixing his eyes on the panorama that the river was near and he thought anxiously of the ways and means. 549

Indicative of his lot in that place, Ślokas were composed by the king which are recalled by scholars with melting hearts even to this day. 550

While he was in that plight, the proud Devaśarman alone among the ministers thinking of the honourable treatment of the liege-lord was constantly oppressed with sadness. 551

Bending his energy to act in the interest of the liege-lord at the sacrifice of his own body, he tempted Aramuḍi through sweet spoken emissaries. 552

"Together with the fortune of Jayāpīḍa I shall deliver to you the throne of the kingdom of Kaśmīr"—thus through his emissarie Aramuḍi heard the message. 553

When upon the arrival of the emissaries of the opposite side the agreement was completed, the minister took the army and proceeded to the territory of Nepāla. 554

He having posted the army on the bank of the Kālagaṇḍikā proceeded to the further side with a meagre retinue. 555

By the feudatory chiefs who had come forward, he was presented to the assembly where Aramuḍi having accorded him courteous reception placed the distinguished man on the seat of honour. 556

The ruler of the land believing him to be wearied by the march soon relieved him and being ceremoniously given leave of departure, he spent that day at his lodging. 557

He and the Rajah Aramuḍi mutually swore by sacred libation and the next day, in private, they took decisions as to what should be done. 558

To the Rajah the minister thus said, "The treasure acquired by Jayāpīḍa is with the army and it is known to his trusted men or to himself." 559

"Through payment will result your release"—saying this I shall allure and I desire to enquire from him where the treasure has been deposited." 560

"Hence it is that I have not brought here all the troops because in the midst of them it is not possible to arrest those who are holders of the safe-custody." 561

"Consequently after each one, in turn, has been summoned and arrested, the soldiers not knowing our minds will not be infuriated but will be anxious to speak out". 562

In this manner having deluded him the astute man secured permission and went to the captive king Jayāpīḍa. 563

Hiding the grief produced by the sight of him he, who was the ocean of resoluteness, after clearing the room of people quickly asked the king. 564

"I hope you have not lost your personal bravery; for if it exists, like mural support for frescoes, the plans of perilous adventure will be successful." 565

He replied to him, "O minister! thus segregated and without arms what wonderful act could I do even if I were possessed of courage!" 566

558. Pītakośa=one who has drunk (Pīta) the consecrated water at an ordeal (Kośa). The ordeal of the oath is described in the Smṛtis. The oath was intended for assurance to create trust or to guarantee security, etc. The oath by sacred libation occurs repeatedly (V. 326, 442, VI. 225, VII. 492, VIII. 280 etc). The swearing of oaths was characteristic of the Middle Ages in many countries. The insistence on oaths was intended to buttress up the sense of truth and honesty, which ought to have an inner sacredness of its own, with purely external sanctions. The use of vows was, in the same way, an attempt to screw external sanctions on to our infirm purpose. Over-scrupulosity and vows are symptoms of religious belief throughout the world.

563. Langden compares the rescue of Jayāpīḍa to that of Richard Coeur de Lion.

The minister said to him, "O king! if your courage has not oozed out, know that in a mere trice the ocean of adversity will have been traversed." 567

"Are you capable, after falling into the waters of the river from this window, of going to the further bank? For your own army is there." 568

The king said to him, "After falling from here one cannot come to the surface of the water without an inflated skin and in this place the inflated skin would burst owing to the distance of the fall." 569

"Therefore that is not the method for this place nor do I indeed esteem highly the sacrifice of the body, when I have been dishonoured, without crushing him who has done me injury." 570

Then after consideration that minister said, "O lord of the earth! By some means stay outside for two Nālikās." 571

"Then entering all alone you should observe the means of crossing the river which I shall have got ready; you should make use of it quite unhesitatingly." 572

After hearkening to this he went out and going to the privy delayed outside and passed the time as suggested by him. 573

Then as he entered alone he saw him lying on the floor dead having tied tightly round the neck a piece from his clothes. 574

"I am the inflated skin for you; the body is filled with breath, it having been destroyed just now, mount me and cross the river; to serve as a hold for your thighs when mounted, the turban has been tied by me round my own loins, get into this and jump at once into the water." Such was the direction tied to the neck with a strip of cloth, written in blood torn with the nails from his limbs, which he saw and deciphered. 575-577

At first the king fell into the current of astonishment and affection and thereafter into that of the river and reached the further bank. 578

On reaching the army he then invaded and reduced to complete ruin the country of Nepāla together with its ruling prince. 579

Even before the guards had knowledge that he had escaped from confinement, he had already consigned that dominion to the limbo of myth. 580

571. Nālikā is equivalent to 24 minutes.

Upon the deliverance of the king from imprisonment was celebrated the pageant of battle wherein the dancing was by the headless trunks, the flower garlands were released by the maidens of paradise and the music was the blare of the trumpets. 581

In summer, whereas other hills whose regions are seething with the forest conflagrations have to be avoided from afar just at that time the Snow-Mountain, verdant with the melting of the mass of snow, becomes a wonder! exceedingly enjoyable. 582

At the time when Jajja and others who were traitors against the sovereign had been born at that very time, it is amazing, had taken place the birth of the blessed minister Devaśarman. 583

For that son was not unlike his father Mitraśarman as is the obscure Saturn unlike the brilliant Sun. 584

When that minister who was comparable to a protective jewel had perished, the king considered that the very prosperity which he had secured was as if it were missing. 585

At the end of the expedition for world-conquest, the lowering of his glory passed away from the mind of the king but not so the obligation conferred by the minister. 586

It is a marvel that he, who in the Realm of the Amazons had conquered a large territory, was esteemed highly for his triumph over all the senses put together. 587

Fixing the flag of Karṇa which had been carried off from the Realm of the Amazons, he erected a public place of business named the High Court of Justice. 588

He founded another department of state called the "mobile treasury", which was useful on expeditions when his own treasury was at a distance. 589

What else need be related? for the goddess of Fortune, who nestled

581. Kabandha is literally 'headless trunk'. The ancient belief was that the trunks of heroes continued to fight even after their heads had been severed in battle. The origin of this legend is non-Aryan. The ballads of the Bhils, the indigenous people of Rājputanā and the Vindhya hills, are full of such tales. The famous *Ballad of Chāmprāj Vālā* in Kathiawad also alludes to this legend.

587. There is a double entendre. Strīrājya is the Realm of the Amazons. Strī or woman is also an object of the senses.

588. Dharmādhikaraṇa=High Court of Justice.

in the embrace of his arms, the four oceans had become the jewelled mirrors for her coquetry! 590

Once more after entering Kaśmīr surrounded by ruling princes, the king for a long time enjoyed the glory which he had gained by his conquests. 591

On one occasion, to the king who had acquired glory in all directions a certain person of divine figure spoke in a dream with hands folded hollow. 592

"O king! in your realm I have been residing in comfort with my relatives; I am the lord of the Nāgas called Mahāpadma, I come to you for asylum." 593

"A certain Dravidian spell-monger is endeavouring to draw me away from here in order to sell me for money in the territory of Maru which yearns for water". 594

"If from him you save me I shall show, in your own country, a hill which produces gold ore, to you who will have conferred a great obligation." 595

The king having heard this in a dream, after despatching spies in all directions, had the spell-monger, who had been discovered somewhere, summoned and questioned him about his intention. 596

When he was granted pardon, he related in detail everything as had been stated by the Nāga; by the king who was amazed he was once more questioned. 597

"How is it possible for you to draw out this Nāga, who excels in spiritual power, from the interior of the lake which extends for several Yojanas?" 598

To him he submitted, "O king! inconceivable are the powers of the spell; if you desire to see them come and you will soon see the marvel." 599

Then, followed by the king, he approached the neighbourhood of the lake; by arrows discharged after muttering incantations he bound the directions and dried up the water. 600

The king then beheld a snake about a span in size with a human

590. The four oceans are referred to in order to show that the king was the master of the whole earth encircled by the four seas.

593. The Vulur lake was called the Mahāpadma lake after this Nāga who was supposed to reside in it. See V. 68, 103, and VIII. 3128.

face, which was wriggling in the mud surrounded by several small snakes. 601

"O king I am going to catch him who is abbreviated by the spell"—as he said this, he was prevented by the king who said "You must not seize him." 602

At the king's command when he had withdrawn the power of the spell that lake again became as it was before and once more extended to the different directions. 603

After having given money and leave for departure to the Dravidian, the king thought to himself: "How is it that this Nāga has not even to-day given the hill of the gold mine?" 604

No sooner had he been thinking about this than the Nāga in a dream then spoke to him, "On account of which obligation should the gold producing hill be shown to you?" 605

"This is my land, this is alien land" such is the urge in the mind of embodied beings due to habitual residence, the association of ideas and the practice of exclusion. 606

"I sought refuge with you through fear of insult; Your Highness, however, in spite of being the protector has himself shown it." 607

"The lord, who is believed by the dependents to be unperturbable as the ocean, what other humiliation can there be than this that he should in their very presence be insulted by others?" 608

"With what sort of self-assurance shall I see the face of those women, who saw me incapable of giving protection when they were being humiliated by others!" 609

"We, who have a status similar to that of the first cause, are being mocked and have become a sport for you, who have been deluded, as if we were common folk." 610

"Or rather what is surprising about the thoughtless conduct of kings, who are blinded by the intoxication of sovereign power and who act without foresight?" 611

"Kings regard it as an amusement to dishonour men of eminence; they, on the contrary, as long as there is life consider it a living death." 612

"To kings honour is a thing which may be disregarded for the sake of achieving success in their selfish ends; to the high-minded, however, it is one of the things to be upheld even by disregarding life." 613

"Those, who are humiliated by a high personage and treated with contempt, who can gauge the true state of their mind?" 614

"In spite of this, like their Highnesses we are not persons the sight of whom is in vain: therefore, the hill where flows the liquid copper ore will be shown to you." 615

After saying this he gave such directions to him during that very dream that, in waking up at dawn he found the hill of the copper mine. 616

He having drawn copper from the hill which was situate in Kramarājya, struck a hundred crores of Dīnnāras less one stamped with his own designation. 617

He laid a wager in order to humble the pride of kings thus, "Whosoever will coin a full one hundred crores will have vanquished me." 618

By his acts which like the Samasyā were incomplete, it seemed as if the king brought the ruling princes to a standstill in the matter of works which could become equal to his own. 619

Then all of a sudden that protector of the land, owing to the reversal of the subjects' good fortune, abandoning the way of his grandfather proceeded on the father's path. 620

"What is the good of the hardships of world conquest and the like? Acquire money from your own country"—thus besought by the functionaries, he imposed fines in his own kingdom. 621

Śivadāsa and other greedy officials of the finance department increased his desire for treasure and he yielded to avarice. 622

Subservience to the instructions of their own servants and looking at the faces of the government officials arose, in the case of Kaśmīrī kings, from that time onwards. 623

The deliberations of the council of the king, which were concerned with the capture of the different ruling princes, were now confined to the thought of the arrest of the inhabitants. 624

Learning brings inner calm to the righteous; in the case of Jayāpīḍa it instructed him for the persecution of the subjects which had become an intoxication. 625

619. Samasyā. See verse 46 above.

623. Looking to the faces of the servants and ministers is an idiom for seeking their guidance. See Taraṅga VII. verse 209.

He, like the son of Sudāsa, deprived many people of their lives but did not even in a dream attain satiety in his vile conduct. 626

"We shall commit this sin only"—thus making up their minds, through curiosity, fie on them! if self-willed women and kings should respectively commit an act of indiscretion and cruelty once, then impiety becomes such an obsession of their minds that, devoid of shame, the former do not shrink with horror from the contact of even men of the lowest caste nor the latter even when they are about to slay their own parents. 627

Being habituated to avarice, he became so brutal that he seized, together with the cultivator's share, the harvest in autumn for three years. 628

The king, whose wits were obsessed with greed, considered as his benefactors the functionaries who seized all property and delivered a very small fraction of the money. 629

The Timis in the sea and kings are alike; the former believe it to be liberality on the part of the cloud when it releases a few drops out of the very water which belongs to them and which has been robbed; the latter, too, believe in their hearts in the loyal services of the band of wicked government officials who hand over a tiny fraction after openly plundering everything. 630

O the amazing courage of the Brahmans, the edge of which has not become blunt in all the ages! Even of this relentless man they became the opponents. 631

Those, who remained after others had emigrated abroad, did not cease from seeking death in protest nor the king from confiscations. 632

"If one less than a hundred of the Brahmans should perish on any one day, a report should be made about it"—thus then exclaimed the king who surpassed in cruelty. 633

That king having reversed his course of conduct and become cruel the savants, too, made a reversal of eulogy in the poems as follows: 634

"Being to the last degree one, who has achieved his tasks and helped to augment virtue, what is the difference between His Majesty

626. The son of Sudāsa was Kalmāṣapāda whose story is related in the *Mahābhārata*, I. 176, 35, sqq.

king Jayāpīḍa and Pāṇini who has fully dealt with the Kṛtya suffixes and made rules for Guṇa and Vṛddhi!" 635

During the time of the expounding of the *Mahābhāṣya* through cleverly camouflaged verses, here is one attack on him which the scholars circulated as follows: 636

"He who has allowed himself to be eclipsed by the Brahmans and who prescribes rules for the stability of society what is the difference between His Majesty king Jayāpīḍa and Pāṇini who has dealt with the prepositions Vi and Pra and laid down rules for the terminations of the past tense?" 637

While he was resuming the lands of Tūlamūlya, encamped on the bank of the Candrabhāgā, he heard of the death in its waters of a hundred less one Brahmans. 638

Thereafter he ceased from confiscating only the Agrahāras but he did not, however, wholly give up the land of the inhabitants which had been seized. 639

Then once during the time of petitions the Brahmans, residents of Tūlamūlya, struck, by the hand of the chamberlain, in his presence protested. 640

"Manu, Māndhātṛ, Rāma and others were mighty kings, but even in their presence insult to honour was not experienced by the Brahmans." 641

"For Brahmans when inflamed with anger are able to burn down in a moment the paradise with Indra, the earth with the mountains and the nether world with its rulers the Nāgas." 642

On hearing this the king, from whose rear the feudatory chiefs had moved away, raising the line of one of his eye-brows spoke in arrogance these words. 643

"What a fever of impudence is this that you scoundrels subsisting on almsgrain use language, as if you were Ṛṣis, to advertise your spiritual power!' 644

635-637. Each of the epithets have a three-fold meaning. One as applied to the grammarian and of the other two, one is in praise of Jayāpīḍa and the other in condemnation of him. The reference is to the illustrious grammarian Pāṇini whose memory is kept ever-green in India—'Yena Vyākaraṇaṁ proktaṁ tasmai Pāṇinaye namaḥ'=To Pāṇini by whom was formulated Grammar—a salutation.

640. The time of petitions has reference to the hours of work in the daily routine of the king.

641. Māndhātṛ=son of Yuvanāśva who, it is said, subdued the whole earth extending from the place of sunrise to that of sunset.

Terrified by the dreaded knitting of his brows when they at this moment, stood silent, a twice-born named Iṭṭila, the ocean of Brahmanic lustre, spoke to him. 645

"O king! in accordance with the Yuga we, who act in pursuance of its ideas or lack of ideas, why are we not Ṛṣis in conformity with you for a Ruler?" 646

"Art thou then Viśvāmitra or Vasiṣṭha, the store of penance, or perchance Agastya," thus haughtily the king asked him. 647

Thereupon, as if he were aglow, he sparkled with lustre and his figure became difficult to look at; like the cobra when it has raised its hood, overcome with anger, he said to the king. 648

"Where you are a Hariścandra, Triśaṅku, or a Nahuṣa there I am good enough to be one of those chief among whom was Viśvāmitra." 649

Laughing the king said to him, "Through the wrath of Viśvāmitra and others Hariścandra and the others were ruined; what could possibly happen if thou wert enraged?" 650

"Striking the floor with the hand, the infuriate Brahman replied to him, "When I am enraged why should the punishment of Brahman not fall on you in an instant?" 651

Hearing this, with a malicious smirk, the king said to the Brahman, "Let the punishment of Brahman fall, why does it delay even now?" 652

"Surely there it falls, you miscreant!" No sooner had the Brahman spoken than on the king's body fell a golden pole which had dropped from the canopy. 653

By this a wound was inflicted on his limb; his body had inflammation, a running sore and a lot of worms which had to be removed with pincers. 654

After experiencing torture, indicative of the torment to come in hell, for many a night, life which yearned to depart, left him. 655

After suffering the punitive action of the sentence of Brahman, the chief among the holders of the sceptre, who had invited sudden punishment, went to the presence of Yama. 656

Of this valiant king, who had no control over the mind, such had been the enjoyment of the land for thirty-one years. 657

649. Hariścandra, Triśaṅku and Nahuṣa were kings who, according to legend, had suffered by the maledictions of Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha and Agastya.

Kings and fishes which thirst for wealth and turbid water respectively in abandoning their own place follow the wrong path, so that by the vicissitudes, which are dependent upon Fate and by multitude of fishermen, they are suddenly enticed into hell and the firm net respectively. 658

With reference to him who had died doing sinful acts, his mother Amṛtaprabhā, for the salvation of the deceased, built Amṛta Keśava. 659

Lalitāpīḍa

Thereafter Lalitāpīḍa became the lord of the land who had been begotten by Jayāpīḍa out of the queen named Durgā. 660

During the reign of this sensualist, who did not look to the affairs of state, the realm became the object of pleasure of the courtesans and was tarnished by misgovernment. 661

The wealth acquired through foul practices by the father who was doomed in hell he, by consigning to the dancers and others, expended in a manner worthy of its acquisition. 662

The satellites who, through relationship with the courtesans, had secured the patronage of the palace, made him an expert in the arts of whoredom. 663

He, who had given up the diadem and armlets, considered as decorations his locks which were torn by women's teeth and the marks of their nails on the chest. 664

Whosoever was clever in conversation with the courtesans, whosoever was skilled in amorous pastimes, gained his affection but not a hero nor a scholar. 665

This king who was not satiated with a small number of women and whose passion was intensely hot, considered that Jayāpīḍa who who had come away from the conquered Realm of the Amazons had been frigid. 666

He made fun of the former kings who had been fond of world conquest, being happy with amorous enjoyments with women of the town, immersed in his own engagements. 667

The old who were a restraining influence, the band of satellites removed by annoying them with indecent language and secured presents from him who had been gratified. 668

658. There is a double entendre in this verse. Sthiti in the case of fish means 'place', in the case of kings it would mean 'administrative stability.'

Like a market procurer he was an adept in undisguised jesting; this friend of the courtesans put to shame the aged councillors in the assembly. 669

This vicious king made councillors, who deserved to be honoured, wear cloaks and other elegant costume marked with the foot-prints of harlots. 670

The proud minister Manoratha was the only one who shunned him; being unable to control him, he turned his face away from intercourse with him. 671

Where there is evil conduct, lack of propriety, hostility and perfidious tendency in a master who misbehaves, there is no other remedy but to avoid him. 672

This king who had given Suvarṇapārśva, Phalapura and Locanotsa to the Brahmans was sovereign for twelve years. 673

Saṁgrāmāpīḍa, begotten by king Jayāpīḍa on Kalyāṇadevī, then became the ruler of the world. 674

Saṁgrāmāpīḍa II (Pṛthivyāpīḍa)

This king who bore another name, namely Pṛthivyāpīḍa, concluded the period of his sovereignty after seven years. 675

The illustrious Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa alias Bṛhaspati, the son of Lalitāpīḍa, who was still an infant was king thereafter. 676

Cippaṭa-Jayāpīḍa (Bṛhaspati)

He had been begotten by king Lalitāpīḍa, who was in the grip of the crocodile of sensuality, out of a courtesan Jayādevī, a woman of the spirit-distillers. 677

For she was the daughter of a spirit-distiller of Akhuva village, named Uppa whom the king, infatuated with her beauty, had taken as his mistress. 678

He while an infant was the ward of the maternal uncles Padma, Utpala, Kalyāṇa, Mamma and Dharma who shared the enjoyment of the land. 679

The eldest Utpalaka assumed the five high titles and the other maternal uncles usurped the other public offices. 680

By the king's mother, Jayādevī, whose authority was respected by the brothers who had usurped the royal powers, was founded Jayeśvara. 681

678. Avaruddhā = literally femme entretenue, a mistress.

The treasure of kings, when it has been polluted by the accretion of the treasure of misers, is ere long exhausted by some strangers. 682

For Jayāpīḍa's treasure had been expended by the son to a small extent, by these brothers-in-law of the son, it was completely plundered in course of time. 683

By the good fortune which arose from the exquisite beauty of the sister, these lucky men were enabled undisturbed to enjoy the pleasures of life. 684

These low-born men, who were uncontrolled in their activities, began to apprehend their ruin from the sister's son, the king who, by slow degrees, was outgrowing childhood. 685

Then through the process of witchcraft by these impious men who had held counsel together, the king, their sister's son and liege-lord, was killed because of their desire for sovereignty. 686

When he, who had enjoyed the land for twelve years, had been killed in that manner, they did not desire the sovereignty for any one of them, being full of self-assurance one towards the other. 687

Among them who had the country in their power, there arose a mutual contest to make various persons of quality the nominal kings. 688

Ajitāpīḍa

Now Tribhuvanāpīḍa, born of queen Meghāvalī by king Bappiya, though he was the eldest, had been set aside for having lacked in the ability to intrigue; he it was, who had begotten out of Jayādevī, Ajitāpīḍa whom Utpala made king by main force. 689–690

From the fifth account office, which arose out of the surplus of the Śeḍa and other finance departments, they gave food and raiment to the king. 691

Since conversation with one hurt the others day after day, the unhappy king, who was under their protection, did not desire that the five should have equal powers. 692

While Ajitāpīḍa reigned they, who appropriated the revenue of the realm, carried out the work of foundation of towns, temples and the like. 693

682. The treasure of misers is unclean and brings bad luck. See Taraṅga VIII. 565–566.

Together with their progeny, they fed on the kingdom which lacked a master, like a pack of snarling wolves on a dead buffalo in the jungle. 694

By Utpala was founded Utpalasvāmin as well as Utpalapura; Padma's foundations were Padmasvāmin and Padmapura. 695

The wife of Padma, Guṇādevī, radiant with virtue, founded one Maṭha in the capital and another at Vijayeśvara. 696

Dharma, who laboured in the interest of justice, was the creator of the edifice of Dharmasvāmin and the pious Kalyāṇavarman of the shrine of Viṣṇu Kalyāṇasvāmin. 697

Mamma who was very wealthy, of good intellect and pious, had founded the Mammasvāmin; intending to consecrate a multitude of pitchers, he gave in gift eighty-five thousand cows for each of which he made a provision of five thousand Dīnnāras. 698–699

Who is competent to calculate the material resources of this one only; what then can be said of all the brothers who had ample funds! 700

Whether their wealth was acquired by treason or it was acquired by good actions—in the case of all of them, it certainly was enviable by reason of their munificence. 701

By the side of the temples built by them, the other temples had the semblance of young elephants standing in proximity to the tuskers of the quarters. 702

In the year eighty-nine after their sister's son had found peace, they had unimpeded enjoyment of power until the end of the year twenty-six. 703

Then there took place a terrible battle between Mamma and Utpalaka, when the current of the Vitastā was obstructed by the famous warriors who were slain. 704

695. Padmapura = modern Pāmpar.
703. Commencing from this verse K. records the exact dates of the regnal periods of kings and principal events in the Laukika era. Following the general custom in India, he omits to mention the centuries of the Laukika or Saptarṣi era which is still the traditional era in Kaśmīr and the neighbouring hills. Thus the dates are Laukika 3889 (813–14 A.C.) and 3926 (850–51 A.C.). K. mentions the months by their Saṁskṛta names which are in current use today. The twelve lunar months are as follows: Kārtika, Mārgaśīrṣa, Pauṣa, Māgha, Phālguna, Caitra, Vaiśākha, Jyeṣṭha, Āṣāḍha, Śrāvaṇa Bhādrapada and Āśvina. The days are mentioned as the Tithi of which fifteen are in the 'bright' or moon-lit half and the remaining fifteen in the 'dark' half of the lunar month.

The poet named Śaṅkuka, the moon for the sea of the minds of scholars, composed a poem referring to this, which was entitled the *Rise of the World*. 705

Mamma's son Yaśovarman, at the battle-front, deprived the heroes of lustre as the sun takes away that of the constellations. 706

Anaṅgāpīḍa Then pulling down Ajitāpīḍa, Saṁgrāmāpīḍa's son named Anaṅgāpīḍa was made king by Mamma and the others. 707

Unable to bear the aggrandizement of Mamma and exhibiting his accumulated resentment, Utpala's son Sukhavarman remained hostile to his reign. 708

Utpalāpīḍa Three years after, when Utpalaka had come by death, he made Utpalāpīḍa, the son of Ajitāpīḍa, king. 709

Some lucky men acquired fortunes though they were the officials of those kings, who resembled the kings of the Āśvayuja. 710

His minister for peace and war named Ratna, who was possessed of wealth even in that era, founded the shrine of Ratnasvāmin. 711

Nara and other merchants, who had faultless horses and who were in enjoyment of villages, claiming the status of royalty occupied Dārvābhisāra and other lands. 712

The dynasty of kings of the House of Kārkoṭa became almost extinct, while the line of the descendants of Utpala came to be prolific on earth. 713

At this juncture Sukhavarman, who by his ability had raised himself almost to the status of king, was killed by his own kinsman named Śuṣka. 714

Thereupon the minister named Śūra, thinking him to be worthy of the crown, placed his hopes on the son of Sukhavarman, the virtuous Avantivarman. 715

In the year thirty-one, in order to allay the agitation among the subjects he, after removing Utpalāpīḍa, made this very one king. 716

705. No work of Śaṅkuka is extant. Verses by him are quoted in the anthologies of Vallabhadeva (the famous *Subhāṣitāvali*) and Śārṅgadhara. He is referred to by the Kaśmīrī rhetorician Mammaṭa in his famous work, the *Kāvya Prakāśa*.

710. According to the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* Kaśmīr was occupied during six months of winter by the Piśācas from the full moon day of the month of Āśvayuja to that of Caitra, during which the inhabitants had to leave the country. The kings who had to give up the crown in quick succession are compared to the legendary kings who had to leave the country on the Āśvayuji day.

That for the sake of which the father and grandfather had laboured in vain, the realization of it was attained with ease by the grandson through acts of piety of the past. 717

The pitchers engaged in carrying the water of the ocean indeed eternally undergo the labour to no purpose; it is a marvel that one who was born from a single one of them could show, in an instant in this case, that to drink up the whole store of waters was fun. 718

Thereafter the king Avantivarman bore the water of the Abhiṣeka, which fell from the mouths of golden pitchers on his head, where the first folds of the silk turban were fashioned by the side-glances of Royal Fortune. 719

The king, wearing the ornamental rings in the two ears, which appeared to be the Sun and the Moon in disguise, who had come to give advice regarding the new government's policy as declared by kings who were their lineal descendants, was resplendent while in the guise of the gleaming white parasol there rose, over him for a a cool shade, the lotus which is the seat of the goddess of Fortune. 720

[Thus the Fourth Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the composition of Kalhaṇa, son of the noble Lord Caṇpaka, the great Kaśmīrī minister.]

718. The sage Agastya was a foundling discovered in an earthen pot; according to legend he drank up the ocean.

719. The Abhiṣeka was supposed to deify the king. Jewellery and the turbun still so popular among the rulers of Indian States are referred to in this verse. The following verse, 720, refers to the celestial origin of kings. The ruling princes in India are said to be descendants of the sun and the moon. A list of the kings of the solar and lunar dynasties is given in the Epics and the Purāṇas. A similar tradition survives in Japan where the Mikado is believed to be a descendant of the Sun-goddess.

At the end of the Colophon occur the words, "During two hundred and sixty years and six months there were seventeen kings of the Kārkoṭa race." Similar summaries are also to be found at the end of the other Taraṅgas. As these summaries do not tally with the number of regnal years of the kings mentioned by Kalhaṇa, M. Troyer and subsequent translators have held that these summaries found after the Colophon are late additions. The total given at the end of this Taraṅga would be right if the reign of Saṁgrāmāpīḍa (Taraṅga IV. 400) were calculated as one of seven years (Vatsarān) instead of seven days (Vāsarān). See *Sir A. Stein*, Vol. I p. 158, note 400.

"The indescribable charm of snakes is in your tresses; at your words, look this way! the eye of the snake lights up with joy as if at the voice of the male Kokila"; "you have an extraordinary taste for these snakes as wraps; the rays of light from your throat, which is like that of a male Kokila, look! delight the eye of him whose vision serves for the sense of hearing." In the novel body, in union, of the divine Śiva and Pārvatī, the tongue moving in unison thus articulates words which though alike have yet different meanings— may it protect you. 1

Avantivarman

Avantivarman having obtained sovereignty rooted out thorns and O wonder! with his actions he made the hair on the bodies of the righteous stand on end. 2

The king and his minister were towards each other masters in issuing orders and servants in receiving them. 3

A grateful king who is forbearing and a minister devoted and free from conceit, such a combination if intransient is seen rarely as a result of past good deeds. 4

That discreet and intelligent king, when he secured the realm and saw the royal pomp and circumstance, did not lose his memory but inwardly thought as follows:— 5

"The sweetheart of kings, Lakṣmī, who is reared on the elephant's back, she engenders ambition and blemishes the high-minded." 6

"There is perhaps no man, who having been at first shown favour has subsequently not been harassed, as by the friendship of the vulgar, by her." 7

1. There is a double entendre in this verse—The Kokila or cuckoo is the harbinger of Spring and the hibernating snakes upon the advent of Spring wake up and become aware of the song of the cuckoo. K. rightly describes the snakes as devoid of the power of hearing. The dark blue Kokila is compared to the throat of Śiva which became blue after he had swallowed the poison Hālāhala and hence his name Nīlakaṇṭha, the Blue-throat.

2. Kaṇṭakita means 'thrilled'; literally the hair standing on end through emotional excitement.

6. To be reared on the elephant's back is an expression which indicates wealth like being born with a silver spoon in the mouth.

"She, who has grown up in the company of the celestial courtesans in the sea, where could she learn the moral conduct of a woman faithful to one man?" 8

"She, who is without affection, has never followed kings in death, although long associated with them, when they, without provision for the journey and without friends, are en route for the next world." 9

"Gold vessels of the banquet and other articles collected in the treasury rooms—how is it that those kings are not owners of them who have departed to the next world?" 10

"Feeding out of plates used by others—how is it that kings do not feel ashamed nor do they have any thought on account of cleanliness?" 11

"Looking at the collection of heavy silver plate engraved with the names of departed rulers who does not have a misgiving?" 12

"Torn from the necks of those about to die, as they enter the noose of the Destroyer, the necklaces, accursed and unholy, for whom are they an attraction?" 13

8. This has reference to the story of the Samudra-manthana—the churning of the ocean—which is famous in Indian art and iconography; Lakṣmī or Fortuna is one of the fourteen jewels, including the Apsarās, who came out of the sea when it was churned by the gods and the Titans. See App. C.

The age of Avantivarman was the Golden Age of Kaśmīr. The temple of Avantisvāmin which is still extant contains a lovely piece of sculpture on one of its pilastres. The image of Lakṣmī portrayed on it (9th century) is very interesting. It has the Greek Cornucopia with which one is familiar in the statues of Athene. The influence of the Greeks in Art and Sculpture in India continued for a thousand years. It was specially marked in coinage. For centuries we find the Greek script and language on the coins of rulers who succeeded the Greeks in India. Seven hundred years after the Greeks had disappeared and their successors, the Turks known as Kushans, had also disappeared, imitation coins continued to be struck by Indian rulers with a legend in the Saṁskṛta language and in Greek characters—The coins of the Kushans have been found in Kaśmīr, Northern India and as far as Bengal such, for instance, as the gold coins of Vāsudeva, the Kushan, bearing the Greek legend Shaonano-Shao Bazodeo Koshano. The title of the Kushans was Shahi-na-Shahi—king of kings—and it continued to be used until the Śāhi kings were destroyed by their cousins, the Mahomadan Turks. The Turk Mahmud used Saṁskṛta on the coinage first struck by him in the Pañjāb and his contemporary, the historian Alberuni tells us that the Hindus were conscious of the debt which they owed to the Greeks. "In former times the Hindus used to acknowledge that the progress of science due to the Greeks is much more important than that which is due to themselves." Vol. I, p. 23.

9. The reference here is to the custom of Satī.

12. Śaṅkā which is translated as misgiving is a difficult word. "Superstitious fear" is about the nearest meaning and in this sense the word is in common use among Kaśmīrī Brahmans at the present day.

"After defiling them with hot tears of anguish, the predecessors when about to die have left the ornaments behind; while touching them who does not have a qualm?" 14

"Even after resorting to the interior of the waters of the ocean Lakṣmī had ever remained unclean; she attains purity by giving herself to deserving recipients who are needy like the doe who purifies herself in the fire." 15

Musing in this wise the king reduced the gold and other articles to powder and with his own hands, folded hollow, gave them away to the Brahmans as a porridge. 16

Instead of saying "Well done O king!" "Well done O Avantin!" thus from sheer joy one of them addressed the king, who was free from vanity, and obtained many handfuls. 17

The entire treasure having been distributed among those who were needy, the fortune was reduced by the virtuous Avantivarman until only the yak-tails and the parasol remained. 18

Owing to revolts of his many agnates who possessed unlimited wealth, royal dignity, while the king was yet new to it, became difficult to maintain. 19

Having defeated the rebels, his brothers and nephews, several times in battle he made the realm free from thorns. 20

Having first secured the kingdom from menace the king, gentle in his loving kindness, enjoyed prosperity by sharing it with friends and dependents. 21

His step-brother named Śūravarman, of fine intellect, was by him who loved his family given the Abhiṣeka as Yuvarāja with wide powers. 22

15. The antelope which purifies its fur by entering the fire is a poetic fancy. See VI. 364 and VIII. 3034.

16. Karambhaka. See Taraṅga III. 256n.

22. The Yuvarāja is the heir-apparent. The ceremony of Abhiṣeka was performed at his nomination. The term Yuvarāja which is in common use to-day in the Indian States and in the borderlands of India is a very ancient one. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* we read of this ceremony in the case of Rāma (age 25 years) Bharata (age 40 years) and Aṅgada and in the *Mahābhārata* in the case of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīṣma, Bhīma and Satyavat. There appears to have been no age limit for the ceremony. The prince shared the work of administration and privileges of the sovereign as successor to the king. Daśaratha's speech in addressing Rāma on this important occasion is significant; it proves that the status of king and "junior king" were elective in origin. For the king said "O Rāma! I am old;.........to-day all my subjects want thee for their king; therefore, my son, I shall install thee as Yuvarāja." (*Rāmāyaṇa* II. 4. Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa).

The two Agrahāras of Khādhūyā and Hastikarṇa were granted by him and he founded Śūravarmasvāmin and a Gokula. 23

Śūravarman, who was perfect in his devotion to acts of piety and had bestowed Pañcahasta, erected a convent which enshrined divine glory to perfection. 24

Another brother of the king, named Samara, too, founded Samarasvāmin for Keśava of the four forms. 25

Two younger brothers of Śūravarman, named Dhīra and Vinnapa, built two temples of the gods after their own names and two others, who were chief of the account departments, having camouflaged their spiritual greatness by a display of craziness, went with their very bodies to become the principal members of the assembly in Śiva's abode. 26-27

The principal door-keeper of Śūra, the illustrious Mahodaya, was the one who achieved the consecration of Mahodayasvāmin. 28

The preceptor named Rāmaṭa, who was famous for his labour on a work of grammar, was appointed by him to the office of preacher in that temple. 29

By the king's minister Prabhākaravarman was founded a temple of Viṣṇu by the name of Prabhākarasvāmin. 30

Having received the pearls presented by his house-parrot together with those from parrots who had come, he constructed a celebrated parrot-house. 31

The spread of learning, which had been interrupted, was revived by the minister Śūra in his land by once more honouring learned men and making them members of the royal assembly. 32

In palanquins worthy of kings were carried the savants who possessed large fortunes and welcomed with high distinctions they adorned the king's court. 33

Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara attained celebrity in the reign of Avantivarman. 34

29. No work of Rāmaṭa is extant.
31. Śukāvalī=parrot-house seems to have been some costly decoration in the shrine. Harṣa robbed the temple of this valuable piece; later on Uccala made a present of it to the temple of Tribhuvanasvāmin; see VIII. 80.

In the hall of assembly of the minister Śūra the minstrel Kṛtamandāra, in order to bring to his memory his resolution, ever recited this Āryā. 35

"Here is the opportunity for doing a good act while this prosperity which is fickle by nature is with you; since adversity is ever imminent when will there be again an opportunity to confer a benefit?" 36

At the sacred place Sureśvarī was constructed by him, who had built many edifices, a temple of Śiva and Pārvatī together with a permanent endowment. 37

After consecrating Sureśvara, which was as high as his own mansion, the wise man built the Śūra monastery for the use of anchorites. 38

In the splendid town of Śūrapura founded by him, he lodged the Drum-post which was situated in the territory of Kramavarta. 39

In the vicinity of Sureśvarī the son of Śūra, Ratnavardhana, erected the temple of Śiva, Bhūteśvara, and a convent inside the Śūra monastery. 40

The wife of Śūra, named Kāvyadevi, who was of noble family, founded Sadāśiva at Sureśvarī named Kāvyadevīśvara. 41

Avantivarman, being free from envy, granted to his womb-brothers and to Śūra, with his sons, royal privileges in prepetuity. 42

Subservient to the minister's will as if it were that of the deity the king, though he had been from childhood a worshipper of Viṣṇu, showed that he conformed to the Śaiva faith. 43

In the place Viśvaikasāra, which gives salvation to the dying, was founded by that king Avantipura, a place rich in the enjoyments of life. 44

35. Āryā is a metre. It is defined in the *Śrutabodha* IV. The first and third quarters contain 12 Mātrās or syllabic instants, the second 18 and the fourth 15. The whole of Govardhana's *Āryā-Sapta-Śatī* is written in this metre.

36. This is one of Kalhaṇa's oft-quoted ślokas. My earliest recollection of a public meeting is of one in aid of the famine-stricken. This śloka was recited at the meeting in support of the appeal for liberal donations.

37. The temple of Sureśvarī was on the Dal Lake. "The queen of the gods" Pārvatī is still worshipped on the hill to the east of the Dal above the village of Iśbar. See also VI. 147 and VIII. 3365.

43. The king conforms to the established religion of Kaśmīr which was, in form, Śaivism. See verse 125 below where he discloses his adherence to the Vaiṣṇavite form.

Having built Avantisvāmin before his acquisition of the crown, the virtuous man after attaining imperial power then constructed Avantīśvara. 45

At Tripureśvara, Bhūteśa and Vijayeśa, three pedestals were fitted by this king with bath conduits made of silver. 46

Śūra, too, had been devoted to the king as to his own presiding deity; in order to please him he was unmindful of even religion, life, or the son. 47

Thus it happened that the king, who had gone to worship Bhūteśa, saw a bitter wild vegetable known as Utpalaśāka presented by the priests placed on the god's pedestal among the materials of his own worship which were worthy of his exalted rank. 48-49

When those present were asked by the king the reason for that offering, they thereupon submitted with their knees placed on the floor and hands folded hollow. 50

"There is a mighty Ḍāmara of the name of Dhanva in the territory of Lahara who, Sire! is the servant of Śūra and like his son." 51

"The villages having been usurped by him, whose power is unchecked, this is the only offering which is being offered to Bhūteśa here." 52

The king spoke of acute pain caused by a sudden colic and feigning not to have heard what he had heard, he then went out having abandoned the worship. 53

Knowing that the departure after giving up the worship and the accidental colic of the sovereign had a cause, Śūra began to investigate the facts. 54

When he learnt the facts, he was enraged and he immediately entered the temple of Bhairava which has a Mātṛcakra and which is situated in the vicinity of Bhūteśa. 55

45. The temples of Avantivarman were excavated in 1915 under the direction of Mr. Daya Ram Sahni who was then at the head of the Archaeological Department of the Kaśmīr State. Through the kindness of Mr. Sahni I was able to be present and watch the course of the excavations. For an interesting account of the finds by Mr. Sahni see—under the title Avantipur Temples—*A. S. R.* for 1912. The magnificent ruins of the Temple are close to the main road at Avantipur about 18 miles from Śrīnagar. The temple of Avantīśvara (Śiva) is outside the village of Jaubror, half a mile below Avantipur; the Avantisvāmin (Viṣṇu) temple, which is much more ornate and in a far better state of preservation, is about half a mile further up. Both these temples were destroyed by Sikandar, the Iconoclast.

He forbade the people to gather in crowds and keeping a few of his retainers he then sent messengers, time and again, to summon Dhanva. 56

Making the earth tremble with the tramping of his regiment of infantry that fierce man, with untremulous body, tardily arrived before Śūra. 57

Hardly had he entered when armed men urged by Śūra severed his head, while he was yet alive, in front of Bhairava. 58

Having thrown his trunk streaming with blood in a pool near by, the resolute Śūra washed away the resentment of the king and went out. 59

On hearing that the head of him who was like his own son had been cut off by the minister, the anger of the lord of the land was dimmed and he felt, as it were, embarrassed. 60

Thereupon Śūra enquired after his health; "I am free from pain" as he thus spoke he was helped to rise from the couch and induced to finish the worship of the deity. 61

Thus in all affairs he, who was aware of the mentality of the king even without having spoken, successfully worked for his benefit in various ways even at the sacrifice of his life. 62

The two whose mutual relations were not marred by the rise of bitterness and dislike, such another pair of a king and minister had not been seen or heard of. 63

As in the reign of the illustrious Meghavāhana, during that of Avantivarman there was non-slaughter of animals without exception for ten years. 64

Leaving the cold water and coming up the bank the shad-fish, during this era, free from any menace, enjoyed on their backs the autumnal sunshine. 65

For the good of the people the Siddhas, the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and others, were born on earth in the age of Avantivarman. 66

Since a great deal of history has yet to be narrated, a certain episode about one of them, which is hallowed, will be described as a passing reference. 67

57. Pṛtanā=regiment.

65. The Pāṭhīna is a fish mentioned in the poem *Kirātārjunīya* IV. 5. It is much appreciated by Kaśmīrī Brahmans who use it for Śrāddha offerings. For this purpose it is specially recommended in the *Manu-smṛti* (V. 16).

This country which has violent floods from the waters of the Mahāpadma lake and is intersected with streams had ever small produce. 68

Through the great effort of king Lalitāditya, when the waters were drained to a certain, it had become slightly productive thereafter. 69

In course of time after the passing of Jayāpīḍa. when there were kings of very little virility, the land was once more covered with the surging waters. 70

Ten hundred and fifty Dīnnāras had become the sale price of a Khārī of rice in husk in the famine-stricken land. 71

Through the merits of Avantivarman, in order to enable living beings to exist, the illustrious Suyya, who was the lord of food personified, was born on earth. 72

By the acts, which were the wonders of the world, of this blessed man whose origin was not known it became certain, even in the fourth aeon, that he had not been born from a woman's womb. 73

Once upon a time a Caṇḍāla woman named Suyyā, while sweeping a dust heap on the street, found a new earthen pot with a lid. 74

In it she saw, on raising the lid, that a baby with eyes like lotus petals was lying in the middle sucking its own fingers. 75

"By some unfortunate mother this beautiful one has been abandoned"—while she thus mused through tenderness, her breasts began to flow. 76

Without polluting him by touch the infant, whose keep was arranged in the house of a wet-nurse, a Śūdra woman, was brought up by her. 77

With the name of Suyya he grew up an intelligent man, learned in letters, and became, in the house of a certain householder, a tutor for the children. 78

68. The Mahāpadma is the Vulur Lake (Sk. Ullola-saras).

70. Vīrya is literally virility derived from the Saṁskṛta and Latin words vīr =male.

71. Khārī, the ancient measure of weight, which is mentioned in the *Ṛg Veda* (IV. 32. 17), continues to this day in Kaśmīr!

72 Verses 72-120 contain an interesting account of the engineer Suyya's drainage operations which resulted in a drop in the price of rice from 200 Dīnnāras per Khārī to 36. See verse 116.

73. Yuga=aeon, age of the world. There are four aeons Kṛta or Satya, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali. Their duration is respectively 1,728,000; 1,96,000; 8,64,000; and 4,32,000 years. Together they form one Mahāyuga of 43,20,000 years. The present Yuga is Kali. See verse 122 below.

With fasts, baths and other religious observances he won the hearts of the virtuous, and scholars, during conversazione, surrounded him who had a brilliant intellect. 79

In their conversazione when they complained of the devastation by water, he said, "I have a plan but without resources what can I do?" 80

Like a madman he went on saying this regularly till the king having heard of it from spies was astonished. 81

Thereupon after summoning him "What have you been saying?" thus the king enquired. "I have a plan" and the rest of it he repeated in the very presence of the king without tribulation. 82

"He is crazy," said his entourage; the king, nevertheless, anxious to see the plan, placed at his disposal his own money. 83

From the treasury having easily secured many pots of Dīnnāras he hastened to proceed to Maḍavarājya by boarding a boat. 84

Then in the village named Nandaka, which was submerged in flood waters, after dropping one vessel of Dīnnāras he turned back immediately. 85

"To be sure this is only a crazy man" though the courtiers talked thus, the king, on hearing this news, became keen on watching how it would terminate. 86

In Kramarājya, on reaching the locality known as Yakṣadara, Suyya cast handfuls of Dīnnāras into the water. 87

There the boulders having rolled down from the mountains overhanging both the banks had squeezed the Vitastā and made the water run contrary to the current. The famine-stricken villagers in search of the Dīnnāras then removed the boulders from the stream and cleared the Vitastā. 88–89

In this wise having drained that water in two or three days, he had the Vitastā at one spot barraged with the help of artisans. 90

With a stone barrage by Suyya, who worked wonders, the entire river, the offspring of Nīla, was tied up for a week. 91

Having cleared the bed of the stream and after constructing stone embankments, as a counter-measure against rolling boulders, he opened the dam. 92

79. Goṣṭhī is conference or conversation of the learned.

84. Maḍavarājya see note II. 15.

87. Kramarājya, see note II. 15.

Being long detained she, as if impatient for the sea, thereupon started with a rush to proceed on the way to the ocean. 93

Covered with mud and asparkle with fish the land, when stripped of water, appeared like the vault of the sky which when free from clouds displays the gloom of darkness and is full of stars. 94

Wherever he learnt of breaches by inundation during the disastrous flood, in each one of them, he constructed new channels for the Vitastā. 95

With several canals thrown out from the original main stream the river shone like a black female snake with numerous hoods resting on one body. 96

To the left of Trigrāmī the Sindhu, to the right the Vitastā, the two flowing formerly met near Vainyasvāmin; to this day there exists in the precincts of Śrīnagara, the confluence of these two great rivers, indestructible even at the end of the Kalpa, which was the enterprise of Suyya. 97–98

There were situate on either bank of the confluence in Phalapura and Parihāsapura, the shrines of Viṣṇusvāmin and Vainyasvāmin which are extant, whereas on the bank of the confluence at the present time, which reaches the precincts of Sundarībhavana, there is Hṛṣī-Keśa Yogaśāyin. 99–100

To this day are to be seen ancient trees, growing on the edges of the old canals of the rivers, with marks of the boat-ropes fastened by the Niṣādas. 101

He made the various streams, whose undulating ripples were their tongues, take to any course at his own pleasure like a charmer the female snakes. 102

After building stone embankments for the Vitastā for seven Yojanas, he brought the water of the Mahāpadma lake under control. 103

From the basin of the Mahapādma, the Vitastā guided by him emerged on her course with swiftness like an arrow from the mechanism of the bow. 104

94. The sparkling fishes lying on the mud are compared to the stars on a dark night.

101. The Niṣādas in modern Kaśmīr are called Hānzi or Mānzi. The men who ply boats for hire on the rivers at Allahabad have formed a union which is called the Niṣāda-saṅgha. It is interesting to note that the word saṅgha (association) has been in use since the days of Buddha.

104. Kodaṇḍa=the bow; yantra= mechanism or apparatus. In medieval Kaśmīr they apparently had a bow which resembled a crossbow.

Having thus reclaimed the land from the water like the primeval Boar, he founded all types of villages teeming with numerous population. 105

He made these villages which are rich in all provisions look, with the dykes by which the water had been checked, like bowls and thus the people speak of them as Kuṇḍala. 106

Even to this day the streams, when run down in autumn, reveal a multitude of stakes which emerge resembling the posts for the tying up of rutting elephants in water. 107

The pots of Dīnnāras, which he had dropped into the unfathomable waters, were found in Nandaka, which had emerged from the waters, in the midst of dry land. 108

After examining various kinds of soil, he supplied the villages, removing their dependence solely on rain, with the water of viaducts from the river. 109

And he had the villages watered and taking the soil from each village according to the time which it took to dry up, he determined in his mind at what periods it would require irrigation. He decided for each village the extent and distribution of canal water on a permanent basis and with the Anūlā and other streams, he made the directions on all sides charming, being enriched by prosperous irrigated fields with their splendid and bounteous crops. 110–112

Neither Kaśyapa nor Saṁkarṣaṇa had conferred benefits such as were conferred with ease on this realm by Suyya of meritorious acts. 113

The reclamation of the land from water, the bestowal of it to pious Brahmans, the building of barrages with stones in water, and the suppression of Kāliya, which were achieved by Viṣṇu in four incarnations of righteons acts were achieved by Suyya, who had a mass of religious merit, in a single birth only. 114–115

106. Kuṇḍala=an ear-ring. On the Hārvan terra-cotta tiles there are pictures of women of the 3rd century A.C. with large Kuṇḍalas in the ears. The Kuṇḍala is still the favourite ear-ornament in Kaśmīr.

109. Adevamātṛka=a technical term for land which is not dependent upon rain; it means irrigated land.

114. The Avatāras of Viṣṇu referred to in this verse are (1) The Boar (2) Rāmacandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (3) Paraśurāma, the son of the sage Jamadagni, the conqueror of the Kṣatriyas, who gave the earth as a gift to the Brahmans (4) Kṛṣṇa, who killed the Nāga Kāliya. The first and fourth Avatāras are thus described by M. Grousset.

"The avatar of the boar (varāha

Where formerly during times of great abundance the purchase price of a Khārī of rice had been two hundred Dīnnāras since its creation, in that same realm of Kaśmir since his times, O wonder! the purchase price of a Khārī of rice came to be thirtysix Dīnnāras. 116-117

On the bank of the Vitastā where she emerges from the waters of the Mahāpadma, he founded a town comparable to paradise to bear his own name. 118

He enforced on the lake, which pervaded the edges of the horizon, by his own authority a permanent regulation until the end of cosmic existence for non-slaughter of fish and birds. 119

After granting the village of Suyyā Kuṇḍala to the Brahmans in memory of Suyyā, he constructed the Suyyā bridge also in her name. 120

On the land reclaimed by him from the water, villages such as Jayasthala were founded in thousands by Avantivarman and others. 121

avatāra) follows naturally upon that of the fish. Overwhelmed by the deluge, the earth (Bhūmi-devī) lay in the depths of the water, where the demons (Daityas) held in captive. Then Viṣṇu transformed himself into a gigantic wild boar: "Rushing across the heavens, with his tail raised, tossing his mane, all bristling with prickly hairs, trampling the clouds underfoot, and baring his white tusks, with flaming eyes," he plunged into the water, "following the trail of the earth by scent." At last he found it in the depths of the abyss, transfixed it with one of his tusks, and drew it up to the surface, not omitting to crush the hostile demons on his way. Hindu iconography frequently represents this episode, with the god in the shape of a giant with a boar's head, bearing in his arms the goddess of the earth, whom he had saved from the abyss."

"But the whole of Krishna's existence is not spent in the arms of the milkmaids. In the Mahābhārata we shall see what a commanding part he plays in battle, as the charioteer and counsellor of the hero Arjuna. He is not only an Apollo, but a Hercules, and while still quite young, proved his strength by lifting Mount Govardhana and holding it up for seven nights in order to shelter the flocks of Nanda against the hurricanes sent by the jealousy of Indra. He slew the black serpent Kāliya, which infested the Yamunā; the fight between the divine infant and the serpent, which enwinds him with its coils, but which he crushes in sport, recalls the similar story of which Hercules is the hero in Greek mythology."

The lake Ullola (Ullola-saras) is the Vulur which was the residence of the Nāga named Mahāpadma. See Taraṅga IV. 593.

119. Suyya anticipated the work of societies now being founded by thoughtful people in Europe to establish sanctuaries for migratory and other birds and for the preservation of wild life generally.

With such instances of philanthropy Avantideva, who had brought about the dawn of Kṛta, protected the land like Māndhātṛ. 122

Seized with a malady which strove to send his soul on the journey, he then proceeded to the sacred place situated on the Tripureśa hill which is the resort of Jyeṣṭheśvara. 123

There, when he became certain of his death, with hands folded hollow, he courageously revealed, at the end, what had long been hidden, his faith as a Vaiṣṇava. 124

At the end listening to the Bhagavad-Gītā and meditating on the light of Viṣṇu he, perceiving the Supreme Soul, was released from life. 125

On the third of the bright fortnight of Āṣāḍha in the year fifty-nine the king, who was an Indra on earth, came by his end. 126

After he had attained peace, every one of the many descendants of Utpala, overflowing with the pride of wealth, equally aspired to the realm. 127

Śaṁkaravarman

Thereupon the chamberlain Ratnavardhana laboured and made Śaṁkaravarman, the son of Avantivarman, king. 128

Karṇapa, too, an adviser of Vinnapa, through jealousy of him secured for the son of Śūravarman, named Sukhavarman, the status of Yuvarāja. 129

Thus there came to be strife between the two, the king and the Yuvarāja, whereby at every moment the realm was as if it rested on a swing. 130

Śivaśakti and other brave men, who gave up their lives for the cause of the sovereign, found therein an opportunity for a test of their inherent courage. 131

While the enemies of their master made promises of gifts and honours they, concentrating on probity, did not fall in with them. 132

In those times, proud and enlightened servants avoided the longing for morsels and had not learnt to live like dogs. 133

Then with difficulty having triumphed over the mighty Yuvarāja, a splendid beginning was made for his own conquests by Śaṁkaravarman. 134

122. The Kṛta was the Golden Age. Māndhātṛ, a righteous king mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.

130. Dolā is a swing. The administration was swayed by the differing interests of the king and the Yuvarāja.

133. Piṇḍa-Spṛhā = longing for morsels; it means the loaves and fishes of office.

Repeatedly waging extensive wars with the potentates, Samaravarman and others, he superseded his sweetheart Fame, who loved him, by Fortune whom he had gained. 135

Thus, after defeating two kinsmen and having secured fortune, the illustrious lord of the land aspiring to make conquests in all directions began great preparations. 136

Although through the force of circumstances the country had been reduced in population and prosperity, he had nine lakhs of infantry when he marched across the frontier post. 137

He, whose authority had been stultified in the very precincts of his own city, was the same who imposed his command on the jewelled crests of rajahs. 138

The tradition about the military conquests up to the horizon of which a break had occurred in literary works, was by his own wisdom revived by the king Śaṁkaravarman. 139

His army waxed with the regiments of ruling chiefs at every step, like a noble river with the streams which join it. 140

The affrighted rajah of Dārvābhisāra took refuge in mountain gorges which had to hear, and not his troops, the shouts of the king's army. 141

With his squadrons of cavalry with seething men, he invested Harigaṇa in an instant and before the rajah could reach his fortress, he was made a guest in another fortress. 142

Nine lakhs of infantry, three hundred elephants and a lakh of horses formed his advancing army; intent on the conquest of Gurjara, he made Pṛthvīcandra of Trigarta, who feared his own defeat, ridiculous in his obscurity. 143-144

For he had already given his son named Bhuvanacandra as a hostage and had approached him to do homage when on seeing the king's camp, with which marched many tributary chiefs, confronting him as it advanced surging like a mighty ocean, he became nervous of being taken prisoner at the time of junction; he fled and went far away revealing the extinction of his valour. 145-147

He whom those, who know of the past, describe even to this day as incomparably handsome, the very same person the affrighted princes saw ebullient like the Destroyer. 148

He dug up in battle the fortune of Alakhāna, the king of the Gurjaras, which was firmly rooted, in an instant and planted prolonged misery. 149

By ceding to him with humility the territory of Ṭakka, the ruler of the Gurjaras, like one's own body at the cost of the finger, saved his realm. 150

Usurped by the suzerain Bhoja, he restored the sovereignty to the family of Thakkiya, who had been serving in the capacity of a chamberlain. 151

Between the chiefs of the Darads and the Turks he, who was placed as between a lion and a wild boar, was like Āryāvarta between the Himālaya and the Vindhya; in whose city of Udabhāṇḍa ruling princes became free from menace like the mountains in the ocean, when afeared of the peril of the cutting of their wings; whose mighty renown among the kings of the northern region was like the orb of the sun among the constellations in the heaven; that illustrious Lalliya Śāhi, the refuge of Alakhāna, did not have the privilege of serving Śaṁkaravarman who in anger desired to oust him from sovereignty. 152-155

149. "The Hūṇas are often mentioned in books and inscriptions in connection with the Gurjaras, whose name survives in the modern Gūjars, a caste widely distributed in North-Western India. The early Gurjaras seem to have been foreign immigrants, closely associated with and possibly allied in blood to the White Huns. They founded a considerable kingdom in Rājputānā, the capital of which was Bhilmāl or Śrīmāl, about 50 miles to the north-west of Mount Abu. In course of time, the Gurjara Pratīhāra kings of Bhilmāl conquered Kanauj and became the paramount power in Northern India." V. A. Smith. *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., p. 321.

150. The Gurjara ruler saved his territory by ceding a portion of it. His act is like that of a man who saves his own body at the cost of a finger. In Kaśmīr it was customary, when life was in jeopardy, to cut off one's finger and present it to him from whom danger to life was apprehended. Instances of this custom occur in this poem—See VIII. 1594, 1738, 2272, 3300. In ancient Italy it was the custom for those who desired to evade conscription for the army to cut off their thumb and offer it in the temple dedicated to Mars, the god of war. For Ṭakkadeśa, see VII. 414.

152-155. Alberuni tells us that the descendants of Kanik (Sk. Kaniṣka) maintained their rule for centuries in Kabul. "The last king of this race was Lagaturmān and his Vazir was Kallar, a Brahman. The latter had been fortunate, in so far as he had found by accident hidden treasures, which gave him much influence and power. In consequence the last king of this Tibetan house, after it had held the power for so long a period, let it by degrees slip from his hands. Now the Vazir put him in chains and imprisoned him for correction, but then he himself found ruling sweet, his riches enabled him to carry out his plans, and so he occupied the royal throne. After him ruled the Brahman kings Sāmand (Sk. Sāmanta) Kamalū, Bhīm (Bhīma), Jaipāl (Jaya-

In this manner having made conquests in all directions, he arrived in his own realm; in the locality known as Pañcasatra he founded a city after his own name. 156

By him the daughter of the illustrious Svāmirāja, the lord of the northern region, named Sugandhā was beloved as is the night of the full moon by the moon. 157

In association with her in that fine town the king, who was comparable to the king of the gods, constructed Śaṁkara Gaurīśa and Sugandheśa. 158

pāla), Ānandapāla, Tarojanapāla (Trilocanapāla). The latter was killed in 412 A.H. (1021 A.C.) and his son Bhīmapāla five years later (1026 A.C.)" Vol. II, p. 13.

When the Arabs advancing from Persia conquered Balkh, Bamiyan and Kabul (870-871 A.C.) they found a king in Kabul of the Turkish Shahiya dynasty whom they called Kabul Shah and whom they described as a Turk by race and Buddhist by religion. Lalliya, the minister of that king, was the founder of a line of famous kings known as the Śāhis of Udabhāṇḍa (variously called Hind, Ohind, Waihind) the ruins of which exist fifteen miles above Attock on the West bank of the Indus. Balkh and Bamiyan were then great centres of Buddhism and Indian culture and were situated on the highway connecting India with Persia and China. When the Arab storm burst in Central Asia, the monasteries and shrines were destroyed and the people converted to Islam. Early in the 10th century, the descendant of Sāmān, a Persian chief, who had become Mahomadan, extended their dominion over Transoxiana, Persia and part of Afghanistan but their power was usurped by their Turkish slaves to whom they had enrusted the principal offices of state. One of the Turkish slaves Alptigīn rebelled and founded a separate principality at Gazni. He was succeeded by his slave Balkātigīn—Another slave of Alptigīn, Sabaktigīn, subsequently ascended the throne of Gazni in 977 A.C. and he conquered Kabul and the adjoining territory including Lamghān (Lampāka) in 988 A.C. from the Śāhi king Jayapāla. From M. Chavanne's translation of *the journeys to India of Chinese pilgrims in search of the Law* we learn that during the rule of the Śāhis a Chinese pilgrim named Ki-ye with three hundred monks reached Gandhāra via the Gilgit valley, from his home in Kansu in north-west China which he had left in 960 A.C. Despite the life and death struggle with the Turks of Gazni, Ānandapāla, the son of Jayapāla, encouraged learning and even his enemies have paid him a tribute for his chivalry and skill in the arts of peace and war. Ānandapāla's son Trilocanapāla was the last of the Śāhis whose final stand against Mahmud on the bank of the Tauṣī river to the south of Kaśmīr is described by Kalhaṇa in VII. 47-69. The Śāhis had already lost Lampāka (Lamghān) and Nagarahāra (Jalalabad) in Afghanistan. After this battle their kingdom was destroyed and with the fall of Udabhāṇḍa (Ohind) the road to the invasion of India lay open before Mahmud. Alberuni, the contemporary historian, writes: "The Hindu Shahiya dynasty is now extinct and of the whole house there is no longer the slightest remnant in existence. We must say that in all their grandeur they never slackened in their ardent desire for doing that which is good and right, and that they were men of noble sentiments and noble bearing" (Vol. II, p. 13).

A Brahman named Nāyaka, learned in the four Vedas, who was the noble shrine of the goddess of speech, was placed in charge of these two temples of Śiva. 159

With the literary compositions of others and with the wealth of others, which have been robbed, scholars and rulers foster their own work in these present times. 160

Thus the petty-minded king, in order to make his own city celebrated, carried away everything of value belonging to Parihāsapura. 161

Cloth weaving, sale and purchase of live stock and similar things, which were the basis of the fame of Pattana, were once in that very city. 162

By the minister Ratnavardhana, who had bestowed the crown on the king, was founded Sadāśiva named Śrī Ratna-Vardhaneśa. 163

It is a wonder that kings, after purifying themselves in the cascades of fame, soil themselves by addiction to vices like elephants with dust after a bath. 164

Thus in course of time the king's mind was, in large measure, obsessed with the practice of covetousness and he became an adept in the persecution of the subjects. 165

Owing to fresh vices he, as a rule, ran short of money, time and again; he robbed everything belonging to the gods and others through the device of imposts. 166

Two state departments known as the Aṭṭapatibhāga and Gṛhakṛtya were established by him, who was the robber of the towns, the households, the villages and the rest. 167

The money which was the sale proceeds of incense, sandal, oil and the like, he took from the shrines of the gods under the pretext of a share in the sale-price. 168

For the rest under the pretext of supervision through officials specially empowered, he soon plundered sixty-four temples of the gods. 169

Having resumed the villages in the possession of the temples by compensation, he himself made the land yield produce like a cultivator. 170

168. This is one of the many illustrations of the plunder of the property of the temples and monasteries by the executive government. Instances of similar action in the Middle Ages in the countries of the West are well-known.

Having reduced the weight in the scales by a third, he ostentatiously gave in excess of the annual grant which was payable to the members of the corporation of priests, on account of maintenance, the price of woollen clothing and the like. 171

When he was residing in different regions, the villagers who did not carry loads and who did not come he fined the value of the load, according to the prices of these regions, for one year. 172-173

In this way this system of the carriage of loads was first imposed by him; the harbinger of the poverty of the villages it is of thirteen kinds. 174

By collections for the monthly allowances and the like for Skandhakas and village officials and various other imposts, he reduced the villages to poverty. 175

Through reduction and augmentation of weights, and fines on villages and the like collections, he made a pile for the Gṛhakṛtya. 176

He appointed five clerks in this separate department and the sixth as treasurer Śakaca named Lavaṭa. 177

Having accepted hell for himself, that deluded sinner did a good turn for future kings or rather the officials. 178

The cause, in this realm, of the lack of respect for men of learning and of the loss of the glory of the king is none else but Śaṁkaravarman. 179

175. Grāma-Kāyastha=village official. He probably corresponded to the modern Patvāri and Skandhakas to the modern Lambardār.

176. Gṛhakṛtya=an office for collecting levies and imposts for the benefit of the royal household. In Kṣemendra's *Narma-Mālā*, we have a bitter satire upon the government officials (Kāyastha). He writes that the Kāyastha's highest ambition was to become the Mahattama of the Gṛhakṛtya office which controlled the civil and military departments as well as the department of religious endowments. The Mahattama of Gṛhakṛtya had eight executive officers to work under him and eight orderlies to attend on him!

177. The word for the treasurer is Gañjavara which is of Iranian origin. The surname of Gañju among Kaśmīrī Brahmans is probably derived from Gañjavara or Gañjādhipa. Administrative words from the Persian language were introduced in Northern India during Iranian rule in India in the time of Darius (522-486 B.C.). Some of these occur in Aśoka's Shahbazgarhi inscription such as Kṣatrapa (old Iranian Kṣatrapāvan, English Satrap), dipi and nipista. Later, Iranian administrative terms found their way into India such as Divira—a clerk and Gañja=treasury etc. They came into Kaśmīr from Kabul and the North-West of India which formed part of the Empire of the Hindu Turks under the Turki Śāhi dynasty.

By this arch fool of a king the government officials, the sons of bondswomen, were encouraged who by injuring the property of honest men became the destroyers of his reputation. 180

The extent, to which the land had become the prey of the officials under his supervision, was such that it was like the scandalous condition which arises when there is plundering on the part of kings. 181

During these dire sufferings of the subjects, his son named Gopālavarman, melting with compassion, said this to the lord of the land on one occasion. 182

"Sire! a boon formerly conferred, which has remained like a safe-deposit, is the one I now seek from you, who are true to your engagements." 183

"On account of these levies enforced by Your Majesty at the instigation of the state officials, breathing remains as the sole activity of life for embodied beings." 184

"And there is not in fact to my father the slightest accrual of benefit, which in any sense is worthy of either world, by this persecution of the people." 185

"Who can unfold the problem of the unseen world which is inscrutable? but in the visible world, at least, nothing save evil is seen as a result of this conduct." 186

"On one side are all the miseries of the subjects prominent among which are disease and food shortage; on the other side, however, is nothing but covetousness on the part of the lord of the land." 187

"The fortune of a king who is habitually greedy is not hailed by any one, like a blossom out of season, being stripped of the promise of fruit." 188

"Gifts and an apt phrase which is courteous win universal affection for the sovereign; greed is, to begin with, a mighty endeavour towards the very destruction of both of them." 189

"The cloud reduces the glory, the duration and the charm of a day in Hemanta to a mere reminiscence; thus, too, greed in the case of kings." 190

190. Hemanta is one of the six seasons which occurs in the lunar months Mārgaśīrṣa and Pauṣa at the end of winter when the sun is what the ancients called Mitra or the friend. A cloudy day in Hemanta would be a matter of regret owing to the lack of sunshine.

"The kinsmen of a king, who withholds military operations through nervousness about expenditure, become high and mighty. Neither would any servants do him a good turn whose mind is niggardly about rewards in return; his own set would constantly endeavour to deprive him of life who has made a pile of treasure; what unexpected injury does avarice, like an enemy, not inflict?" 191

"Therefore this new exaction called 'the king's tax' which is detrimental to the people and which originates in greed, O lord of the Earth! may you be pleased to abolish." 192

Hearkening to this speech of the prince which was illuminating in its kindliness, the king with the lower lip blanched by a smile, with deliberation, addressed these words. 193

"Your speech, charming with benevolence which is in harmony with your noble appearance, reminds me today of my state of mind in the past." 194

"In my boyhood when, formerly, I used to melt in my inmost heart, beloved son! loving kindness for the subjects had waxed strong to perfection." 195

"Such was I whom my father, who gave me a heavy armour during the heat and transparent raiment in the cold, compelled to go on foot without foot-wear." 196

"During the chase and like occasions, seeing me run by the side of horses injured by thorns and choking with tears those who moved before him reproached him." 197

He said to them, "Having been a commoner I have secured sovereign power; on the various occasions I know the hardships of the servants. After suffering such a hard lot, he will surely realise the sufferings of others when he has secured the sovereignty; otherwise he might remain unsophisticated having been rich since he was in the womb." 198-199

"With such measures I had been well disciplined by my father, nevertheless after securing the crown I have persecuted the subjects in this manner." 200

"Just as an embodied being forgets, when born, the torment of the sojourn, in the same way a king on securing the throne forgets necessarily the former mentality." 201

"Therefore you yourself should this day grant one boon to me that, when you have secured sovereign power, you will not oppress the subjects more than this!" 202

With sarcasm was he thus addressed by him while the satellites smiled at one another, his confidential men looked on, and the prince remained with his face abased with bashfulness. 203

Since he averted his face from the society of men of merit through fear of liberality, poets like Bhallaṭa had to resort to low ways of livelihood. 204

Without any pittance were great poets; on the other hand the load carrier, Lavaṭa, by his favour, had an allowance of two thousand Dīnnāras. 205

His birth from a line of spirit distillers was proved by his ownself with his vernacular speech, fit for drunkards—he to whom the language of the gods was not available. 206

The beard rolled up in the turban, the fore-finger in front of the nose, the eyes concentrated in devotion, such was the case with the minister Sukharāja; this etiquette honoured by the Āryas was reduced to mockery, as in the case of an actor, by subservience to the arbitrary will of the sovereign of vile behaviour. 207-208

He slew, at night, suspecting treachery the brave ruler of Dārvābhisāra, who was free from perfidy, together with his followers. 209

The subjects' curse having befallen him who had swerved from the path, twenty or thirty sons of the king perished without an ailment. 210

204. Bhallaṭa was the author of *Bhallaṭa Śataka* and of the Dictionary known as *Padamañjarī*.

205. For the equivalent of two thousand copper Dīnnāras per day see Sir A. Stein's able note on the Monetary system of Kaśmīr. See *Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*, Vol. II. p. 308.

206. The language of the gods: Saṁskṛta; the Nāgarī (town-script) in which Saṁskṛta is written is thus called Devanāgarī, the script of the gods. In the ancient Drama we find that only the educated spoke Saṁskṛta while the uneducated, including the women, spoke the different Prākṛta. The Kaśmīrī poet Bilhaṇa, who was the poet laureate at the court of Kalyāṇa in the Dekhan (11th Century), tells us, in the last canto of his *Life of Vikramāṅkadeva*, while describing his homeland that the women of Kaśmīr spoke Saṁskṛta.

Apabhraṁśa = the lowest form of the Prākṛta. In ancient Italy Latin corresponded to Saṁskṛta and the 'Vernacular' was the native tongue of the population. (L. Verna = homeborn slave).

207. This is an interesting passage; it refers to the etiquette and rules of dress in the presence of royalty. In modern Japan it is a common practice for women, speaking to strangers, to hold the hand in front of the nose. A similar custom prevails in India among the women.

The dynasty, fortune, life, wife, the very name of kings, in an instant, goes to perdition who do evil to the subjects. 211

So it has been said and will be said in the future; this, however, is clear that his name itself has been lost through cruel deeds. 212

His own city founded in his name and given publicity exists merely as Pattana; in the case of who else has the name disappeared as in that of Śaṁkaravarman? 213

The sister's son of Sukharāja, who had been appointed lord of the frontier by him, met his death through carelessness at a place named Vīrānaka. 214

Enraged by this, the king in person made an expedition and after rooting out Vīrānaka, waxing in arrogance, he invaded the northern region. 215

After conquering many territories situated on the bank of the Indus, he turned back from there when the terror-stricken chiefs had made obeisance. 216

When he entered Uraśā, there arose on the ground of billets for his soldiers, with the residents of Uraśā, a sudden quarrel. 217

An arrow, travelling swiftly, discharged by a Śvapāka posted on the crest of a hill, pierced his neck unawares. 218

On the point of death, he said to his own men "lead the army to safety" and mounting a palanquin got out of that place. 219

He lost the power of sight; recognizing later by her speech the weeping Sugandhā, the queen consort, who stood by clinging to his body, he in a feeble voice gave in her charge to guard his son named Gopālavarman, who was in a state of minority and had no kinsfolk. In Phālguna on the seventh of the dark half in the year seventy-seven he died, en route, while the arrow was being extracted. 220-222

3977 L.E. (902 A.C.)

Sukharāja and others safeguarding the army through hostile territories and hiding him by stories kept on marching on the road. 223

With ropes, as in a mechanism, capable of lowering and raising they made the head return the salute of the feudatories who approached. 224

After six days, on reaching in their own territory a place named Bolyāsaka, when they were free from apprehension, they rendered the final honours to him. 225

The Ranis Surendravatī and others followed the king in death, also the grateful Velāvitta called Jayasiṁha, a man of virtue. 226

Two servants Lāḍa and Vajrasāra followed him in death; thus with the six who mounted the funeral pyre, he was soon consigned to the flames. 227

Gopālavarman

Thereafter Gopālavarman, radiant with piety and true to his engagements, under the guardianship of Sugandhā, protected the land. 228

Although he lived in the midst of satellites and others of low character and had not passed out of boyhood, he did not take to evil ways. 229

The king's mother, who had become excessively voluptuous in her widowhood through sexual pleasures, fell in love with the minister named Prabhākara. 230

By her, who had been gratified with the plenitude of sensual pleasures, he was marked with rank, fortune and love like the three-fold circle of the tiara. 231

As treasurer for her, who was passionately in love with him, he looted wealth and conquered Udabhāṇḍapura, the kingdom of the Śāhis. 232

The kingdom of the Śāhi, who had flouted authority, was conferred on Tomarāṇa, the son of Lalliya, who was proclaimed under the name of Kamaluka. 233

Then he returned and made his entry into Śrīnagara, elated with triumph and proud of his body which was the dwelling-house of heroism and amour. 234

This paramour of the king's mother, full of self-conceit through having gained the victory, injured the honour of brave men by insults day after day. 235

Like the harlot's house occupied by a wretched lover there was no entry in the royal residence, when occupied by him, for any one else. 236

In course of time to king Gopālavarman, who had become aware of the state of affairs, this man, who had destroyed his honour and treasure, became an exceeding eyesore. 237

"What is not in this treasury—all that has gone in the war with the Śāhi"—thus he said to the king, who was intent on the accounts of the treasury. 238

Then the treasurer in fear of the king caused his relation, named Rāmadeva, who knew sorcery, to cast a spell. 239

By that process of enchantment king Gopālavarman, who had enjoyed the land for two years, was set afire and perished. 240

When the foul deed came to light, the impious Rāmadeva in terror of punishment from the government, himself destroyed his own body. 241

Taken from the streets the brother of Gopālavarman, Saṁkaṭa, was placed on the throne; he lost his life in ten days. 242 *Saṁkaṭa*

Thus when the line of king Śaṁkaravarman had come to an end, upon the prayer of the subjects, Sugandhā assumed royal authority in person. 243 *Sugandhā*

She founded Gopālapura, the Gopāla convent, Gopāla Keśava and a town bearing her own name, for the advancement of religion. 244

Gopālavarman's wife Nandā, born in a family without reproach, was the founder, while a minor, of the Nandā convent and Nandākeśava. 245

At this time upon Jayalakṣmī, the wife of Gopālavarman, who was enceinte, the mother-in-law had pinned her faith yearning for the continuity of the line. 246

When after the delivery her offspring died, Sugandhā sorrowed exceedingly. She began to make preparations to confer the sovereign power on some one of her own family. 247

At this period there was a group of the Tantrin infantry, able to punish and favour kings, which had formed a league. 248

Thereafter leaning upon the Ekāṅgas, Sugandhā herself wielded royal power for two years through the friendliness of the Tantrin. 249

With a view to confer the imperial power on some worthy person she, on one occasion, summoned for a consultation the ministers, the grandees, Tantrins and the Ekāṅgas. 250

The line of Avantivarman having ended it was in her mind to place on the throne the grandson of Śūravarman, named Nirjitavarman, who was born of Gaggā, a lady from her own family—for she thought "he would be complaisant to me from affection for the relationship." 251-252

241. Rājadaṇḍa=Punishment inflicted by the king.

243. The queen assumes powers of government upon the prayer of the subjects. Queens in Kaśmīr also ruled in their own right.

She proposed this, whereupon "What is his fitness for the throne, who keeps awake during the nights being addicted to sexual pleasures and sleeping by day, is marred by his inability to get up and has therefore obtained the nickname of 'the Lame'?" exclaiming in this wise while ministers were combating it, the confederates, the Tantrin infantry, who had got out after the cleavage, made Pārtha, the ten year old son of Nirjitavarman, the king. 253-255

Pārtha

They considered that, by sweeping away Sugandhā they had exacted atonement for the expressions of the treasurer, which had caused injury to honour. 256

She, shorn of sovereign power, went out of the royal residence and the falling tear-drops served her for a necklace. 257

Every one of the hereditary servants who was her refuge, she saw, as she was passing out, in league with the other side. 258

In the year eighty-nine, the Ekāṅga soldiers having combined went and once more brought Sugandhā who was staying in Huṣkapura. 259

Hearing that she was attacking, the Tantrin, who favoured Pārtha, proudly came out at the end of Caitra. 260

They having vanquished, in the Vaiśākha of the year ninety and broken the league of the Ekāṅgas, in a clash of arms, arrested Sugandhā who had fled. 261

3990 L. E. (914 A.C.)

Imprisoned by them in the Niṣpālaka Vihāra she died; strange in their ephemeral rise and fall are the ways of Providence. 262

Then in this unique realm there arose, in all directions, the cause of the dwindling of its wealth and population, a series of disasters. 263

The father, "the Lame," having become the guardian of the infant king, together with the ministers oppressed the people and was ever ready to take bribes. 264

Kings, like village officials, brought about the ousting of one another with offers of higher and higher bribes by fawning on the Tantrin. 265

In that realm, whose kings had occupied Kanauj and other territories, the livelihood of kings depended upon the delivery of Hundis to the Tantrin! 266

266. Huṇḍikā is a bill of exchange—the modern Hundi. The ancients had a simple form called Ādeśa which was an order to a third person to pay bearer a sum of money on behalf of the sender. Another form in use was called Anvādhi. The Jurist Kātyāyana calls it "a bailment for delivery."

The sons of the minister Meruvardhana, who in the ancient capital, had built the temple of Viṣṇu named Śrī Meruvardhanasvāmin, were deep in treasonable intrigues at this time; concealing their aspirations for the throne they made an acquisition of treasure by exactions from the subjects. 267-268

Śaṁkaravardhana, the eldest of them, formed an alliance with Sugandhāditya and secretly pilfered the royal residence. 269

At this juncture, like the dropping of caustic on a wound, when the subjects were lean, inundations came on, which ruined the entire autumn crop of rice. 270

While the Khārī sold for a thousand and food became difficult to obtain, in the grim year ninety-three there was the decimation of the people by famine. 271

Famine 3993 L. E. (917—18 A.C.)

With dead bodies lying in the water a long time, soaked and swollen in the Vitastā on all sides, it became difficult to see the water. 272

The land being universally covered with masses of bones came to be indistinguishable from a crematorium, causing terror to all living beings. 273

Meanwhile with the wealth obtained by the sale of stored rice at high prices, the king's ministers and the Tantrin attained affluence. 274

That man became acceptable as minister to the king, who by selling the subjects in that plight, was in a position to honour the payments due on the Hundis to the Tantrin. 275

Like some one in a warm chalet watching everybody outside in the forest, during a downpour, miserable in the wind and rain—so seeing the unhappy people the coward "the Lame" staying in the royal residence made much of his own comforts. 276-277

The subjects, who had been the pets of Tuñjīna, Candrāpīḍa and other protectors of the people, were sent to perdition in this manner by these ghoulish kings. 278

The kings during this time did not attain stability for any length like bubbles arising from rain showers on a cloudy day. 279

Pārtha, by ejecting his father, at one time, got into power; sometimes the latter by ousting him similarly prevailed by the intrigues of the Tantrin. 280

The youthful Sugandhāditya gratified the bevy of the wives of "the Lame," like a stallion the troop of mares, by service of sexual intercourse. 281

With tight embraces in the feast of love he crushed the itching desire of the queen Bappaṭadevī and she, on her part, with riches his yearning for wealth. 282

The queen Mṛgāvatī—whom the sons of Meruvardhana, who had founded their rule on the loveliness and grace of their sister, the lady of beautiful limbs, had themselves given in marriage to "the Lame"—she, too, through ardour, herself sought Sugandhāditya and enjoyed him like a love-lorn sweetheart. 283-284

He served these two alternately, to heighten the pleasures of life, like a single feeding vessel between two pauper women, day after day. 285

To gain the throne for their respective sons, the two vying with one another granted their own minister the intimacy of sexual intercourse with an honorarium of gifts of treasure. 286

Nirjitavarman (the "Lame") 3997 L.E. (921 A.C.)

Eventually ousting Pārtha his father "the Lame" supported by the Tantrin was, in Pausa of the year ninety-seven, given the Abhiṣeka. 287

3998 L.E. (923 A.C.) Cakravarman

In Māgha of the year ninety-eight he, whose merits had dwindled, after performing the Abhiṣeka on his infant son named Cakravarman, died. 288

Thereupon the Tantrin infantry, the followers of Pārtha, who longed for the father's throne, engaged in his cause in a fight with the Ekāṅgas. 289

With his mother Bappaṭadevī for some time and with the grandmother Kṣillikā, the infant king remained as a ward for ten years. 290

As owing to his tender age evil character had not become manifest, that guardianship of the two ladies was free from blame as if it had been the fostering of a cobra while in the egg-shell. 291

Śūravarman 4009 L.E. (933-34 A.C.)

Begotten by "the Lame" on Mṛgāvatī, Śūravarman in the year nine after ousting Cakravarman was made king by the Tantrin. 292

Devoid of affection the maternal uncles and ministers, who were bent on their own selfish ends having failed to pay what was due to the Tantrin, became the cause of his overthrow. 293

Though not of evil conduct, this prince without parting with much treasure could not become, like a man of virtue with harlots, the favourite of the Tantrin. 294

Pārtha

When a year had gone by, seeing the chance of profit, after ousting him the Tantrin infantry, once more made Pārtha king, who gave much money. 295

The courtesan Sāmbavatī, the founder of Sāmbeśvara, and sweetheart of Pārtha, became known for intrigues in controlling the league of the Tantrin. 296

Cakravarman, too, who was biding his opportunity, by offering a large sum, was then in Āṣāḍha of the year eleven once more made king by the Tantrin. 297

Cakravarman 4011 L.E. (935 A.C.)

They, who had enjoyed themselves after expelling by intrigue Pārtha and others, from whom through various offices they had secured allowances and the rest of it; they, who had uprooted his father; they who had acted perfidiously to crown their relatives by marriage after giving their daughters reciprocally—to these very sons of Meruvardhana, whose wickedness was in evidence, the king who had lost his wits handed over powers. 298-300

Śaṁkaravardhana was made the chief of the Akṣapaṭala by him and similarly of the Gṛhakrtya the wicked and hypocritical Śambhuvardhana. 301

In Pauṣa of the same year having failed to pay, through lack of funds, the sums due on the Hundis to the Tantrin, he fled in fear and tribulation. 302

While he stayed in the interior of Maḍavarājya Śaṁkaravardhana, aspiring to the throne, despatched Śambhuvardhana on a mission to the Tantrin. 303

He, having won over all of them by repeatedly discussing larger bribes, deceived the elder brother and got from them the Abhiṣeka for his own self. 304

Śambhuvardhana

Living in a sanctuary the Timi fish eats up its own species, the stork observing the vow of silence approaches and swallows the Timi; the hunter, too, dwelling in the depth of the forest kills the stork; each prevails over the victim by higher and higher skill in out-witting. 305

Thereafter Cakravarman, when stripped of splendour, on one occasion, entered at night the house of Saṁgrāma, a leading Ḍāmara. 306

Recognizing the king by his distinguished appearance, he folded his hands hollow and bowing in nervous excitement induced him to take his own seat. 307

296. The courtesan through her backstairs influence has played an important role in all ages in the history of monarchy.

To him, who had begged for assistance after recounting the tale of the loss of the throne and like matters and who was softened by adversity, the Ḍāmara spoke respectfully after reflection. 308

"The Tantrin and straw, O king! what do they count for in warfare? In your service which is the task for which I have not the strength?" 309

"After gaining success, however, in the enterprise you will surely slay us, too, for kings when their purpose is served have no recollection of benefit." 310

"He, who has been the support for his rise to a high place, the king cuts him down, like a wood-cutter the branch of the tree, by which he has gone up, when he is coming down." 311

"A king after securing his rise regards with suspicion, for that reason, his benefactor who by the perfection of his intellect, fortitude and the rest of it has obliged him." 312

"If he were to remain there will be disaster"—reflecting thus the servant who is in disgrace is shunned by fools who are dense and desirous of their own good. 313

"In prosperity kings, forgetting the obligations of the friends of their adversity, lay to heart slips of inadvertence which have occurred in the interval." 314

"Kings on securing their rise destroy the followers, who have seen their vicissitudes during sickness from disease or enemy pressure, starvation and the like, through fear of humiliation." 315

"There can be no relying on a king even if he were righteous, for near his ears the evil ministers whisper like buzzing honey-bees near those of an elephant." 316

"If during the day by one's presence, like a wanton woman by a jealous lover, it is possible to guard the sovereign from the incitements of backbiters, O, king! what the night tutor, the queen consort, coaches in private is a matter where a vigilant watch cannot be kept by those who do not know everything." 317-318

317-318. The queen-consort was a power in politics. She was crowned side by side with her husband at the time of the coronation in accordance with ancient Indian custom and this poem is full of instances of her active interest in guiding and advising the king, in taking over charge of the state during critical situations, and personally supervising the administration of the kingdom. See e.g., Taraṅga VII. 263-265 and Taraṅga VIII. 1823n.

"The instruction which during the day has somehow been imparted to his mind by the skilful, the king, like a white ass, forgets at night." 319

"After attracting with their unctuous and long tongue, who is it who is not devoured by the kings like ants by the ant-eaters?" 320

"He recognizes that the one who is near is the one who should be slain and not the one who is far away; first the stork and next the king is, in truth, sustained by perfidy." 321

"Indeed infested by the thorns in his side the king should not let his diplomacy be noticed; he should bide his time like a civet cat with his body." 322

"Even as he crouches the lion destroys, the snake even as he enfolds in an embrace, the demon while yet he is laughing and a king even when he is applauding." 323

"Hence if you will look upon us always with the policy of non-aggression here I am ready together with my troops, at the very dawn, to be your fore-runner." 324

Having listened to this the king said with the lower lip blanched by the smile of modesty—"like my own self you, who have been the first to oblige me, shall be safeguarded by me." 325

Thereafter placing his foot on a sheepskin wet with blood, the king and the Ḍāmara, with swords, mutually swore an oath. 326

Then mustering a countless array of fierce Ḍāmaras, Cakravarman, early in the morning, started for the campaign setting his face towards Śrīnagara. 327

At this moment placing Śaṁkaravardhana in the front, the Tantrin infantry came out to fight on the bright eighth of Caitra. 328

Cakravarman hastened to reveal his own valour which, yielding to circumstances, he had camouflaged from them and which was beyond conception. 329

Then as the grim battle was joined outside Padmapura, he spurred his horse and slew first of all Śaṁkaravardhana. 330

320. Śalyaka according to the old Saṁskṛta word-books is a porcupine. The description in the verse, however, shows the reference is to some Edentate (Myrmecophaga tridactyla).

326. This is an interesting illustration of a solemn oath among the warlike Kṣatriyas worthy of the ancient Scandinavians. Among the Brahmans the solemn oath consisted of the sacred libation which is repeatedly referred to in this poem. See also VIII. 3006.

When the commander of the army had been slain on the spot, the army of the Tantrin went off in all directions like a ship driven by storm-gusts at sea. 331

Ardent in pursuit in their rear, the king cut off their flight by the speed of his horse and a row of heads with his sword. 332

While he flitted in the battle-field, the gay lapels of the military uniform of the lion-like Cakravarman bore the graceful semblance of a thick mane. 333

What else need be related? Of the slain Tantrin five or six thousand had, in a mere trice, fallen on that arena of battle. 334

The Tantrin weary after the excitement of battle were put to sleep on the surface of the earth, shaded by the wings of vultures, by Cakravarman. 335

In the company of his partisans, men of merit of noble descent who were slain, the brave Śaṁkaravardhana adorned the couch of heroes. 336

The Tantrin had attained their rise united, and united they had met their end; who did not envy them? 337

Kings who had deserved respect, who were unapproachable, and of high lineage had been formerly insulted and made to beg alms every moment by the Tantrin like snakes by snake-charmers for the sake of a living; they had been made a sport of and put to shame by the Tantrin who were of a low way of life, puffed with pride and cruel; the Tantrin were consumed in an instant by Cakravarman, as by a mighty snake enraged by humiliation, with the fire of the poison of his deep-seated hatred. 338-340

Cakravarman

Then on the next day as the virile Śambhuvardhana was organizing the Tantrin although they had been broken, meanwhile joined by the grandees, ministers, Ekāṅgas and palace favourites, with the cheering troops, who had come up by different routes, pervading the horizon; with his noble charger proudly curvetting in the centre of the horse guards, raising the helmet when it slipped with the left hand which held the bridle; the ear-rings lit up by the glinting hilt which was held in the other hand moist with perspiration; his face terrifying with the knitting of the eye-brows, being irritated by the pressure

336. Vīraśayyā = the couch of the brave. It means the field of battle where the brave have fallen. See VII. 1364; VIII.2330.

on the neck of his high and stiff armour; threatening in bursts of anger the plunderers, who had looted the shops and reassuring the affrighted citizens with signs of the head and the eye, while the rattle of his kettle-drums hindering the benedictory pronouncements of the citizens rent the hearing, Cakravarman, resplendent in military triumph, made his entry into the city. 341-347

When flushed with victory he had occupied the lion-throne, Bhūbhaṭa having manacled Śambhuvardhana brought him from somewhere. 348

In front of the king this impious man, to demonstrate loyal devotion, slew like a Caṇḍāla him who had closed his eyes from fear of the sword stroke. 349

Among servants, abandoning the limits of the moral law, to slay by treason the rulers of men, who are comparable to fathers, Śambhuvardhana was the first. 350

After gaining the kingdom free from thorns, king Cakravarman in due course of time grew arrogant and committed brutal and unworthy acts. 351

Carried away by his delight in ruminating over the laudatory poems reciting his own valour, his wits became subservient to the flatteries of satellites, minstrels and others. 352

His mind being deluded by panegyrics, he considered himself like a god and his actions were devoid of the virtue of discrimination 353

At this juncture a famous Ḍomba vocalist named Raṅga, a person from abroad, was granted an audience by the king in the outer hall of assembly. 354

Assigning places according to precedence to the ministers and the grandees as they arrived, the ushers left an open space in front of the king. 355

With the gleaming white turbans the court, brilliantly illumined with lamps, shone as if it were the couch of Śeṣa lit up by the jewels borne on the hoods. 356

The cool twilight breezes, sportively dallying with the chaplets of flowers in the coiffure of the ladies of the royal household, provided an ineffable fragrance. 357

350. Droha = Lése-majesté ; it is compared to patricide, the king being loco parentis.

The rows of windows beamed with the faces, fragrant with wine, of the gazelle-eyed ladies of the royal household who were curious to watch the musical performance. 358

At this time followed by his own troupe decked in necklaces, wristlets, armlets, bracelets and other trinkets the Ḍomba singer made his entry. 359

Haṁsī and Nāgalatā, his two daughters, with pellucid eyes made the assembly, which was straining its neck in curiosity, appear as if delineated in a picture. 360

By the coquettish movements of their lovely sparkling eyes, a mass of flowers was strewn, for a second time, in the interior of the hall of assembly. 361

The minstrels loudly announced "may you be victorious" "may you live" and the like; the hall of assembly was filled with a hubbub while they described the various virtues of the king. 362

After bending down with correct ceremony and rising up, when the choristers had produced andante, the musical note of the special Rāga—rising to the Pañcama key—the song of the two girls as they sang expanded in one melodious note in harmony, its beauty being heightened by a gentle tremor of the head and the movement of the brows and the eyes. 363-364

Then having ceased to chew the Tāmbūla and become motionless in figure, the king with moveless eyes through delight became like an antelope. 365

The two singing girls perceiving his sentiments began to sing tenderly, to make a greater appeal, with amorousness, smiles and grace. 366

365. The simile refers to the use of musical instruments by the Indian hunter. Alberuni writes: "I have myself witnessed that in hunting gazelles they caught them with the hand. One Hindu even went so far as to assert that he, without catching the gazelle, would drive it before him and lead it straight into the kitchen. This, however, rests, as I believe I have found out, simply on the device of slowly and constantly accustoming the animals to one and the same melody. Our people, too, practise the same when hunting the ibex, which is more wild even than the gazelle. When they see the animals resting, they begin to walk round them in a circle, singing one and the same melody so long until the animals are accustomed to it. Then they make the circle more and more narrow, till at last they come near enough to shoot at the animals which lie there in perfect rest." Vol. I p. 195.

Between the king and the two of them, whose hearts were drawn towards one another through the exchange of glances comprehensible to themselves, a conversation was as it were established. 367

Realizing that the king had lost his heart a certain favourite satellite, at this moment, addressed words calculated to increase his passion. 368

"Sire! the music, owing to the arrival of these two lovely maidens, has become attractive like a liqueur poured in a jewel glass." 369

"It seems as if the moon misled by the reflected image of these two singing girls is kissing, through passion, the gleaming columns of the ivory hall." 370

With the hand placed on the corners of the cheeks, the two maidens while they are singing are, forsooth, captivating by their furtive glances the Vaimānikas in the sky." 371

"Realizing that our talk has reference to her own self one of these two, look! has shot a side glance pregnant with indignation and smile." 372

"The one who is singing with countenance lowered and trembling rings in her ears is looking beautiful as if, overbrimming with passion, she had commenced to act in the reverse posture of love." 373

"Fruitful is the youth of him in separation from whom women of this type, through ardour, sing in solitude with such voice." 374

"By those, who being deluded by subservience to the scripture have abandoned reason, why should one individual be excluded from among those who have set out with the same caravan?" 375

371. Before flying became an accomplished fact homo sapiens had dreamt of it for many centuries in ancient India, China and Greece.

The Vimāna was the aerial chariot which could be guided at will through the air. Rāmacandra, according to legend, returned from Laṅkā to his capital Ayodhyā in the North by Vimāna. Saṁskṛta literature and drama are full of allusions to Vimāna and flying. An early Saṁskṛta novel, the famous *Kādambarī*, refers to a Vaimānika having been cursed for breach of a rule of aerial traffic. For references to the Vaimānikas, see V. 371, VIII. 197, 1295. Details about the construction of the Vimāna, and mechanical contrivances for flying and the aspirations of ancient India similar to those of the people of ancient China and Greece will be found in the Aeroplane Section of the famous Wissenschafts Museum at Munich where also interesting sketches of machines by Leonardo da Vinci (1445-1520) may be seen.

373. The reference here is to Vātsyāyana's book on the Ars Amatoria which describes the position (Āsana) Puruṣāyita. (*Kāmasūtra*, II. 8) See Taraṅga VIII.2835 n.

375. The sycophant is insinuating that there should be no discrimination against women of the Untouchables merely because of the unreasonable prejudice of those who followed the scripture.

"If for the eye and the ear to be in contact with beauty and melody is not wrong-doing, wherefore is it so for the body to be in contact with the limbs of the woman of another?" 376

The seedling of desire of the king, who was temperamentally volatile, having been sprinkled by these remarks of the sycophant, attained ramification a hundred fold. 377

The sycophants have a developed taste for the intermingling of the castes; having shown in ample measure the disregard for the administrative system of kings, who are the destroyers of their kinsfolk, they buzz by their side with effrontery; by these sycophants, when they have secured a rise, mighty kings are soon led along wrong paths into a downward course as are lions, into pitfalls off the track, by the gathering clouds who are lovers of manifold mingling of colours and who after sufficiently demonstrating that they have overstepped the bow fixed by Indra, reverberate near it in arrogance. 378

If sycophants, who have a perverse way of thinking, by making what is not reasonable and probable into something which has a basis in fact, were not able to delude the foolish in a moment, then hell would for ever be empty in which animals would roam at large. 379

Having gladdened with necklaces, armlets and ear-rings, the Ḍomba troupe, like Karṇa, whose liberality was on wrong lines, the king retired to the Pure Interior. 380

"The lover of this woman is the lover of the earth"—thus the Ḍomba designates the king at one time and in an extremely rapid Tāṇḍava dance he mentions his own name at another time; in the midst he has an extraordinary composition for a song; those who appreciate this as poetry and squander their fortune—fie on those un-understanding kings who are seekers after notoriety! 381

The charm of a courtesan's love, of the splendour of the bow of Indra, of the pigment of the extract of turmeric, and of inferior music, however attractive, is smitten with transience. 382

The king's love at sight waxed strong with constant audiences and in the absence of these two Śvapāka maidens, he got no peace of mind any more. 383

378. There is a double entendre on the various activities of the satellites of the king in the Saṁskṛta figure of speech Upamā (Simile).

Then while singing by the side of the bed, by slow degrees, they accorded him kisses and introduced him irresistibly to the joys of love. 384

By the novel and indecorous modes of union of these two women, his strength waned and he was rendered incapable of feeling ashamed. 385

And with the trickling drops of perspiration which break out easily at the end of the delight of love, his body grew numb as if with the loss of the warmth of good luck. 386

By the king who was blind with passion, Haṁsī was made the premier queen, who enjoyed the privilege among the royal ladies of being fanned with the yak-tail, 387

Those, who had eaten of the leavings off her plate, were councillors at the court of Cakravarman and of subsequent kings as well. 388

For the ministers artful service of the Ḍombas, which procured principal offices like the Akṣapaṭala, became the cause of advancement. 389

Being blockheads, some of the Śvapākas did not themselves act as councillors, but others who were worldly-wise administered state affairs like ministers. 390

Thieves as ministers, the queen a Śvapāka woman, and Śvapākas as friends, what wonder of the world was not king Cakravarman's? 391

Having bathed after her period, the Śvapāka woman gave away her clothes with menstrual stains and the ministers, proud of their desire to be dressed in them, made their entry at court. 392

The few who, even by incurring personal enmity with the king at this time, refused to eat of the leavings of the Śvapākas, were comparable to the drinkers of Soma. 393

In this realm gods of dread supernatural power did not surely reside at that time, otherwise how could a Śvapāka woman have entered their temples! 394

When she proceeded to visit Raṇasvāmin on the day of Tiladvādaśī, only the proud Ḍāmaras, among the feudatories, did not follow in her train. 395

An order issuing from the mouth of the Ḍombas, who were proud of their status as members of the king's family, became like a royal

command difficult to transgress and was not transgressed by any one. 396

When the king gave to Raṅga the village of Helu like an Agrahāra and the recorder in charge of grants did not write out the deed of gift, Raṅga, having gone to the Akṣapaṭala, then addressed him thus in anger, "Son of a wench! thou art not going to write *Raṅgassa Helu diṅṅā?* 397-398

Then through fear he wrote, being alarmed by the knitted brows of Raṅga; what perversion of decency will not occur under a king of vicious conduct? 399

For the sin of intercourse with an outcast woman when the impious king enquired about the atonement, the satellites made him do penances which only brought derison. 400

"By snow alone would snow be destroyed, by an evil act alone a misdeed"—thus was he, who was the essence of imbecility, instructed by the satellites. 401

With the touch of a pure woman being desirous of removing the sin of the touch of an Untouchable woman, the wife of a Brahman, who was observing a month's fast, was defiled by him. 402

Even worse sinners than he, at this time, were some Brahmans who accepted Agrahāras even from him and fed at his residence. 403

Even this sinner constructed the Cakra convent as a lodge for the Pāśupatas, which being half finished at his death his wife completed. 404

Forgetting their former obligations this king, the lover of the Śvapāka woman, slew innocent Ḍāmaras, who trusted him, by treachery. 405

To kill him by stratagem, some Ḍāmara rogues whom he trusted had remained by his side awaiting an opportune loop-hole for treason. 406

In the latrine near the bed-chamber of the Śvapāka woman, they found him at night, on one occasion, in the act of relieving himself. 407

Thus having found their opportunity, they suddenly and swiftly let fall on him, from all sides, all their sharp weapons in succession. 408

Like one in sleep falling into a lake from the edge he, with eyes

398. 'Helu has been granted to Raṅga'; this is perhaps the earliest extant specimen of the Kaśmīrī language.

heavy from sleep, was awakened by the falling sword-strokes and let out frantic cries. 409

Being unarmed, streaming cascades of blood, he ran searching for a weapon, chased by the enemies and entered that bed-chamber. 410

Before he could get a weapon they, entering after him, slew him whose limbs were enfolded by the wailing Śvapāka woman and whose body was in the embrace of her breasts and lap. 411

By his own wives, it is said, they had been instigated; they wantonly crushed with a stone the knees of the king when he was about to die. 412

In the thirteenth year on the bright eighth of Jyeṣṭha, during the night, this prey of the Śvapākas was assassinated in the latrine like a thief. 413

Unmattāvanti

Thereupon the evil-minded son of Pārtha, named Unmattāvanti was given the Abhiṣeka by the idiots Śarvaṭa and the other ministers. 414

When the impious lover of the Śvapāka woman had been killed by the robbers at night, through the accumulated sin of the subjects, one more sinful than sin became king. 415

The muse fearing contact with the sin of his tale has faltered; like a nervous mare she is with difficulty urged forward by me. 416

His father's line was to become the victim of this wicked demon of a king, like water of that kind of flame called the submarine fire. 417

Those, who suffered knocks and blows on their hair and skulls, who were proficient in jumping and making a musical sound with the nose and the instruments, became the principal ministers of state at his court. 418

Those shameless ministers, acting as strolling players, amused him, who at different times were themselves to become the rulers of the land. 419

Dearer than all was Parvagupta to him, who performed a dance in the hall of audience after removing the loin-cloth. 420

Since the upheaval of the Tantrin seeing kings, who were like worms, Parvagupta had at all times been striving for the acquisition of the throne. 421

At this time aspiring to the throne, he had secretly formed an alliance with the five principal ministers, who had sworn an oath by libation, Bhūbhaṭa and others. 422

Bhūbhaṭa, Sarvaṭa, Choja, Kumuda, and Amṛtākara, who had taken the oath by libation, made a pact with Parvagupta. 423

Rakka the Brahman, renowned for valour, who resided in the house of the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma, had found the goddess Śrī in the Gavākṣā lake. 424

While he was a mere foot soldier, his heroism in the battle had been observed by the king and this man of enormous belly and body was raised to the office of principal minister. 425

Such as he had beheld the goddess Śrī in the lake like that, she was fashioned by him under the appellation of Rakka Jayā Devī. 426

Instigated by the astute Parvagupta, who by making the realm free from thorns was planning to sieze it, the king carried out the annihilation of his family. 427

Plundered by him of everything, Pārtha with his wife resided in the Śrī Jayendra Vihāra where the Śramaṇas gave him food. 428

The infant brothers, Śaṁkaravarman and others, whom exit was forbidden and who resided there, the king forced them to pass out of life from lack of food. 429

Eager to kill his father, he bestowed head dresses on ministers, who gave their consent but put in fetters the others. 430

On one occasion the ministers, the feudatories, the Tantrin, government officials, and soldiers having received his order surrounded Pārtha at night. 431

The king's favourites, Kumuda and others, after assaulting his wife in faded and worn out raiment, who had barred the passage and to whom her little weeping boys had clung like calves, pulled him by the hair with his limbs torn by the gravel and dragged him out of his room like a dead bullock from the cattle-pen; and like Caṇḍālas they killed him, who was unarmed and weak from starvation, weeping and nude. 432–434

On receiving the news of his father's death, the king's curiosity was aroused and at day-break accompanied by the ministers, he then went and saw him with delight. 435

430. This is an interesting illustration of the limitation on the powers of the king. Consent of the members of council on such occasions seems to have been necessary, vide VII. 1042–43 but the king was apparently not bound to take their advice.

"Here on this limb this stroke is the one dealt by me"—thus spoke the king's men before him and extolled their own bravery. 436

After being slighted and received in favour by the king, at this time, Parvagupta eager to propitiate him urged his son named Devagupta. 437

At the body of the murdered Pārtha he, thereupon, threw his knife whereby delighted the king indulged in laughter for a long time. 438

The country which had been plundered by the Ḍāmaras at the death of Cakravarman was, by the raising to power of the villainous government officials, further punished by him. 439

Instigated by wicked advisers, he practised the use of arms splitting with throws of daggers, the hollow between the breasts of naked women. 440

He ripped open the abdomen of pregnant women in order to see the foetus and as an endurance test the bodies, too, of labourers. 441

Either because of their greed for gifts or from terror of death, the Brahmans accepted Agrahāras even from such a vile king. 442

Attacked by the disease of tuberculosis befitting his brutal sins, the king suffered endless torture. 443

At his agony of this kind not only the subjects but even his fourteen queens of the Pure Interior rejoiced. 444

4015 L.E. (939 A.C.) Śūravarman

When the parricide was about to go to hell, fearing Kamalavardhana, the commander-in-chief, who was in Maḍavarājya, who had been able to root out the Ḍāmaras and with whom he was at enmity, he placed on the royal throne the child named Śūravarman, who had been imported from somewhere by the maids of the Pure Interior and falsely made known as having been begotten by the king, and delivered him into the hands of the grandees, the ministers, the Ekaṅgas and the Tantrin. This miscreant of a king, in Āṣāḍha of the year fifteen, through the subject's merits, went to perdition. 445-448

445. The bringing in of a spurious child to be proclaimed as heir to the throne appears to have been a common practice; see also VII. 427, 434, 438. Those who have experience of Indian States will find these verses of some interest.

The patricide's son, the king who was a minor, left the city on the bright seventh of Āṣāḍha to visit the sun-god Jayasvāmin. 449

New and radiant was the royal Lakṣmī of the boy-king; the sword was the lovely braid of her hair and the parasol and the yak-tail were her gay laughter. 450

In the meanwhile, having heard the reports of spies who had arrived in haste, Kamalavardhana, together with the feudatories, reached the outskirts of the city. 451

As he was making his entry into Śrīnagara, tired, together with his troops, he was held up by Ekāṅgas, Tantrin, tributary chiefs and Syālahāraka horsemen. 452

He had come fighting through the hostile Ḍāmara forces and even though exhausted he, in the pride of valour, defeated the enemy's forces. 453

Dispersing a thousand horsemen with meagre cavalry, he then entered the royal palace, unopposed, in an instant. 454

449. The worship of the sun dates from the Vedic period. In Kaśmīr its revival may have been due to Iranian influence. Sun-worship was perhaps at its height at the time of the founding of the Sun-temple of Mārtaṇḍa and the devotion of king Kalaśa to the sun, although he professed the established religion of Kaśmīr, shows that it had a hold on the popular mind. Sun-worship continued in Kaśmīr long after the people were converted to Islam. Mirza Haidar (Doghlāt), the Kaśmīrī historian, in his work, the *Kitab-i-Rashdīi* describes the various heretical sects such as the Nurbakshi. He adds: "Before these people, there lived in Kashmir, a sect of Sun-worshippers who were called Shammāssīn. Their creed was that the sun's light owed its existence to their purity of faith, and that they themselves existed through the light of the sun, and that if they rendered their faith impure, the sun would cease to be. On the other hand, if the sun ceased to shine they would not live; thus they owed their existence to the sun and without them it could not endure. When the sun is present, that is, in the day-time they are bound to act virtuously, as he sees their actions, but when it is night and the sun neither sees them nor has knowledge of what they do, their moral responsibility for their deeds ceases. This sect called themselves Shamsu'ddin (Sun of Religion) pretending to receive the delivery of the title from heaven. The Kashmiris abbreviated it into Shammāsi" (*Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett's translation Vol. II, p. 353 Note).

At Multān (Sk. Mūlasthāna) there was a temple of the Sun believed to have been founded by the Persians which survived until it was destroyed in the reign of Aurangzeb. Alberuni tells us that the Brahmans who worshipped there, were known as "Maga, i.e., the Magians." The coins of Śāhityagin, discovered in the South-East of Kabul, Multan and Baluchistan suggest that the Western Turks and not the Persians were responsible for spreading sun-worship, the religion of Iran, just as a few centuries later their descendants spread the religion of Arabia in the same region.

Hearing that he had gained victory, the infant king was deserted by the troops, who fled and his mother took him away somewhere. 455

Deluded by Karma or guided by bad advisers, the simple Kamalavardhana did not mount the lion-throne. 456

At the time he went to his own house and the next day, aspiring to the throne, he mustered all the Brahmans and not knowing diplomacy canvassed them. 457

"Make some one who is grown up, capable, and born in our own country the king"—"Me only they will appoint on account of my ability" thus the fool had been thinking. 458

Encountering alone a young woman, who has been difficult to meet, in private and flushed with drink, he who being inexperienced does not have the joy of love with her and prays for favours the next day through a procuress and he, who having by his dash gained glory gives it up at the moment and wooes through diplomacy the next day—who else is to be pitied more than these two? 459-460

Thus the line of Utpala having been cut out, the Brahmans, comparable to hornless oxen, wearing coarse woollen cloaks foregathered in the Gokula. 461

For a long time waxed the proposal, for the disposal of the throne, of those whose beards were singed by smoke and who desired to appoint different persons as kings. 462

Owing to the diversity of opinion among them, no one was sprinkled save only their own beards with a lot of their own spittle ejected during their speeches. 463

When the simple Kamalavardhana arrived to remind the Brahmans, seeking some one worthy of the throne, about himself, they kept him off by throwing bricks. 464

For five or six days the Brahmans continued in session, meanwhile resonant with the clamour of drums, cymbals and gongs and like musical instruments, splendid with flying pennons, banners and

461. The name of the locality where the Brahmans had assembled to elect a king was Gokula; the place is mentioned again in VIII. 900 as the spot where a hunger-strike was organised against Bhikṣācara by the members of the Temple Purohita Association and K. must have been an eye-witness of this event. The Brahmans are described as bulls without horns because Gokula literally means a cattle-pen which gives K. an opportunity for a gibe against the stupid Brahman electors.

parasols and stalls arranged in palanquins all the members of the priests' corporation foregathered in that place in force. 465-466

As if his wife had become a courtesan, upon seeing the royal fortune under the power of others, Kamalavardhana began to grieve. 467

Then, the parricide's wife praying for the crown for her spurious son, sent the royal pages to the hunger-strikers. 468

In the village of Piśācakapura a householder named Vīradeva had a son named Kāmadeva, learned in letters, ornate with moral character and qualifications such as ceremonial oblations and the like, he had secured in the house of Meruvardhana the position of a tutor for the children and, in due course, had become the official in charge of the treasury. His son, Prabhākaradeva, had, in course of time, obtained the office of treasurer of king Śaṁkaravarman; he, too, had been a secret lover of Sugandhā. Whether through the jealousy of Lakṣmī for Sarasvatī or whether through disruption in the country his son, a man of learning, named Yaśaskara, reduced to exceeding destitution had gone to other lands with a friend named Phalgunaka. Jubilant through the auspicious dreams, he had seen and the benediction of the Pīṭhadevī, at this juncture, full of enthusiasm, he had returned to his own land. By the emissaries of the parricide's wife he was taken up, en route, because of his eloquence to bring the Brahmans to their senses and was ushered before them. 469-475

Upon sighting him the Brahmans, forthwith, reached unanimity by the will of Providence; "this is the only man who should be king" thus they lifted up the voice high in a resounding note. 476

Yaśaskara

Thereupon Yaśaskara, who was of mature ability to support the earth, was approached and immediately sprinkled with water by the Brahmans like a mountain by the clouds. 477

469. The poets have loved to describe Lakṣmī or Fortuna and Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, as antagonists. In the *Raghuvaṁśa* there is a charming description of a Svayaṁvara where the princess Indumatī was to choose her bridegroom. Her Maid of Honour introduced, according to custom, the various ruling princes who had come as suitors in appropriate language. Eventually the princess approaches Aja in whom the Maid finds that Lakṣmī as well as Sarasvatī, who are 'temperamentally antagonistic,' had both taken refuge (Nisargabhinnāspadam ekasaṁsthaṁ yasmin dvayaṁ śrīśca sarasvatī ca) and she advises the princess to do likewise by choosing him as her lover.

Kāmadeva is described as a soldier; see Taraṅga VIII. 256. If he was not a Brahman these verses would show that Kṣatriyas, too, were educated and became tutors in those days.

A forest of bamboos is burnt down by a conflagration originating in their mighty mutual conflit, the pulling out of their roots is completed by water, the outpouring from the clouds; a tree is uprooted by the force of a tornado and brought down from somewhere; to guide him into stable growth in the deep gorge of a mountain, what strands have not been gathered by the Creator? 478

If at the instigation of his subordinates the son of Pārtha had not consumed his own family and if Kamalavardhana had not rooted out his son, then how could king Yaśaskara who was not born in a high family, a pauper wandering on the earth, have acquired sovereign power? 479-480

Afoot he had been seen going about by folk that instant a figure like the rest of the people; to behold him charming in his status as sovereign, the royal highway blossomed with the lotus-like eyes of women. 481

As he proceeded to the royal residence King Yaśaskara who listened, in the midst of the blessings of the gazelle-eyed women in the city, also to the words which they desired to say, with calm and lowered eyes, he who had shut out conceit was recognized by the prescient as the one, who had girded up his loins to foster the subjects. 482

Thus with a gleaming white parasol resembling the solar luminary and illumined by a medley of Ārātrika in a mass of silver vessels, the moon on earth arrived at the royal palace which was resonant with the blessings and auspicious chants of women. 483

[Thus the Fifth Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the composition of Kalhaṇa, son of the noble Lord Caṇpaka, the great Kaśmīrī minister.]

"It is not the glory resulting from the vow of subsistence on leaves and air—look! here are the bull and the serpent, who have now been put outside, whose sole subsistence had been that; through love alone has she attained to the half of the Lord of the moving and the moveless" —in this wise as she hears from the mouths of the consorts of the gods her own praises, sweet to the ear, may Aparṇā protect us. 1

Yaśaskara (939-948 A.C.)

As he desired that none should over-step the limits Yaśaskara, having crossed the countryard, ordered the ushers to keep the Brahmans at a distance. 2

But when the Brahmans were being intimidated by the stewards, the king spoke to them with hands folded hollow, "You have conferred the crown on us; you are to be honoured by us like the gods". 3

"Since you will be elated with pride that you have gifted away a kingdom, you should not, except during hours of business, come near us" 4

On hearing this, all the people considered him to be inaccessible and forgot the levity bred by close association with him. 5

The forms of administration of former kings, which had fallen into abeyance, he restored through the power of his intellect as a good poet revives the styles of former poets. 6

The land became so free from robbers that shop-doors were kept open at night in the commercial quarters and the high roads became safe for travellers. 7

As the king devoted himself to superintendence, the subordinate officials who used to purloin everything had now no other occupation barring the supervision of agriculture. 8

The peasants solely devoted to cultivation did not see the king's palace and the Brahmans absorbed in their own studies had not to bear arms. 9

1. See Taraṅga I. 1.n. Aparṇā=Pārvatī

The Brahman Gurus did not drink wine while reciting the Sāma Veda and the anchorites did not take wives, children, cattle and corn. 10

Nor did the stupid Gurus, who perform sacrifices with fish and cakes, criticize in works of their own composition systems of philosophy and scriptural doctrines. 11

Nor were there to be seen matrons posing as divinities at Gurudīkṣā bringing their chastity, dignity, and their husbands into contempt by the shaking of their heads. 12

Astrologer, physician, councillor, Guru, minister, ambassador, judge or clerk—none in this era was deficient in learning. 13

The officials in charge of hunger-strikes having reported that a certain man had sat down for a hunger-strike, the king had him brought before himself and he said: 14

"I was at one time a wealthy resident here, Sire! by degrees I became indigent through a fortuitous coincidence." 15

"Being harassed by creditors because of my increasing liabilities, I resolved to settle my debts and travel abroad." 16

10. The word Guru in the sense of Purohita is still in use amongst Kaśmīrī Pandits in Kaśmīr as well as in the plains of India. It appears from this verse that, during the reign of the Brahman king Yaśaskara the use of wine by Brahman priests during ritual was discontinued; apparently before this period it was in vogue. See VIII. 1863 n.

11-12. In these verses K. comments satirically on the practice prevailing in Kaśmīr of writing theses to support erroneous views. Gurudīkṣā is a Tantric ceremony for the initiation of a Guru or religious preceptor. Women, equally with men, could become Gurus and as such received worship from their disciples who coupled their names with that of the deity. The shaking of the head is still commonly practised in the villages. The word for this in the different provinces being a corruption of the Saṁskṛta Dhunana which occurs in the text.

14. Prāyopaveśa is literally sitting down to observe a solemn fast. Fasting oneself to death at the door of another to enforce compliance with demand is known in Hindi as sitting 'dharnā.' In modern parlance this is a hunger-strike. It would seem that hunger-strikes were so common that officials had to be specially appointed to deal with them.

Verses 14-41 deal with an appeal heard by the king in person. These verses illustrating the judicial system of that period have been carefully rendered—the translation being literal. Appellate courts heard appeals from the court of first instance while the king—the fountain of justice—was the final court of appeal. Sitting in person in judicial matters the king was, as in executive matters, assisted by a council. This procedure obtained in India from remote antiquity as is proved by Cāṇakya's famous work—on political science—the *Arthaśāstra*. These verses also show the developed system of book-keeping and accounts which has been handed down to our own times from the remote past.

"Then, having sold everything while liquidating my liabilities, I sold my own house to a wealthy merchant." 17

"Having in mind my wife to whom maintenance was due, a well with steps, however, was alone excepted from the sale of the large premises at the time." 18

"So that she might maintain herself on the rent paid by the gardeners who, in summer, keep flowers, Tāmbūlī leaves and the like in that cool place." 19

"Then, having wandered in foreign parts and made a little fortune after twenty years, I returned to this land of my birth." 20

"Searching for my wife, I then discovered that virtuous woman with her body which had lost colour living as a maid servant in other people's houses." 21

"When I, with grief, asked her, 'How camest thou to be reduced to such a pittance although I had made provision for thee?' She related her tale." 22

"When I went to the well after you had gone abroad, I was prevented by that merchant who had me beaten with cudgels." 23

"Save that what other means of livelihood did I have? So saying she fell silent; on hearing this I was submerged in the current of sorrow and rage." 24

19. The leaf of the Piper Betel is the Tāmbūla of the text. Betel is derived from the Portuguese betle, a corruption of the Malayalam Viṭṭila=a leaf. The modern word Pān is from Saṁskṛta Parṇa=leaf (See VII. 945). Pān-Supāri offered to visitors during a friendly visit or at the termination of an official interview or entertainment is an ancient Indian institution. The Mughal emperors adopted this ceremonial together with the complete set of forms and ceremonies of pomp and circumstance of ancient India—such as the parasol, the yak-tails, the chamberlain, the ushers, the court etiquette, the elephant, the use of the water of the Gaṅgā and the weighing against gold etc. which Bernier who observed them at the court of Delhi has described to us in detail. Abu-I-Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* gives us an account of the private and public life of Akbar who had adopted the etiquette and conventions of the old Āryan and Irānian monarchy.

The Tāmbūla was then as now imported into Kaśmīr and must have been very expensive. This would explain how the petitioner hoped to provide an adequate sum for his wife's maintenance. Vide Taraṅga VII. 190-195.

There was an officer in charge of the betel-box and a servant who carried the gold box and offered it whenever required. Tāmbūlin was the servant who prepared the leaf with lime, catechu, nut and other ingredients; and thus the modern keeper of the Pān shop is called a Tamoli in Northern India. For other references to Tāmbūla see VIII. 194, 1947, 2054, 2123, 2661.

"I commenced a hunger-strike after the different judges, at each stage, had allowed the victory to the defendant and I had, somehow, been defeated." 25

"I am foolish and I am not acquainted with the law but never did I sell the well and for that claim this life is at stake." 26

"Thus having lost my property, I am to die at your Majesty's door for certain; if you are afraid of sin then you should judicially determine the point of substance in person." 27

The king, when thus petitioned by him, having held court by summoning all the judges himself took up the consideration of the real matter in dispute. 28

The judges submitted to the king, "On several occasions this man's claim has been considered and dismissed; being fraudulent he has no respect for the law; he should be punished as a forger of document in writing." 29

"The house is sold together with the well with the steps." Such were the words as they stood in the sale-deed which the king himself now read. 30

Then, although the members of the court explained: "This is quite clear", the inmost heart of the king declared only for the victory of the plaintiff. 31

After deliberating as it were for a while, the king continued to amuse for some time with various amazing anecdotes the members of the court. 32

In the midst of the conversation, from every one he took jewels to examine them and laughingly took from the hand of the defendant his ring. 33

Having asked every one with a smile to remain as they were, he went out on the excuse of washing his feet. 34

From there he despatched to the house of the merchant a servant having delivered the ring to him for recognition and gave him an oral message. 35

The man with the ring demanded from the chief accountant of the merchant the ledger of the year in which the sale-deed was executed. 36

"It is required by the merchant for the judicial decision to-day." On hearing this the chief accountant delivered it and retained the ring. 37

In it the king read in the item of expenditure that ten hundred Dīnnāras had been paid to the writer of the instrument. 38

From the payment of this large sum to him who deserved only a moderate fee, the king concluded that he was made by the merchant to write sa instead of ra. 39

Then having shown this round in the council, he had the writer summoned and by questioning him after promising a pardon, he led the members of the council to a sense of conviction. 40

At the request of the members of the court, the king delivered the house to the plaintiff together with the subject matter of the suit and the defendant was ordered to be expelled from the country. 41

On one occasion, when the king had finished his day's work and towards the end of the day was about to take his food the usher, nervous owing to the lateness of the hour, announced. 42

"His Majesty has finished his work and thou wilst have an opportunity for thy petition to-morrow." though thus informed a Brahman, prepared to renounce life, is standing outside for an audience. 43

The king having stopped the cook the Brahman, for whose admission the order had been given, entered and, with poignant grief, spoke thus: 44

"A hundred gold coins, which I had earned by wandering in other lands, I brought with me on hearing of its good government to my own country when I returned." 45

"Under your Majesty's rule the highway being free from robbers I entered the country in comfort and it was at Lavanotsa that being tired, towards evening, I made a halt." 46

"Weary, after having journeyed a long way, and fearing no danger, at the foot of a tree in a garden close to the road there, I passed the night." 47

"As I was about to get up the money fastened in a purse fell into the water-wheel of a well which was close by but was unnoticed owing to the twining creepers." 48

42. Verses 42–56 are an illustration of the king's judgment in the case submitted by another hunger-striker. It is interesting to note that in ancient Rome the words of a stipulation (stipulatio) were strictly construed and the same, no doubt, was the view of the judges under king Yaśaskara.

48. Araghaṭṭa=See I. 284n. and VIII. 2967.

"It being difficult to descend I lamented for a long time the loss of everything I had; I was about to renounce the body preferring that to complete destitution, but was prevented by the people." 49

"Thereupon an energetic man willing to take the risk said to me, "If I can restore the money to thee what wilst thou give me?" 50

"To him replied: "Helpless as I am how can I pose as the owner of that sum—You may give me out of that money anything that pleases you." 51

"When after descending he had come up, out of the coins he gave me a couple while he boldly retained ninety-eight for himself." 52

"Agreement must be interpreted according to the stipulation while Yaśaskara is king"—thus upon my protesting against this distribution, the people argued and I was flouted by them." 53

"I, who have been deprived of livelihood by fraud on account of the sincerity of a polite expression, shall give up my life at your door since you have been a mal-administrator." 54

When asked by the king for the name and status of that man, he then replied thus: "By his face only is he known to me." 55

"In the morning I shall help in securing what is desired" in this wise the king having promised induced him with difficulty to partake of food by his own side. 56

Then, on the following day, he pointed out to the king that man standing among the inhabitants of Lavaṇotsa who had been summoned by messengers. 57

On being questioned by the king he related everything exactly as it was stated by the Brahman, while maintaining that the transaction was founded on the stipulation. 58

Unable to see the difference between the controlling effect of the true terms of the agreement and the facts as they happened, those whose wits were swayed by tribulation looked down at the ground. 59

Then the king having taken his seat in the court declared that out of the coins the Brahman was entitled to ninety-eight while the other to a couple. 60

56. The king invites the Brahman to partake of food by his own side since he was himself a Kaśmīrī Brahman. See the king's ancestry described in V. 469-475.

To those who asked questions, he announced, "Difficult to conceive is the course of the high character of justice when it is rushing to destroy injustice which is rampant." 61

"As in the evening by entering the fire and the watery orb of the moon with his own lustre which the sun shares with the lamps and the moonlight, and setting them up he destroys the growing darkness; so, too, justice, which has no other task removes injustice in the same manner." 62-63

"Though difficult to perceive, justice remains ever close to injustice and attacks it swiftly as fire attacks fuel wood." 64

"What your Honour gives let that be given" or such other phrase would have been meet to let fall; "As it pleases you" etc. escaped him at that time." 65

"What pleased the greedy man was ninety-eight coins which he did not give him; two out of the coins which he did not desire he gave up." 66

Thus by a close scrutiny of this and other cases he who knew how to distinguish between justice and injustice, being devoted to supervising the administration, ushered the dawn of the Kṛta Yuga. 67

In this manner while he was guiding the people he became an object of ridicule, through his imprudent actions, just as a doctor, who prescribes wholesome diet for another, himself eats without prudence. 68

Although he was a scholar versed in the Vedas and accustomed to the use of earth and water for purification, he did not get rid of those servants, who had partaken of the food-remnants of the Ḍombas, from his side. 69

He made a pile of money through four prefects of the city who had, each in turn, amassed wealth following in the trail of one another. 70

62. The sun is supposed to infuse its own light into lamps. Fire is sacred on earth from very ancient times. Nothing is known as to the origin of the use of fire though the difficulty of procuring it in early times is shown by the care with which it was tended in early civilized communities in Rome, Persia and India.

70. Nagarādhikārin="officer in charge of Śrīnagara".

The infantry met their death through the sovereign though he was true to his word and although he had laid his sword before the pedestal of Srī Rāmeśvara. 71

When his eldest brother died, he long rejoiced in such a manner that the quickwitted saw in it the administration of a poison of his own invention. 72

Raised by the king to the rank of a provincial governor, when a Velāvitta began to make love to the queens, he closed his eyes in the manner of the elephant. 73

Through passion, a courtesan of the name of Lallā was raised over the heads of all his beloved women of the Pure Interior; she reduced him to helplessness. 74

As if because of lack of room in the hearts of women for chaste actions, the Creator has placed outside the two beautifully fashioned breasts. 75

Knowing that women who are outwardly pure have the indentical way of life whether attached to the highest or the lowest, the Creator has assigned to them the condition of the female. 76

Although petted by the king, this Lallā with the lovely eyes, too, went out during the nights for rendezvous with a Caṇḍāla night-watchman. 77

Something attractive there must have been in that Caṇḍāla youth that even the king's consort, losing control through his power, fell for him. 78

Perchance she was born in a Caṇḍāla family or he had knowledge of witchcraft; otherwise how could there have been an incredible liaison of that kind? 79

In what manner he came to form the liaison with her as to this the particulars were not revealed anywhere. 80

Solely by observing the exchange of their glances did the love

71. The laying down of the sword as an indication of peace was part of a solemn ceremony.

73. Velāvitta=the augur or diviner royal in the service of the king.

Gajanimīlikā=literally "closing the eye in the manner of the elephant;" onnivance.

Maṇḍaleśa is the ruler of a Maṇḍala or province and means governor. In this sense it is repeatedly used in Taraṅgas VII and VIII.

75. Suvṛtta—there is a pun on the word which means "good conduct" as well as "well shaped" when applied to breasts.

affair of those two sinners soon become apparent to an official named Hāḍi. 81

Then having seen the truth of this affair through his spies, the king wore himself out by the observance of atonement and took to the skin of the black buck. 82

Although enraged, he did not kill her being infatuated with love and for this very reason fell a prey to disquietude through the strictures of the censorious. 83

Through association with his followers, who had partaken of the food-remnants of the Ḍombas, uncleanness came over Yaśaskara just as from the touch of a leper befalls the affliction of leprosy. 84

"While a commoner as a result of some such pious acts in other existences sovereignty has been secured by me"—reflecting in this wise this king who longed for sovereignty in future births made, as a device, the gift of the insignia of royalty, without any risk, to a Brahman. 85-86

The king, who loved to make endowments, built a monastery on land inherited from his ancestors for students from the Āryadeśa in quest of learning. 87

Upon the abbot of the monastery, the king conferred privileges of royalty, gay with the parasol and the yak-tail, barring the mint and the Pure Interior. 88

On the strand of the Vitastā, the king made a gift to the Brahmans of fifty-five Agrahāras equipped with all sorts of material resources. 89

Then suffering from the disease of dropsy, knowing that his son of the name of of Saṁgrāmadeva was not begotten by himself, he had him set aside, and entrusting Varṇaṭa to the ministers, Ekāṅgas and the grandees, he had him annointed king who was the son of his grand-uncle Rāmadeva. 90-91

When the infant, whom it was possible to remove from the throne, was not crowned king, those who had been longing to seize the government became hopeless. 92

88. The insignia of royalty included the white parasol and the chowry or yak-tail. Chowry is derived from the Saṁskṛta camara, the name of the Tibetan yak whose tail forms part of regalia. Compare the Saṁskṛta saying, keśeṣu camaraṁ hanti (they kill the camara for the tail). The yak-tails were used as fly-flappers or mounted with silver in the hands of running foot-men etc. as marks of dignity. The minting of coin and the Pure Interior were royal prerogatives which vested in the king only.

That diplomatic scheme of Parvagupta, which had ripened in time and was about to rise as a new dawn, appeared on that day as if it were at the breaking point. 93

Although he who had bestowed the crown was in the palace and was about to die, Varṇaṭa did not, even by way of asking for news of his health, visit him. 94

Thereupon filled with penitence, the king was distressed and was urged to confer the crown upon Saṁgrāmadeva by the ministers who gave him assurance. 95

By order of the king, Varṇaṭa who had been imprisoned for a night was expelled at day-break from the hall of the eight columns which had been barred from outside. 96

Either from terror or waking the bowels of his servants having moved, the hall of audience was reduced to the condition of a latrine. 97

He who for one day had been the king's servant of the name of Devaprasāda who was a scion of royalty, through shame, on that occasion laid his sword in the temple of Vijayeśvara. 98

When Saṁgrāmdeva had been crowned, king Yaśaskara, whose sufferings had become acute, left the palace and went to a monastery built by himself to prepare for death. 99

The king, to whom the royal servants had solemnly promised to shave their heads and mustaches, to give up wearing the turban, to wear the ochre-brown colour for mourning, and had vowed to lay down the sword as a demonstration of their gratitude was, when his end became certain, deserted even while yet alive. 100–101

With two thousand five hundred gold pieces fastened to the hem of his garment, the king had left his own palace in a dying condition; the five ministers Parvagupta and others robbed him of this, which was exclusively his own private property, while he was yet alive and distributed it among themselves in his presence. 102–103

102–103. The custom of proceeding during an illness to a sanctuary to die still survives in parts of India. In Nepal the custom of going to the sanctuary of Paśupati is still prevalent. The Tīrtha or sanctuary was also an asylum in old Kaśmīr and the privilege of the sanctuary which offered security to one who had sought shelter there and immunity from attack, even when royal displeasure was incurred, was similar to that which prevailed amongst the Byzantine Greeks. See Taraṅga VII.708; VIII.2344, 3295.

While the king, whose inside was consumed by disease, lay writhing in bed in blinding darkness in the interior of a hut in the courtyard of the monastery, he saw before him, not having lost consciousness, his servants bent on treachery and when for two or three days more life did not leave him the friends, relatives, servants and Velāvitta, who were in a hurry and who desired to seize the government, killed him by administering poison. 104-106

From among the king's wives, the saintly queen Trailokyadevī was the sole person who followed her husband in death as its own light follows the luminary. 107

The king had girded up his loins for the supervision of the caste system. A Brahman anchorite of the name of Cakrabhānu in Cakramelaka had committed an atrocious act which having come to the notice of the king, who had declared himself subservient to the law, he was punished with the mark of the dog's foot being branded on the forehead. His maternal uncle Vīranātha, the king's own minister for peace and war, who was an expert in Yoga, being enraged had, it is said, taken revenge. By the Gurus, who advertised the power of former preceptors in order to arrogate importance to themselves, it has been confidently asserted that the tradition that he died after seven days is well established. How can this find acceptance since he had long been smitten with the malady? 108-112

If it be said that this thing happened in the midst of the very ailment, the curse of Varṇaṭa and others might as well in that case have been the cause. 113

4024 L.E. 948 A.C. Having enjoyed sovereignty for nine years, in the year twenty-four in the month of Bhādrapada on the third of the dark half he perished. 114

Then placing the infant's guardian, the grandmother, on the royal throne Parvagupta wielded power with the five ministers, Bhūbhaṭa and others. 115

In course of time having killed the grandmother and the others, he thus became powerful by aggrandisement and the sole master in the royal residence. 116

109. Branding with the mark of the dog's foot was an ancient punishment. See Manusmṛti IX.237.

As he sparkled with his activities which were a combination of kingship and ministerial duties, he thus created the mixed impression that he was the Rajah as well as the Rājānaka. 117

Saṁgrāmadeva (948-949 A.C)

As he himself served the boy-king by handing him food and the like, to the simple-minded Parvagupta appeared remote from treachery. 118

Those, whom Yaśaskara had appointed to positions of honour, thinking that they would timidly avoid treason, were the very persons who plotted to root out his son. 119

To his beard which was tawny like the hair of the camel and which flourished like lawn, Parvagupta, as if he were king, applied the brilliant emollient of saffron. 120

Unable openly to uproot the king owing to the fear of conflict with the Ekāṅgas, for the destruction of the infant he made use of the process of sorcery. 121

"On the first of Caitra the crown will justly belong to you and your line, but if you act otherwise your family and life will soon be destroyed." 122

Having thus hearkened during the night to a spirit's voice and pondering over the futility of witchcraft he was the more perturbed. Fear of the Ekāṅgas, who had become alienated from him, had made him distraught and he so writhed in anxiety with which his mind was obsessed day and night that, on a day when popular traffic had ceased owing to heavy snowfall, he suddenly mobilized the forces and invested the palace. 123-125

Parvagupta (949-950 A.C.) 4024 L.E. 949 A.C.

After killing the loyal minister Rāmavardhana, who opposed him with his son named Buddha, in battle, Parvagupta tied the garland of flowers, brought as a present by the Velāvitta of his father, round the neck and dragged down Saṁgrāmadeva, the Crooked-foot, from the royal throne. He then assassinated him in another apartment and having had him thrown in the Vitastā, with a stone fastened to the neck, at night, in the year twenty-four on the dark tenth of Phālguna, that sinner, with sword and armour, took his seat on the royal throne. 126-129

117. Rājānaka = a title of high honor in Kaśmīr which literally means "nearly a king". It is from Rājānaka that the family name of Rāzdān amongst the Kaśmīrī Brahmans is derived. This title was continued under Mahomadan rule and was conferred on Mahomadan officers as is proved by the later chronicles.

He who was born in Pārevišoka, the son of Saṁgrāmagupta, who was the son of a clerk named Abhinava, then became king. 130

Those few who formerly had vowed to make a stand against him —all of them, being afraid of him, the very next morning made their submission. 131

Ruling Chiefs, Ekāṅgas, ministers, civil servants and Tantrin whose conduct was perfidious, through fear of him, showed unity in treason. 132

A certain Ekāṅga named Madanāditya, born in the family of Suyya during his levy, through heedlessness, passed wind. 133

The enraged king had his clothes taken off and humiliated him; after cutting off his hair and beard, he became an ascetic. 134

Even in that plight he had a wife and sons and to this day persons born in that family are dwelling in Tripureśvara. 135

As king Parvagupta began to make a pile of treasure, the officials, the pestilence of the people, were once more urged to be energetic. 136

Near the site of the Skandabhavana Vihāra, even he built the temple of Parvagupteśvara with his riches, the wages of sin. 137

The stigma on king Yaśaskara's Pure Interior was removed by one beautiful royal lady of chaste character who was like the white Pārvatī. 138

Inasmuch as Parvagupta, in whom love had burgeoned since long and who had been yearing for union with her, was, by a ruse, rightly deceived by that saintly lady. 139

"When this temple of Yaśaskarasvāmin which has been left half completed by my deceased husband is fully executed, I shall be absolved from my vow, and I shall without fail, accord your desire;" thus was he wheedled and addressed by that beautiful-browed lady. 140–141

Then waxing with pride, in a very few days, the temple was completed by the king. 142

That saintly consort of the king in the blazing sacrificial fire which was saturated with melted butter, at the finale of the oblations, suddenly offered her body. 143

133. Amongst the Rajputs and the military class generally to pass wind is condemned as a very serious lack of good manners. The use of opium was common amongst the Rajputs for the prevention of such indiscretion.

On her who had cast away her life fell magnificent showers of flowers, and on him, who had lusted after her, words loud-mouthed in obscenity. 144

Worn out by a life of prolonged adventures, campaigns, worries and cares Parvagupta became a pilgrim on the road to the disease of dropsy. 145

After the efforts made to control physical ailments and mental worries—even after having realised the transient nature of existence, fools do not yet give up ambition being seduced by the attractions of treacherous fortune. 146

He lived in apprehension having been reduced to such a state; yet through some good acts of a former existence which were potent, he ended his life in the sanctuary of Sureśvarī. 147

In the year twenty-six, on the thirteenth day of the bright Āṣāḍha, this king suffered separation from the kingdom which he had acquired by treason. 148

4026 L.E. (950 A.C.)

If death were not seen to presage an agonizing and evil fruit in the superphysical existence of the next world who, indeed, would not, by evil deeds, strive to quickly acquire material prosperity? 149

Then his son of the name of Kṣemagupta became king, in whom the fever of wealth and youth was heightened by the drinking of spirituous liquor. 150

Kṣemagupta (950–958 A.C.)

This king of naturally malignant temperament became, through his association with wicked men, like the period of the dark nights with the grim obscurity of the clouds, still more frightful. 151

With raiment and trinkets like his own, a hundred villainous sycophants led by Phalguṇa attended upon that king. 152

Though an addict of the vices of dice, liquor and women and although he was robbed by the sycophants, still this king was not boycotted by fortune. 153

144. Koṭā, the last Hindu queen of Kaśmīr (1337–38 A.C.), was treacherously deprived of her throne by the Pañjābī adventurer Shah Mir who had risen to power as a servant of the state. When finally besieged at Andarkot by the usurper her counsellors, who were in Shah Mir's pay, induced the queen to surrender. According to *Ferishta* Shah Mir agreed to share the throne with her as his queen but in the bridal chamber the traitor found that Koṭā had stabbed herself with a dagger!

When even for just one day Fortune falls in love with the lotus which is red, a lover of honey, has seeds attached to it, and which forms friendship with the honey-sipping bees which rob it of the essence of its calyx, how should a king who is passionate, lover of wine, addicted to dice and who forms friendship with winebibbers not prove of interest to her?

The sycophants, Vāmana and other sons of Jiṣṇu, possessed his 154
heart and created in him impure tastes like those of a demon.

Adept in ridiculing others, delighting in love affairs with the wives 155
of others, and with his mind controlled by others, the king was engrossed in a series of mischievous acts.

Spitting on the beards of the venerable, the king hurled abuses into 156
their ears and blows on their skulls.

Women by friction with the hips, hunters by wandering in the 157
forests, and sycophants by obscene remarks endeared themselves to him.

Replete with harlots, knaves, imbeciles and corruptors of boys, 158
the king's assembly was not fit to gain admission for the high-minded.

The sons of Jiṣṇu, the knaves, did they not make the king Kṣema- 159
gupta dance like a puppet on the apparatus, pulled with strings, by the strolling players?

"You are the rainer of armlets"—thus having given the epithet they 160
repeatedly secured the satisfaction of a shower of armlets for their own arms.

By parading the faults of the innocent, by exhibiting novel objects, 161
and by indulging in blows to the proud they gained the favour of the king.

Having placed before him their own wives with the breasts and 162
the interior of the loins visible, they plundered at dice the passionate king whom they invited to their houses.

Vying with one another to secure him uninterrupted pleasures 163
of sexual intercourse, he was urged in this wise: "After enjoying

154. This is not an easy verse to translate owing to the double meanings of Rāga, Rāgī, Madhupraṇayavān and Vihitākṣasaktiḥ. There is a pun on these words which apply as translated equally to the lotus and the king.

161. Kaṅkaṇavarṣa is the nickname in the text. For the love of the Kaśmīrīs for nicknames see I.350; V.253; VI.177; VII.281; VIII.1445.

these ladies may your Highness say if they could be improved upon," and the shameless ministers induced him to enjoy their own wives and asked him at the end of the sexual intercourse which one had won his heart. Whereupon he gave them riches according to their desire. 164-165

Among the flunkeys there were two who were stupid in procuring sexual pleasures, Hari and Dhūrjaṭi, who, having protected the chastity of their mothers, were reduced to mendicancy. 166

By turning their own bodies into a subject for ribald jokes, they abandon self-respect and honour, by themselves corrupting their women they make the family sacrifice its purity; they destroy happiness by attachment to service for a long period. If that which is the object of endeavour is the very thing which is rejected, I do not know what it is that the sycophants seek through service? 167

Though he had been minister of Yaśaskara, Bhaṭṭa Phalguṇa eventually became a dependent of the king. Beshrew the yearning for the enjoyment of luxury! 168

He having consecrated Phalgunasvāmin and other foundations, his sermons were often ridiculed by the king in private. 169

By suffering blows and the rest of it from the king in order to put an end to disfavour, the aged commander-in-chief, Rakkaka, became the centre of the wicked company. 170

When, upon an attack by assassins, the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma had taken refuge in the holy Jayendra Vihāra, the merciless king, in order to kill him, had it burnt down. 171

By robbing the brass from the statue of Buddha from this Vihāra which was completely burnt down and having collected a pile of stones from delapidated temples, the stupid man, thinking his own fame would become permanent by consecrating a god, built the shrine of Kṣema Gaurīśvara in a street of the forum of Śrīnagara. 172-173

A person dies; another on taking his fortune indulges precipitately in rejoicing; he fails to realize that upon his own death it will pass into the treasury of another. A curse on the possessive propensity which, through incomparable delusion, causes blinding darkness. 174

The spendthrift Kṣemagupta granted to the ruler of the Khaśas, for his enjoyment, after taking away villages belonging to the burnt Vihāra. 175

The ruler of Lohara and other fortresses, the prince known as Siṁharāja, mighty like Indra, gave him his own daughter in marriage. 176

As his mind became absorbed in Diddā, the daughter's daughter of the Śāhi, the king came to be known by the humiliating epithet of Diddākṣema. 177

By the maternal grandfather of the king's consort, His Majesty Bhīma Śāhi, was constructed the noble edifice known as the Bhīma-keśava. 178

Towards Phalguṇa, the warden of the frontier, for having given his daughter named Candralekhā in marriage to the king, Diddā was filled with jealousy. 179

The education which he had from the tutors and the great efforts made in acquiring the art of the javelin became a mockery through the disgraceful use the king made of them. 180

177. Diddā is a term of respect for the elder sister (VIII.225) which still survives among Kaśmīrī Brahmans. This romantic grand-daughter of the Śāhis was a remarkable woman and stories of her amours survive in Kaśmīr to the present day. When she repented at one time for her sins, she founded shrines and monasteries and her piety recalls that of the Brunhilds, the Fredegunds and the Irenes in the West.

178. The temple of Bhīma Śāhi has been identified by Sir A. Stein at Bumzu about a mile to the north of the sacred springs of Bavan on the left bank of the Lidr. Stein writes: "It is now converted into a Mahomadan Ziarat and covered inside and outside with a thick coating of plaster which prevents a close examination of the details. An accurate description of the building has been given by Bishop Cowie, *J. A. S. B.* (1866) p. 100 sq. The temple is at present supposed to be the resting place of a Mussulman Saint Baba Bāmdin Sahib and forms as such a popular pilgrimage place for the Mahomadans of the Valley. But a recollection of the original character of the building survives in the local tradition, which relates that the saint, who had built this shrine for himself was originally a Hindu ascetic (Sādhu). According to the Kaśmīri legendary of the Ziarat, of which I acquired a MS. copy on my visit in Sept. 1891, the saint before his conversion to the true faith, bore the name of 'Bhumā Sādhi.' This form must remind us all the more of the name Bhīma Śāhi."

The valuable notes of Sir A. Stein appended to his translation show that numerous shrines and holy places of the pre-Muslim period are now graves of Mahomadan saints and as such continue to receive the veneration of the population who mostly profess the Arabian faith. This is equally true of Afghanistan which for a thousand years had been the Holy Land of the Buddhists. At Śrīnagar and Hāḍḍā (Nagarahāra) in Afghanistan, the former holy places of the Buddhists are now centres of Muslim orthodoxy where in lieu of the bone relics of the Buddha similar relics sacred to Islam are now venerated. The unadulterated doctrine of a Teacher cannot become a permanent popular religion, for the mass can make little of abstractions or an omnipotent deity; they need concrete divine powers standing nearer to themselves and their lot.

His spears, which by their unerring aim deserved to be used in warfare, were considered worthy by him for the hunting of the jackal to which he was devoted. 181

Environed by numerous Ḍombas and jungle-folk carrying traps, he was seen perpetually roving by the people. 182

In Dāmodarāraṇya, Lalyāna and Śimikā, and other such localities, this lover of fox-hunting spent his life-time. 183

Thus on the dark fourteenth the king, while engaged in the chase, saw flames emerging from the mouth of a howling she-jackal. 184

The sight of this produced fear and trembling; he was seized by the Lūtā disease with fever which was the cause of his death. 185

And he went to die at Varāhakṣetra where, in the vicinity of Huṣkapura, he had founded the Śrīkaṇṭha convent and the Kṣemamaṭha. 186

With his body covered with eruptions of the shape of the split lentil on the ninth day of bright Pauṣa, in the year thirty-four, he died. 187

4034 L.E. (958 A.C.)

Kṣemagupta's son, the infant Abhimanyu, thereafter became king under the guardianship of the queen Diddā whose character was devoid of mercy. 188

Abbimanyu (958-972 A.C.)

The ministers for peace and war and of the household as well as the principal functionaries, without any qualms, filled the vacancy in the couch of the king's consort. 189

While the land was under the protection of Abhimanyu, there suddenly arose a terrible fire from the vicinity of the market of Tuṅgeśvara. 190

Extending up to Bhikṣukīpāraka near the temple of Vardhamānasvāmin, it burnt down the magnificent edifices situated within the Vetāla's measuring line. 191

By burning down the large mansions defiled by contact with those who had associated with the Ḍombas and Caṇḍālas, the fire as it were performed the purification of the land. 192

The guardian and the mother of the sovereign lending her ear to every one after the wont of women, in the confusion of her wits,

183. Fox-hunting seems to have been popular in ancient Kaśmīr the fox being hunted on horse-back with the help of dogs. Vide VII. 171; VIII.699.

186. Varāhakṣetra=Varāhamūla, the modern Baramula which the Kaśmīrī Brahmans still call Varāhmul. Its famous avenue of Poplars has attracted the notice of tourists ever since the time of Bernier who mentions it.

was not touched by the thought of what was right and unright. 193

For having given his daughter to the king she, while her husband was alive, had formerly a standing grievance against Phalguṇa, the prime minister. 194

After the death of her husband, upon seeing the co-wives follow him in death, she, through ostentation, began to prepare to die after him and the prime minister gave her his consent readily. 195

She was, however, prevented from dying in pursuance of her desire, when near the funeral pyre she repented, by the tender-hearted minister Naravāhana. 196

Thereafter Rakkaka, who by nature was a backbiter, induced in the queen, who was befouled by resentment, a suspicion about the usurpation of the realm on the part of Phalguṇa. 197

Having become aware from indications which gave warning of the dislike that she, together with all the ministers, was full of rancour and was bitter at heart Phalguṇa, too, remained apprehensive. 198

For he, being vested with all power, had become an eyesore to all and the more so as he was enlightened by statesmanship, heroism, vitality, and other qualities. 199

When bearing the ashes of Kṣemagupta his son, named Kardamarāja, had set out for the Gaṅgā Phalguṇa, surrounded by a large number of troops, prepared to reside in Parṇotsa until his return. 200-201

No sooner had he left Śrīnagara with his treasure and troops and arrived near Kāṣṭhavāṭa than Diddā, instigated meanwhile by Rakkaka and others, having quickly considered the situation and abandoning requests and the rest of it, on the contrary, despatched on his tracks ushers to murder him. 202-203

Smarting under the fresh insult, the proud man turned back from there and joined by endless soldiers arrived at Varāhakṣetra. 204

Hearing of the return of that valiant man who had mustered an army, Diddā and her ministers apprehending an attack trembled. 205

Having lamented for a long time the sovereign, who had gone to his rest, in that sanctuary near the feet of Varāha he laid down the sword. 206

195. The onerous duty lay with the prime minister, before a Rani could become a Satī, to give or withhold consent for reasons of state, e.g. where the Rani was enceinte or when the heir was an infant. See VIII.363.

The minister, by delivering up the sword, wiped out the impression that he had contemplated the sin of treason as well as the tribulation of the queen-mother. 207

The service of one whose mind is outside the pale of what is proper and improper is a great misfortune; should he grow angry retaliatory action would bring the deep scandal of treachery; since learning or the sword is lacking in virtue in being of any help in such cases, on the part of a discreet person some resentment towards the sciences or the sword is justifiable. 208

When Phalguṇa with his army thus left for Parṇotsa, the ministers rejoiced like boys when the teacher is away. 209

Thinking over the securing of moral and material prosperity, the consort of Kṣemgupta, too, kept herself ever wakeful to root out the thorns. 210

When Parvagupta was aspiring to the throne, he had formerly given the hands of his two daughters to Choja and Bhūbhaṭa, the two ministers, who had sworn the oath by libation. From the two ladies were born two sons well-known as Mahiman and Pāṭala, who had been brought up in the royal palace like royal princes. These two, who were still there, longing for the crown took counsel together at this time and conspired with the unbridled Himmaka and the rest. 211-213

These two powerful men being expelled, by the queen of the weak sex, from the palace were full of resentment. Yet as they continued from their houses to come and go, the queen, on one occasion, sent on the tracks of Mahiman, who had just left the palace, ushers to exile him and thereby openly declared her hostility. 214-215

He sought refuge in the house of his father-in-law named Śaktisena; on learning this they rushed there also after him. 216

The ushers were pacified by Śaktisena but when they refused to budge, he then openly gave shelter to his affrighted son-in-law. 217

He, having secured an asylum, was joined by Himmaka and Mukula and a man named Eramantaka of Parihāsapura; also by the son of Amṛtākara, the well-known Udayagupta, as well as the residents of Lalitādityapura led by Yaśodhara. 218-219

Each one of them brought his contingent which, when united, made a sensation in the world; they formed a league and waged civil war having joined the party of Mahiman. 220

During that great peril the only one minister who, with his relatives, did not forsake the cause of Diddā was the loyal Naravāhana. 221

Then as their forces began to swell, the enemy, with the fixed determination to fight, marched up to the precincts of Padmasvāmin with glittering accoutrements. 222

Thereupon Diddā in her nervousness having sent away her son to the Śūramaṭha, began to consider the various ways and means of relief from the calamity. 223

Having soon won over the Brahmans of Lalitādityapura with abundant gold, she brought about a rift in the league of the enemy. 224

"If any one is attacked all should take up the offensive" thus they had declared and sworn by sacred libation with Mahiman, yet they made peace with the queen. 225

She, whom none believed, had the strength to step over a cattle track,—the lame lady—traversed, in the manner of the son of the wind, the ocean of the confederate forces. 226

What, when collected, jewels and costly drugs achieve—the end of all trouble—that is possible by parting with it; let Money which has this amazing power have a salute! 227

Perceiving that honours were esteemed higher than even gifts of gold as bribe, Diddā appointed Yaśodhara and the rest to supreme command of the army and other posts. 228

When through witchcraft she had brought about the death of Mahiman, in a few days over the realm expanded the unbroken sway of the dowager. 229

On one occasion against the Śāhi ruler named Thakkana, the commander-in-chief, in anger, made an expedition with his relatives. 230

Proceeding by rapid marches into that country, inaccessible owing to streams and mountains, he whose power was unbroken by force of arms, captured Thakkana. 231

After that ruler had made submission, he having taken his hand sprinkled once more with the waters of the coronation the creeper of his fortune. 232

232. It was customary upon the recovery of a lost kingdom or principality for the prince to have the Abhiṣeka performed again. See the story of Dyumatsena in the *Mahābhārata* III.298, 11.

Those who had gained entry, Rakkaka and other villains, during this period made the foolish queen take a dislike for the commander-in-chief. 233

In the case of a king, the crystal stone, and of a woman who has abandoned chastity, in the absence of their constant companions, love for another enters the heart. 234

By using language which is in conformity with the mentality of vulgar people and the courtesans, the cunning touts possess their minds and exploit them; so also in the case of their lord do those who are menials by birth. 235

"He is a traitor in saving Thakkana; he has accepted money" such a scandal concerning him, she believed to be the very truth because of their self-made allegations. 236

Now when the commander-in-chief arrived flushed with victory at his residence, Diddā openly despatched the ushers being bent upon his banishment. 237

On hearing of this insult and recalling the pact upon oath Himmaka, Eramantaka and others turned hostile as before. 238

As before Naravāhana and others, too, did not forsake the cause of the queen though her own army was divided into factions. 239

When Śubhadhara and others had entered the city by storm, once more Diddā sent her son to the Bhaṭṭāraka-maṭha. 240

While the queen barricaded and held the palace in the absence of her son, those foolish persons, diddled by destiny, did not at that time uproot her. 241

The queen's people mobilized on the very next day and through their power she, in a certain measure, made a display of stability at this time. 242

Then commenced a battle with the enemy forces which had occupied the region from the precincts of Jayā-bhaṭṭārikā upto the vicinity of the Śūra convent. 243

When the royal forces retreating in panic entered the palace, the Ekāṅgas formed into a phalanx at the lion-gate. 244

In disregard of their bodies they, after stopping the panic-stricken troops, charged the force of the enemy and rolled back some of the foe. 245

244. The Lion-gate is the principal gate of entry to the palace or citadel of the king.

At this juncture Rājakula Bhaṭṭa came up, penetrating by the rattle of his kettledrums the force of the enemy and delighting his own side. 246

At his approach the hostile force which had lost its destructive character disappeared; the gods of war do not ever tolerate the impudence of treason. 247

The redoubtable warrior Himmaka who justly bore the reputation that he could sunder iron-fetters and crack boulders—his sword in the thick of the fray, when it dealt a blow across the body of Rājakula Bhaṭṭa, could not cut through even the leather of his cuirass. 248-249

Having seen that which was incredible his army became downhearted; Himmaka was slain and Yaśodhara was captured by the soldiers. 250

In spite of this, Eramantaka sparkled in the battle for a moment; when his sword was broken he fell from his mount and was taken prisoner alive. 251

The illustrious Udayagupta, who being the king's kinsman they did not desire to capture in the battle, left the big fight and went off somewhere. 252

Thus when the queen had gained the victory, she instantly punished Yaśodhara, Śubhadhara and Mukula, together with their kindred. 253

He who had had the tax in distant Gayā on the Kaśmīrīs removed, he, too, the brave Eramantaka, resident of Parihāsapura, was thrown into the water of the Vitastā, with a large stone tied round his throat, and made to suffer the fruit of his own evil action through the queen's wrath. 254

3977 L.E. (901-2 A.C.)

Those perfidious ministers who, formerly, since the year seventy-seven from the time of the king Gopālavarman to Abhimanyu had

254. The tax on pilgrims at Gayā was an important source of revenue. King Śaśāṅka of Bengal is said to have replaced the image of Buddha by that of Śiva in his enemy's country in order to cripple this source of revenue. It is considered meritorious work to help pilgrims by building rest-houses for them etc. From the account of the Chinese traveller I-ching who performed his pilgrimages in India during the period 671-695 A.C. we learn that the people of Samarkand (K'ang country) came as pilgrims to Gayā and that the people of Tokharistan had built a hospice for the accommodation of pilgrims from their country. This hospice he describes was distinguished for the excellent management of its affairs. A hospice for the accommodation of the people of Kapiśā (district of Kabul) also existed at Gayā. K. mentions a similar rest-house for the Kaśmīrīs. See also VII.1008.

deprived sixteen kings, during sixty years, of their glory, lives, and treasure—all these together with their families and followers, by the mere terrible knitting of her eyebrows, were swiftly exterminated by the infuriated Diddā. 255-258

Having annihilated those who had become overbearing with arrogance, the queen appointed Rakka and others to the chief command of the army and other executive offices. 259

In this fashion that eminent minister, the loyal Naravāhana established the rule of the dowager over the entire kingdom and made her comparable to Indra. 260

The queen, on her part, through gratitude, herself invited that loyal man to the inner cabinet of ministers with the title of Rājānaka. 261

She slept when he had slept, she took no food until he had concluded his meal, she rejoiced in his happiness and when he was depressed she felt dejection in sympathy. 262

Until she had enquired after his health, and sought his advice if he stayed indoors, and had sent presents of some of her own things she was not happy. 263

Formerly there was a palanquin-bearer named Kuyya who had two sons, Sindhu and Bhuyya, the elder of the two Sindhu who had been, it is said, a favourite retainer in the house of Parvagupta had, in due course, obtained the post of treasurer; having secured the charge of the treasury from the queen, little by little, when he had long held the office, he was made chief of the treasury by her. He levied new imposts and thus created an executive office which got the appellation of Sindhugañja. 264-266

"You have well-nigh been deprived of the government by Naravāhana"—thus the foul-minded man spoke to the queen whose intellect was easy to guide. 267

While she was expressing her agreement, it so happened that the minister begged her, through affection, to come to his own house to dine. 268

When she, with her followers, set out to go there she was told by Sindhu, "He will surely arrest you," and she asked him, "What should be done?" being overcome with fright. 269

Without saying anything she slipped away unnoticed to the palace

and "I had to observe the woman's rule of health" such was the message which afterwards she sent. 270

When the queen, with whom courtesy had been maintained, had in that manner left his guidance, the affection and understanding with that minister came to an end. 271

When the two of them from that very time onwards had eventually withdrawn affection, between the two an extreme dryness was brought about by the intriguers such as there is between sesamum and the oil cake. 272

The adamant by all the metals, and stone embankments by the waters are unbreakable but nothing can be conceived which is proof against the wicked. 273

Those who are more ignorant than a child yet more knowledgeable than the preceptor of the gods—we do not know what indeed are the atoms from which they are created. 274

The crow, whose wits have cast away trustfulness, believes the young ones of others to be its own; the swan, expert in separating milk from water, is nervous about an empty cloud; a king whose wits have become sharp through the supervision of the people considers the words of a knave to be the truth. Beshrew the dispensation of Fate which is touched by a mixture of cleverness and folly. 275

That foolish lady deprived of the use of her foot and excluded from reports became an object of reproach as a Brahman ignorant of ritual becomes an object of reproach through unfamiliarity with the Vedic lore. 276

To such an extent was Naravāhana constantly exasperated by her that smarting under the humiliation he, of his own accord, renounced life. 277

When outraged by what is incapable of resistance—to those whose minds are tormented because of their innate lustre and who are seekers after glory what other refuge indeed is there barring death? 278

Like the night separated from the moon, like speech abandoned by truth, royal splendour ceased to glitter in the absence of Naravāhana. 279

272. Niṣkṛṣṭa-snehayoḥ. There is a pun on this word which means 'withdrawal of affection' and 'extracting of oil.'

276. Queen Diddā was lame; Caraṇa-hīnā is an allusion to this defect. There is a pun on the word caraṇa which means both 'foot' and 'Vedic lore.'

Hardened by brutality, she planned to have assassinated the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma's sons who had proved their valour and who were in her milieu. 280

To their own place in Uttaraghoṣa they escaped from fear of her and killed the lord of the marches, Kayyaka, who had made an attack on them. 281

Fearing an upheaval, the queen laid aside the humiliation of this reverse and strove to placate them. Whence can there be dignity in those who are obsessed with their selfish ends? 282

But being alarmed they came away from her presence and in the company of Sthāneśvara and other leading Ḍāmaras once more became bold. 283

Then, through fear of him and owing to Rakka being dead, the queen in search of a virile man summoned Phalguṇa again to her side. 284

While administering the state affairs, he once more began to wear the sword though he had laid it down; in truth, difficult to give up is the hankering after power. 285

But the wonderful glory of the conqueror of Rājapurī and other territories, like that of an ancient courtesan, became as it were stultified in his declining years. 286

A great favourite of the queen's brother Udayarāja was his secretary at the Akṣapaṭala the wicked-minded man named Jayagupta. 287

Other functionaries of brutal habits consorting with him started a plunder in Kaśmīr as a result of its accumulated evil actions. 288

And rendered unhappy by the sins of his mother of immoral character Abhimanyu, at this time, was touched by the disease of consumption. 289

He was learned, his eyes had the beauty of lotuses, he was honoured by the sons of savants, he had studied the Vedas. He was asparkle with scholarship and youth. 290

To one of such a very pure temperament co-operation with vile conduct proved withering like the heat of the sun to the Śirīṣa flower. 291

283. Jajṛmbhire=literally gaped or yawned in the sense of opening wide the jaw; the meaning is to become bold and aggressive.

286. Rājapurī is the modern Rajauri; see Pandit Ramchandra Kak's book '*Antiquities of Bhimbar and Rajauri.*'

291. See note Taraṅga II.83.

4048 L.E. (972 A.C.)

Nandigupta (972-973 A.C.)

This half-moon of the people, on the third of the bright Kārtika, in the year forty-eight, was seized by the Rāhu of destiny. 292

His son, the infant Nandigupta, on the one hand set foot on his own throne; on the other hand in the heart of Diddā increasing sorrow for her son obtained a foothold. 293

Sorrow concealed her cruelty and she, through composure, cooled down like the sun-crystal when darkness has screened its radiating heat. 294

From that time onwards by her wondrous acts of piety her wealth, though acquired by evil deeds, gained sanctity. 295

The commissioner of Śrīnagara Bhuyya, brother of Sindhu, a man of good conscience fostered in her philanthropic activity 296

He created in her mind the inestimable love for the people and from that time onwards the queen, who had given up evil ways, came to be respected by all the people. 297

The minister who has shed his severity and is capable of securing for a king willing homage, as Hemanta makes the sun enjoyable, is, in truth, difficult to find. 298

The queen founded, in order to add to her deceased son's pious acts, the shrine of Abhimanyusvāmin and the town of Abhimanyupura. 299

Further, near Diddāpura Diddāsvāmin was founded by her and a convent as a resort for the people of Madhyadeśa, Lāṭa and Saurāṣṭra. 300

To augment the merit of piety of her husband, the "rainer of armlets" this beautiful woman, who showered gold, founded the town of Kaṅkaṇapura. 301

She built of white stone another temple of Diddāsvāmin, which

294. Saṁskṛta poets love to describe the sun-stone which radiates the light of the sun and the moon-stone which melts at the sight of the moon. K. makes frequent allusions to these poetic conceits.

298. Hemanta; See V.190; n.

300. For Madhyadeśa see App. I. Footnote 34. Bilhaṇa, the Kaśmīrī poet, tells us that his grandfather who was of the Kauśika Gotra had come from the Madhyadeśa and settled in Kaśmīr. He describes his hamlet Khunamuṣa which is now the Rakh (forest reserved for the Maharaja) of Khunamoh.
Lāṭa=the country between the rivers Narmadā and the Tāpi. Sauḍotra makes no meaning. As a conjectural reading I have emended it as Saurāṣṭra, the modern Kāthiāwād. Kāthiāwād is mentioned by K. in Taraṅga III. 328 as having been conquered by king Pravarasena II.

gleamed as if bathed with the waters of the Gaṅgā emerging from its feet. 302

As a lodge for the Kaśmīrīs and the people of the plains, a Vihāra with a very high quadrangle was constructed by this charming and fortunate lady. 303

She built a shrine called the shrine of Siṁhasvāmin after her father Siṁharāja as well as a convent for the residence of the Brahmans of the plains. 304

By her pious acts such as the consecration of the chapels of Viṣṇu and convents, the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu was made very sacred by her. 305

It is needless to enumerate her manifold good works in the various localities; she consecrated sixty-four foundations, such is the report. 306

Nearly all the temples of the gods, the encircling walls of which had been damaged by fire, were saved from dilapidation by the queen and provided with stone enclosures. 307

She who carried the lame queen during games and promenades—a woman named Valgā, a load carrier, had the Valgā convent built. 308

Although residing in the sacred pool and observing the vow of silence, the Timi fish is addicted to eating up its kind; the peacock while living solely on drops from the cloud daily swallows the snakes; the stork ostensibly given to meditation makes a meal of the unsuspecting fishes which approach the edge; even while acting piously there can be no certitude about a relapse into evil in the case of sinners. 309

That faithless woman became calm after her grief within a year and longing for pleasures of life made use of sorcery against that infant grandson of hers. 310

In the year forty-nine on the twelfth of Mārgaśīrṣa, during the *4049 L.E. (973 A.C.)* bright half, he was put to death by her who was bent upon the crooked path. 311

303. Daiśika=an inhabitant of the Deśa or the plains. This term which distinguishes the dweller of the plains from the people of the hills is in common use to this day in the Kumaon Hills where the hill people (Pāhāḍī) call the people of the plains 'Deśī.' See VII.97, 861; VIII,3058.

309. "If thou hearest," says an Arabian proverb, "that a mountain has been moved, believe it; but if thou hearest that a man has changed his character, do not believe it."

Tribhuvana (973-975 A.C.)

Her grandson named Tribhuvana, in the year fifty-one, on the fifth day of bright Mārgaśīrṣa, was killed in the same way by her. 312

4051 L.E. (975 A.C.)

Thus on the road to death called the throne was wantonly placed by the cruel woman her last grandson named Bhīmagupta. 313

Bhīmagupta (975-980-81 A.C.)

At this juncture the aged Phalguṇa, too, died through respect for whom Diddā had camouflaged her cruelty and immorality. 314

She now became with her open misdeeds and excesses a hundred-fold terrifying like a personified tusker in rut who has torn off his face covering. 315

Even in the case of those who are born in high families, alas! the natural bent of women, like that of rivers, is to follow the downward course. 316

From the supreme lord of the rivers, the illustrious ocean, Lakṣmī takes her birth, she dotes perpetually on a lotus born in a pool which has an insignificant store of water; women even though born in high families become the enjoyment of the vulgar. 317

A Khaśa of the name of Bāṇa born in the village of Baddivāsa in Parṇotsa had a son named Tuṅga. He had come as a grazier of buffaloes. Having entered Kaśmīr with his five brothers Sugandhisīha, Prakaṭa, Nāga, Aṭṭayika and Saṇmukha he had secured a job as bearer of despatches. He happened to come within the range of vision of the queen while he was by the side of the minister for peace and war and he captivated her heart. 318-320

He was secretly admitted by a procuress and the youth, because of what was willed to happen, became even her favourite who had enjoyed numerous lovers. 321

In her passion for Tuṅga, the sinful queen thereafter abandoned shame and had Bhuyya, who had turned his face away, killed by administering poison. 322

A curse on those inconsiderate and wicked masters with unstable minds, who praise without reward when gratified and in the event of a fault inflict loss of life and property. 323

The son of Rakkaka, Devakalaśa, the Velāvitta was appointed by her to the office of Bhuyya; he acted as procurer and as a shameless sycophant. 324

317. The birth of the goddess Lakṣmī (Fortuna) is from the ocean. She is one of the 'fourteen jewels' which came up during the churning of the ocean. The flower sacred to Lakṣmī is the lotus.

When even such as Kardamarāja, the lord of the marches, and other brave men resorted to pimping of what account were the rest? 325

When after living for four or five years in the royal residence the mind of the boy Bhīmagupta began to develop in understanding to a certain extent, he perceived that the administration of the kingdom as well as the ways of the grand-mother were deplorable and he was minded to have them put right. To her who was deficient in limb and moral character, and pitiless by nature and whose mind was easily led, he now became an object of anxiety. 326-328

For Abhimanyu's wife had secretly introduced this son who was born in a high family; that is how he was of such calibre. 329

Then she becoming suspicious, upon the counsel proffered by Devakalaśa, being stripped of shame, quite openly kept Bhīmagupta as a prisoner. 330

The doubt about the secret treason against Nandigupta and others, which the people had, was dispelled by her by this her overt act. 331

4056 L.E. (980-81 A.C.) Diddā (980/1-1003 A.C)

After various tortures having done Bhīmagupta to death, in the year fifty-six, she herself became the occupant of the royal throne. 332

The increasing passion of the queen had imparted arrogance to Tuṅga day after day and he now became the prime minister and dominated over everybody. 333

With his brothers Tuṅga had made the former ministers fade; they endeavoured to organise revolution in the realm being disaffected. 334

332. The Chinese Empress, the Dowager Hu of the Wei dynasty, had ruled northern China by poisoning her son and setting up puppets on the throne. At last the officials growing weary of her debauches revolted and drowned her. It was this Empress, a pious Buddhist, who had sent Sung Yun and Hin-sheng (518-522 A.C.) to collect Mahāyānist texts in Afghanistan and Gandhāra.

In the annals of the T'angs there was Wu Tse-T'ien, the prototype of Queen Diddā in China. She murdered her own child, deposed another son and proclaimed herself "Emperor" in 690 A.C. She crushed revolts and cut off the heads of those who rebelled against her, and satisfied her every whim. She appointed a young priest to be the abbot of the monasteries of Lo-yang "giving him official license to enter and leave the palace at any hour of the day and night." Piety went hand in hand with her sudden bursts of cruelty and lust. It was she who from 672 to 675 A.C. caused to be sculptured in the grottos of Lungmen the celebrated Great Buddha of the Rocks with his company of Bodhisattvas, monks and Lokapālas.

They after having taken counsel together invited to Kaśmīr a man of relentless valour the redoubtable Vigraharāja, Diddā's brother's son, who was a ruling prince. 335

On arrival, with a view to cause disintegration in the realm, the shrewd man soon induced the Brahmans of the principal Agrahāras to enter upon a hunger-strike. 336

What the Brahmans had formed a union, the whole population also was in an upheaval and began to search for Tuṅga day after day in different places desirous of killing him. 337

Having concealed Tuṅga within closed doors in some apartment, Diddā remained in apprehension of an attack. 338

With gifts of gold Sumantaka and the other Brahmans were won over by her, whereupon the hunger-strike terminated. 339

In this way when she had averted the big crisis by bribery, Vigraharāja, with his power broken, retreated as he had come. 340

Then having consolidated their positions Tuṅga and the rest became masters and, in time, killed Kardamarāja and the others who had manufactured the insurrection. 341

Sulakkana, the son of Rakka, as well as other principal ministers of state were banished when they were angry and permitted to re-enter by them when pleased. 342

Vigraharāja, whose hostility had been waxing, by despatching secret emissaries, induced the Brahmans once more to seek death by fasting. 343

In the hope of receiving bribes, the Brahmans who had once more commenced a hunger-strike were attacked by Tuṅga, who had acquired stability, and driven out. 344

Living secretly in their midst was one Āditya, a Kaṭakavārika and favourite of Vigraharāja; he was compelled to flee and was killed. 345

Wounded by sword, the chamberlain named Vatsarāja, too, while escaping was taken alive by Nyaṅkotaka and others. 346

And those Brahmans who had accepted gold, Sumantaka and others, too, were all of them arrested by Tuṅga and lodged in the prison-house. 347

At this time with the death of Phalguṇa, the ruler of Rājapurī having become truculent, against that territory a campaign was undertaken in anger by all the ministers. 348

Falling upon them in a gorge, the brave rajah of Rājapurī named Pṛthvīpāla annihilated the Kaśmīrī forces. 349

Śipāṭaka and Haṁsarāja, the two ministers, perished in that place; Candra and others had to witness a débâcle where death would have been a balm. 350

Thereupon by another route the valiant Tuṅga, together with his brothers, suddenly entered Rājapurī and entirely burnt it down. 351

Through this strategic measure, the rajah Pṛthvīpāla was ruined and the army of the surviving ministers was rescued from the defile. 352

Being powerless the rajah paid tribute to Tuṅga by whom at this time the lost cause was thus repaired. 353

Upon his entry into Śrīnagarī Tuṅga undertook the chief command of the army and caused the annihilation of the Ḍāmara hosts with lion-like exploits. 354

Diddā, on her part, nominated her brother Udayarāja's son named Saṁgrāma as the crown prince, after testing him, without misgiving. 355

For she, when all her brothers' sons, who were of tender age, had assembled before her with a view to test them, let fall in front of them a lot of apples. 356

"How many fruits can each one secure in here" thus spoke she and in this wise she caused among those princes a scramble. 357

She saw that they had few fruits and had received blows; Saṁgrāmarāja, however, was in possession of not a few fruits and was unscathed. 358

He was asked by her in her surprise how he, while securing numerous fruits, had escaped injury whereupon he replied to her as follows:— 359

"By making them engrossed in the struggle with one another while remaining apart I secured the fruits and at the same time was not hurt." 360

"In the case of those who involve others into misfortune and stand by vigilant, free from difficulties, what successes for their selfish ends do not fall to them?" 361

Hearkening to this statement which was the herald of prudence,

356. Pālevata=apple

she who was timid, as is the nature of woman, reckoned this to be fitness for the throne. 362

To the hero it seems that the objective should be attained by heroism and so to the timid by caution; otherwise there would be no difference between them. 363

Wood albeit devoid of fire may suffice for the relief of monkeys from cold and water and wind for the purification of the coats of antelopes which purify by fire; the realization of the purpose of a living being who is determined thus depends upon his disposition; in things there is, in reality, no innate principle whatever. 364

4079 L.E. (1003 A.C.)

When in the year seventy-nine on the eighth day of the bright Bhādrapada that queen departed to heaven, the crown prince became king. 365

Through the connections of their consort this is the third reversion of the lineal descendants of kings, a wonder of the world, which has occurred in this realm. 366

In this land abounding in wealth and prosperity, the illustrious family of Sātavāhana gained ascendancy like the mango sapling in a pleasure park which has been sprinkled with water by the cloud after a conflagration has burnt down the inferior trees. 367

Then he whose resolute character was hidden by his gentleness, Saṁgrāmarāja, lightly bore upon his arms the entire land as upon his hoods, which have the beauty of lotus stalks, does the lord of serpents while keeping his hisses beneath them. 368

[Thus ends the Sixth Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the composition of Kalhaṇa, son of the noble Lord Caṇpaka, the great Kaśmīrī minister.]

"Thy mother's praiseworthy body has been created in the stainless race of the Manes by Brahman; when in the gloaming thou art in close embrace with me thou playest with the lower lip pink like the china rose;" "Of thee, who art the mother of the pure family of the Manes, the perfect figure has been created by Brahman; when, at even, thou revealest thy presence thou makest sport with my lip which is busy in mute prayer" by the praise, in such deceptive language, of the Maid of the Mountain jealous of His devotion to the Lady of the Twilight He, who paid homage to the Lady of the Twilight as well, may He, the Lord of Pārvatī gratify the world. 1

Saṁgrāmarāja (1003-1028 A.C.)

The king bore forgiveness in mind and on the arm the earth; in depth and ability he surpassed respectively the oceans and the army chiefs. 2

All those people who had thought that on the death of the queen Tuṅga would fall as, when the glory of day has departed, the sun goes together with the twilight, on the contrary, saw him rise steadily, superior by smashing up the opposition of his various formidable rivals. Who can fathom the ways of the Creator? 3-4

At this time the brave Candrākara, equipped with powerful resources, who had become a relative of the king and who was worthy of the post of prime minister, died. 5

The others, who found peace in death, were the heroic sons sprung

1. In India, as in ancient Greece, there was no unbridgeable gap between men and gods, and the gods, although immortal, were supposed to have the vices and virtues of men. Here is the greatest of the gods in sportive mood while Pārvatī is frankly jealous! Compare with this another benedictory verse ascribed to the Kaśmīrī poet Caṇḍaka which is as follows:—

Mātar Jiva! Kim etad añjalipuṭe tātena gopāyyate?
Vatsa! svādu phalaṁ prayachhati na me gatvā gṛhāṇa svayam
Mātraivaṁ prahite guhe vighaṭayaty ākṛṣya saṁdhyāñjaliṁ
Śambhor bhinnasamādhi-ruddharabhaso hāsodgamaḥ pātu vaḥ.

"O Mummie!" "mayst thou live long!" "what is it that Daddy guards in the hollow of his hands?" "Darling! it is a delicious fruit." "He won't give it to me!" "Go and take it thyself". Urged in this way by the mother, Guha seizes and separates the hands, folded in adoration to the Lady of the Twilight, of Śiva who angry at the interruption bursts into laughter at sight of his son: may the laughter save you.

Subhāṣitāvali, 69.

from the loins of Punyākara, a wealthy clerk of the village of Bhīmatikā. 6

Owing to the lack of capable ministers, the king even though unwilling, was led to side, since he had no alternative course, by Destiny with the party of Tuṅga. 7

The queen, when on the point of death, had formerly caused Saṁgrāmarāja, Tuṅga and others to swear by sacred libation to act without malice towards one another. 8

The king could not bear exertion and also because of exigent affairs of state he entrusted the affairs of the subjects to Tuṅga and became indolent through constant enjoyment of pleasures. 9

His pusillanimity is amply sufficient what else need be brought to light? By unequal matrimonial alliances he damaged his reputation. 10

Desirous of seeking an ally, he thus gave in marriage to the superintendent of the convent of Diddā named Preman, who possessed wealth, courage and other good qualities his daughter Loṭhikā. 11

What a contrast between a royal princess worthy of a haughty king capable of bearing the burden of the world and he whose hand is moist with water by accepting gifts—the petty-minded Brahman! 12

Now, in order to smash Tuṅga and others, the Brahman ministers caused the members of the Brahman conclave at Parihāsapura to hold a fast. 13

This upheaval caused by the joint deliberations of the Brahmans and the ministers like the union of the blowing wind with fire, became insupportable for the king. 14

The Brahmans who were ready to depose the sovereign were somehow placated and induced to consider the expulsion of Tuṅga as an expiatory offering. 15

But as soon as the king, Tuṅga and others had promised them this those rogues immediately began to press for something else. 16

12. The marriages between Brahmans and Kṣatriyas apparently were not uncommon in Kaśmīr. See Taraṅga VIII. verse 2043 where Sujji, who was from a ruling family of the Indus region (the Frontier Province) formed an alliance of marriage with the family of Citraratha, who was the son of a Brahman councillor at the court of Śrīnagara. The Smṛtis sanctioned Anuloma literally 'stroking down the fur'—marriages. Marriages of men of lower caste with women of the higher caste (Pratiloma = against the fur) were prohibited.

"By Tuṅga's aggression the Brahman who has lost his life, we are going to cremate in Tuṅga's house." So saying the villains brought someone's dead body, which they had taken out of a well, to the residence of Tuṅga meanwhile a Kṛtyā, whom they had raised by the sacrifice of the hair, having turned hostile, a quarrel arose and suddenly swords were drawn for the destruction of the unclean Brahmans. 17-19

Then the Brahmans in flight through fear entered the house of Rājakalaśa, who had secretly been giving them counsel. 20

When the plot was revealed, he fought for a long time while the Brahmans escaping from side doors fled to their own houses. 21

When Rājakalaśa was overpowered, the seven sons of Śrīdhara, who were Brahmans and ministers and who had made common cause, arrived and carried on the fight. 22

Having performed prodigies of valour they found their end in battle and the seven forthwith proceeded having penetrated to the region of the seven-rayed sun. 23

When they had found peace, Sugandhisīha vanquished Rājakalaśa in the combat and then Tuṅga had him brought to his own house in fetters. 24

He was carried off swiftly by the litter-bearers of Tuṅga who placed him on their shoulders and wounded and deprived of arms he was made to dance in the streets. 25

Another minister of the name of Bhūtikalaśa was also defeated who escaped to Śūramaṭha with his son Rājaka. 26

After a time Sugandhisīha and others having taken pity on him set him at liberty from there and he, simmering with the fire of disgrace, went abroad together with his son. 27

Thus the upheaval in the land which had originated in Parihāsapura, on the contrary, turned out by the will of Providence for the benefit of Tuṅga. 28

Thereafter the minister Guṇadeva having placated the king, Bhūtikalaśa returned after he had had a purificatory bath in the Gaṅgā. 29

17-19. From the lock of hair thrown with magic rites into the fire (Keśahoma) a demon arose to carry out orders. For Kṛtyā see Taraṅga I.137-147.

24. Sugandhisīha was Tuṅga's brother. Sīha as well as Siṁha is a suffix after names.

And when he once more had succeeded, by slow degrees, in obtaining a foothold in the royal palace, he got the king secretly to employ emissaries to assassinate Tuṅga. 30

When Tuṅga learnt the news, he brought the matter to light and Bhūtikalaśa was again banished by the king. 31

The son of Candrākara who had, by degrees, succeeded in somewhat consolidating his position,—Mayyamantaka, too, died at that time. 32

He, who had for a while the privilege of enjoying the union with the princess royal, the benefactor of the king, the illustrious Preman also died. 33

And all those other favourites of the king, Gaṅga and the rest died; Tuṅga with his brothers, however, survived to enjoy the pleasures of life. 34

Thus every crisis which it was believed would bring about the downfall of Tuṅga each, in turn, owing to favourable Providence, on the contrary, enhanced his reputation. 35

The tree on the river bank, whose supporting soil has been broken up in course of time and which had for sole support its own roots, when it is feared that it will fall when the waters of the river are in flood, by those very waters piling up earth there supervenes, in fact, the firmness of the soil for its stability. 36

Tuṅga, who had acted as a brilliant statesman and had ever been ready to place the subjects, in course of time, through the diminution of his past merit, became deficient in intellect. 37

And thus he appointed to the detriment of his own prosperity, the base-born and insignificant Kāyastha named Bhadreśvara as an assistant. 38

38. Kāyastha is a government servant—a civil functionary and is the exact equivalent of the French "Fonctionnaire." It has no reference to any particular caste and we find men of all castes in the service of the state both civil and military. See VIII.2383 where a Brahman is described as a Kāyastha.

Trade in cowdung, acting as butcher, and sale of fuel and the like had been the occupations of this gardener which were worthy of the traditions of his family. 39

Thereafter with his back rubbed by a coarse woollen-blanket he had attached himself as a carrier of waterbags of leather and the ink-vessels in the trail of clerks. 40

When Tuṅga wearied by the cares of endless state and other affairs appointed him his assistant, he did not realize that this association was the ruin of his fortune. 41

Having dispensed with the noble-minded and pious Dharmārka he appointed this malefactor in charge of the office of the Gṛhakṛtya. 42

This wicked minded individual, like premature Death, cut off the maintenance allowances of the gods, cows, Brahmans, the orphans, the guests, and the king's dependants. 43

He who lives on corpses, even the ferocious Kāpālika supports his own kin but the impious Bhadreśvara deprived even his own people of their lives. 44

Tuṅga appointed Bhadreśvara in Caitra as the controller of all things; in the month of Aṣāḍha Sungandhisīha died. 45

When this younger brother who was capable of bearing all burdens went to the other world, the sorrow-stricken Tuṅga considered that his own head had been severed. 46

The illustrious Trilocanapāla having sought assistance, the king sent him in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa to the dominion of the Śāhi. 47

A large army teeming with the Rājaputras, ministers of high rank, tributary chiefs and others capable of causing a sensation in the world escorted him. 48

39-40. There are numerous instances in this poem of men of humble origin rising to the highest posts in the state; some even succeeded in becoming kings.

42. Gṛhakṛtya. See V.167.

47. See V.152-155n. Referring to the chivalry of the Śāhis Alberuni writes: "I admire the following passage in a letter of Ānandapāla, which he wrote to the prince Mahmūd, when the relations between them were already strained to the utmost—'I have learnt that the Turks have rebelled against you and are spreading in Khorāsān. If you wish, I shall come to you with 5,000 horsemen, 10,000 foot-soldiers, and 100 elephants, or, if you wish, I shall send you my son with double the number. In acting thus, I do not speculate on the impression which this will make on you. I have been conquered by *you* and therefore I do not wish that another man should conquer you.'" Vol. II.p.13. Alberuni tells us that "Tarojanapāla" (Ānandapāla's son Trilocanapāla) bore no hatred towards the Muhammadans.

34

When he, accompanied by the son, had been received with honour by the Śāhi, who had come forward, and had been five or six days in that territory intoxicated with conceit, the Śāhi not seeing any inclination for watching at night, the posting of scouts, armed parades, and the like requisites for an offensive then addressed him. 49-50

"In the war with the Turks, until you have gained experience, remain in compulsory inactivity and take up your stand on the slope of yonder hill." 51

This wise counsel of Trilocanapāla he did not accept but remained through arrogance with the troops eager to give battle. 52

Hammīra, at this time, had sent a detachment to reconnoitre which Tuṅga, having crossed with a limited force, massacred on the other bank of the Tauṣī. 53

Although he was thus elated with success, the Śāhi, who knew the principles of warfare, repeatedly gave the same counsel as he had done before. 54

Tuṅga, under the compelling desire for battle, did not listen to his words. To those whose ruin is close by advice is futile. 55

Then at day-break the infuriate leader of the Turkish horde, who was an expert in surprise manoeuvres, in person attacked with all arms. 56

Then the army of Tuṅga was suddenly thrown into disorder but the army of the Śāhi was seen for a time holding out in the field. 57

Even after the army of the Śāhi had retreated, Jayasiṁha continued to sparkle in the battle-field, so did Śrīvardhana and Vibhramārka, the descendants of the Ḍāmara Saṁgrāma. 58

In the fearful clash of cavalry while the three knights battled in the arena of heroes, they preserved from destruction the glory of their own country. 59

Who is competent to describe the chivalry of Trilocanapāla, for although they were countless his foes were not able to overpower him in battle. 60

Raining showers of blood in the battle shone Trilocana—like the triple eyed Śiva radiating flames of fire at the end of the Kalpa. 61

Having engaged in battle crores of the mail clad enemy this expert in strategy extricated himself single-handed from the peril of the foe. 62

When Trilocanapāla had retreated to a distance, the whole territory of the kingdom was darkened by the terrible hordes of the Vandals like swarms of locusts. 63

Although Hammīra had gained victory he was unable to breathe freely recollecting the superhuman heroism of the illustrious Trilocanapāla. 64

Trilocana on his part having fallen from his high estate, endeavoured with great energy relying on his force of elephants to reclaim the halo of victory. 65

How rapidly the very names of the glorious Śāhis has faded from memory has been narrated here merely as an episode and not in detail. 66

What is impossible to conceive even in a dream, where fancy is frustrated, is easily done by Providence for which nothing impossible exists. 67

In describing the period of king Śaṁkaravarman above, the vastness of the empire of the Śāhis has been briefly disclosed. 68

That empire of the Śāhis, with those ministers, the sovereign and his entourage—whether it ever did have an existence or did not is what the people now wonder! 69

Having permitted the descent of the Turks upon the entire surface of the land, Tuṅga who had suffered defeat returned slowly to his own country. 70

On Tuṅga, who had been routed like a jackal, the king whose resolute courage was matched by his character did not vent his anger on account of this guilt. 71

Nevertheless the dependence upon Tuṅga caused mortification to the king, by dependence upon another the mind even of an animal is distressed. 72

The son of Tuṅga, Kandarpa, too, elated with wealth and courage by assuming the airs of royalty gave mental pain to the king. 73

By anonymous letters at this time, the king's brother Vigraharāja, who was on the lookout for a loophole, instigated him for the assassination of Tuṅga. 74

Owing to the recollection of his oath and other matters the king's mind was wobbling for a long time and becoming agitated by constant incitements he then spoke to the instigators. 75

"If accompanied by his son alone he some day comes within the range of our vision we shall at that moment see what we can do." 76

"Otherwise if he is attacked he is sure to kill us by violence"—for the sake of temporizing having said this the king fell silent. 77

These few words which became like seeds they treasured in their hearts; they set themselves to the task of creating such a situation regarding Tuṅga. 78

Within six months, summoned by the king, Tuṅga, impelled by Death, set out with his son from his house although he had seen a bad dream. 79

After entering the hall of audience and waiting upon the king for a while he, accompanied by five or six retainers, went to the council chamber. 80

Behind his back there entered Parva Śarkaraka and others and, without having even spoken to the king, they struck down Tuṅga with their swords. 81

Among the retainers of Tuṅga only Siṁharatha who was a descendant of Mahāratha, a minister of king Śaṁkaravarman, was worthy of praise. 82

Although he was unarmed at this time he, in order to save him, threw his own body over that of Tuṅga who was being slain. 83

Tuṅga held his breath at the first blow in alarm; when his breath had ceased the king, however, breathed with relief. 84

The son of a Brahman councillor of state named Dharma, the impious Pārtha, was by the side of Tuṅga and also the evil-minded Kaṅka. 85

While those two had their bowels moved they put their fingers in their mouths for quarter to proclaim themselves dumb animals and their weapons fell from them in abject fear. 86

The bosom friends and advisers of Tuṅga, Caṅga and others, sat still like women, through funk, although they were equipped with arms. 87

Unaware of Tuṅga's death in that affray, apprehending on the part of his retainers arson, riot and the like the king, in order to hearten his own liegemen, had the heads of Tuṅga and his son severed with the sword forthwith and thrown outside. 88–89

When after seeing the master's severed head the troops had fled through demoralization, a few of the retainers of Tuṅga made resplendent their character as liegemen. 90

Bhujaṅga, the son of a Brahman feudatory chief, kept Saṁgrāmarāja on the run from one apartment to another. 91

Breaking open a barred door with his golden mace, he then slew twenty warriors in the king's hall of assembly. 92

The officers in charge of the treasury named Trailokyarāja was killed in the fight as well as the milk-brother of Kayyamantaka, the valiant Abhinava. 93

In the royal courtyard thirty grim Ekāṅgas, dependents of Tuṅga, lay slain forming steps for the path to heaven which has no ladder. 94

Although he had been in the fight, one Padmarāja by name emerged unhurt; he relieved himself of the burning pain caused by the death of his master by resorting to the Tīrthas. 95

The others, who in the arena of battle surrendered the sword which is the ally for one's safety in both the worlds, parted with honour as well as their lives. 96

Caṇḍa who thought himself a splendid warrior and a man named Arjuna from the plains as well as the Ḍāmara Helācakra, who had surrendered their arms, were slain by their opponents. 97

Tuṅga, whose residence was plundered and property looted, was reduced by the king, on the bright twelfth of Āśāḍha, to the limbo of myth. 98

After Tuṅga, whose conduct had been free from treachery, had been slain together with his son by the king, it was chiefly the miscreants who having secured a rise began to aggrandise themselves in the royal palace. 99

He, who by secret slander had befouled the mind of the king and was the cause of his brother's death whom evil scandals had branded and who was the destroyer of his own family, Nāga, the brother of Tuṅga, was thereupon made commander-in-chief by the king. 100-101

Kṣemā, the wife of Kandarpasiṁha, who was exceedingly unchaste, had formed a liaison with Nāga like the dark night with the fiend. 102

Four days after the disturbance had subsided, the saintly Bimbā—daughter-in-law of Tuṅga and a daughter of the royal Śāhi—entered the flames. 103

Kandarpa had begotten two sons Vicitrasiṁha and Mātṛsiṁha of good repute on his mistress Mammā. Taking these two sons and her daughter-in-law Maṅkhanā, the wife of Tuṅga in her helpless condition left the country and took up her residence in Rājapurī. 104-105

In the place of Tuṅga, the king then appointed the impious Bhadreś-vara who plundered the treasury of Bhūteśvara and the other gods. 106

What more is necessary to illustrate the deformed judgment of this king, even such as Pārtha and the like he appointed as officers of state. 107

Pārtha was very unconscionable and was notorious for his libidinous relations with his brother's wife, yet the thoughtless king had appointed him commissioner of the city. 108

Carnage and like sins were committed by Pārtha, whose mind was divorced from virtuous actions, on the floor of the inner sanctuary of Pravareśa. 109

Mantaṅga, Sindhu's son, foremost among misers and an expert in squeezing the subjects augmented the treasure of the avaricious king. 110

Formerly a clerk named Devamukha had, it is said, begotten on a demimondaine, a seller of pastry, a son named Candramukha. 111

He, having gained the patronage of Tuṅga, had become the king's favourite and beginning with a shell had made a pile of crores. 112

Surrounded by luxury he remained a miser; the pastry brought by others as a present for him was sold by him to his own servants which was worthy of his origin. 113

He had a keen appetite and robust health; when, however, after attaining prosperity his digestion became feeble and he became an invalid, he came to be the laughing stock of the people. 114

The only pious act on his part was the one at the moment of death when he gave one third of a crore towards the restoration of the temple of Raṇeśvara. 115

His three sons Nāna, Bhāga, and Nandimukha had been appointed chiefs of an army corps as subordinates of Tuṅga. 116

Their appointment by the king to the office of Tuṅga became a joke like the tying of the ears of barley in place of gold by a child. 117

These when despatched by the king as was Tuṅga to war with the Turks turned back and retreated to their own country in flight. 118

Thus owing to the incompetence of the ministers and the leniency of the king some Darads, government clerks and Ḍāmaras became overbearing. 119

The princess royal Loṭhikā, who had built the Loṭhikā convent, constructed another monastery named after her mother Tilottamā. 120

Even sinners, it is a marvel, have a peculiar longing to do good acts since even Bhadreśvara constructed a Vihāra which was radiant with pious acts. 121

Saṁgrāmarāja was truly discreet who, describing his own wealth as having been acquired unjustly, did not erect even a fountain for drinking water. 122

The queen Śrīlekhā, daughter of the illustrious Yaśomaṅgala, owing to the feeble virility of her husband had recourse to the way of wantonness. 123

The son of Sugandhisīha, born of Jayalakṣmī, was Tribhuvana who came to be the passionate lover of that queen. 124

He, who created the Jayākaragañja and other funds, the very quick-witted man who was active in the interest of the treasury—Jayākara was also her paramour. 125

She was the founder of the Gañja at Mayagrāma and other funds; intent on accumulating money, this lovely woman through the favours of her husband became enormously wealthy. 126

4104 L.E.
1028 A.C.

In the fourth year, on the first day of Āṣāḍha, after giving his son Harirāja the bath of coronation, this king found his end. 127

Harirāja
(1028 A.C.)

Harirāja became the resort of men of cultivated minds and while he made all kinds of aspirations glow he brought joy to all; he was like the pageant of spring which is attended by flowers, which lights up all the directions, and which brings delight to every one. 128

He, whose authority was unfailing and who had cleared the land of thieves, prohibited the closing of doors in the market place at night. 129

128. There is a pun on the words Sumanas=(1) wise men (2) flowers; Āśā=(1) Hopes (2) Directions.

The sway of that king which was of brief duration and whose rise came unexpectedly became an object of adoration, like the crescent of the new moon, to ruling chiefs. 130

After protecting the country for twenty-two days this king of pure reputation waned on the eighth day of the bright Āṣāḍha. 131

The glory which is inherent in men who are like the shining stars soon terminates like a mid-summer night. 132

His own mother, who lived the life of a wanton woman and with whom the son was furious, had used witchcraft on him—such was the public rumour which has not been contradicted. 133

Ananta (1028-1063 A.C.)

All the materials for the coronation had been kept ready and as the queen-mother Śrīlekhā, who was herself longing for the crown, arrived after her bath meanwhile by the assembled Ekāṅgas and the foster brother known as Sāgara the infant Ananta, her son, was made king. 134-135

As in the case of a greedy person, desirous of taking possession of treasure which has been carried away by someone else, the killing of the snake its guardian verily ends in sin only, so in the case of the queen-mother, who was longing for the crown the destruction of the son, the realm having been seized by another, resulted solely in a nefarious act. 136-137

She having been baulked of sovereignty was so disappointed that she forgot her affection for the son. A curse on the yearning for a life of pleasure. 138

At this time the old uncle of the king named Vigraharāja arrived to seize the throne and made a display of force. 139

He had started from Lohara, after setting fire to the frontier post and in two days and a half he unexpectedly made his appearance at Śrīnagara by rapid marches. 140

The troops despatched by Śrīlekhā found him in occupation of

130. The crescent-moon is adored by the people of India. On the sight of the new moon it is customary to wish, see Taraṅga VIII. verse 798. The crescent-moon appears on the coins of the Maurya Emperors as the emblem of Imperial sovereignty. As the emblem of Śiva it goes back to remote antiquity appearing on the clay tablets of Mohenjo Daro.

132. K. says that men like stars unfortunately live for a period which is short like a night in midsummer. Fortunately their light, as from a star dead centuries ago, continues to reach us across space and time.

136. See Taraṅga III. verse 108; also verse 362 b low.

Loṭhikāmaṭha—they set fire to it and destroyed him with his followers. 141

Then having built two monasteries, one after her husband and the other after her son, the extravagant queen remained at all times, intent on lese-majesty. 142

Then the king, who had gradually slipped through childhood came to be addicted to extravagance and other vices, in the manner of those who are rulers since they were in the embryo. 143

To him Rudrapāla and the other Śāhi princes were very dear friends who, through receipt of enormous salaries, deprived the state of its revenue. 144

For his daily maintenance half a lakh had been fixed by the king; Rudrapāla, however, was never free from privations. 145

Diddāpāla who was in receipt of eighty thousand daily from the sovereign, nevertheless slept not in peace at night. 146

The fiend Anaṅgapāla, the royal favourite, had his mind ever occupied in breaking up the gold images of the gods. 147

Rudrapāla who protected those who committed murders, thefts etc. came to be the secure haven of thieves, Caṇḍālas and the like. 148

The officials who were intimates of Rudrapāla carried on the persecution of the people; the wealthy Utpala, foremost among them, founded a convent for the blind. 149

What more need be said to describe the king's love for him! He had himself married on account of her charm Āśamātī, whose face was lovely like the moon, the elder daughter of Inducandra, the ruler of Jālaṁdhara, the one who had founded a monastery in Tripureśvara after her own name; her younger sister, who was in age slightly younger, the queen Sūryamatī, he then married to the king. 150-152

By Rudra, his chum, the king was made the tool of his machinations through comforting words in his ears as was Duryodhana by Karṇa. 153

143. Garbheśvara=one who has been rich since he was in the embryo. See verse 189 and 1108 below.

145-146. These were scions of the blood royal of the Śāhi. The payment of salary was in currency of copper Dīnnāras.

147. Anaṅgapāla is the first of the iconoclasts mentioned in this poem; king Harṣa himself being the arch-iconoclast.

The commander-in-chief, the powerful Tribhuvana, who had mustered the Ḍāmaras at this time, marched to take the crown away from the king. 154

He advanced to give battle after seducing the whole army when the Ekāṅgas and the cavalry did not desert the royal cause. 155

Parrying with the sword the unerring javelins of Tribhuvana, king Anantadeva of unimpeachable valour himself smote him in the battle-field. 156

Although his limbs were protected by armour, he suffered from the terrific blows and blood began to stream from his mouth as if he were vomiting his own glory. 157

After he had abandoned the fight and fled upon seeing the inconceivable strength of the king, who was a mere boy and whose valour was under the cloak of modesty, the king with praiseworthy heroism rendered infructuous at Śālāsthala the bravery of Abhinava, the Ḍāmara of Śamālā, who was slaying with javelins. 158-159

With his sword transformed into a club by the adhesion of flesh and blood, rushing in the battle-field king Anantadeva inspired terror in the world like Bhairava. 160

When at every step he saw the Ekāṅgas whose bodies had been mutilated by wounds and about whom reports were being made when their names were first called out, the king was moved to generosity and thereupon he relieved the Ekāṅgas of the uncertain dependence on the Akṣapaṭala by a fixed allowance. 161-162

Thus in that place, in appreciation of service rendered, grants to his liegemen were made by him, which amounted to ninety-six crores of Dīnnāras in due course. 163

When the king returned from the battle, the sword-hilt which had become firmly fixed was removed from the hand after a time when milk was sprinkled on it such is the legend. 164

O the magnanimity of the king! When such a man as Tribhuvana returned in destitution from abroad, he was courteously received by the king who was free from resentment. 165

A relative named Brahmarāja had been appointed by him as the

161-162. For Ekāṅgas see V. 249. Akṣapaṭala=Revenue, or Accounts office; it also means a record office for legal documents.

chief of the treasury, he having made an enemy of Rudrapāla became disaffected, was removed and departed. 166

Having combined with the Ḍāmaras he, by his efforts invited, supported by seven Mleccha chiefs, the ruler of the Darads Acalamaṅgala. 167

When he arrived at the village of Kṣīrapṛsṭha Rudrapāla, beaming with valour, yearning for a fight marched forth to face him. 168

The next day having been fixed by the two armies for the battle the lord of the Darads went out on a spree to the dwelling place of a Nāga named Piṇḍāraka. 169

Behaving indecorously although warned by the men of his entourage he threw his spear at the body of a fish which was swimming in it. 170

Thereupon there emerged from the pool the Nāga in the body of a jackal and the lord of the Darads, through keenness for hunting, gave chase. 171

Seeing him advancing and believing it to be a breach of the agreement, the royal army apprehending an attack came out to give battle. 172

Then was held with the fiery illuminations produced by the clash of arms the wedding of the heroes with the maidens of paradise in the festival of battle. 173

In that mêlée of mighty warriors the head of the Darad king was cut off, while the fame of the awe-inspiring Rudra waxed furthermore. 174

In the battle, the Mleccha rajahs got fetters and the like while the king of Kaśmīr acquired gold, jewels and other treasure. 175

With the oozing blood washed by the limpid lustre of the pearls of its crest ornament, the head of the Darad ruler was presented by Rudrapāla to the sovereign. 176

With his brother Udayanavatsa as well as with the Brahmans who held hungerstrikes, he had had similar conflicts. 177

167. The Mleccha chiefs referred to were no doubt tribal chiefs on the frontier of Kaśmīr who by this time were, perhaps, partly Muhammadan. A defeat of the Mlecchas is again described in Taraṅga VIII. verse 2760.

171. Jackal hunts were apparently very popular. See Taraṅga VIII. 699.

Then, when Rudrapāla died of the Lūtā disease the other Śāhi princes, too, very soon met their end. 178

When his affection for the Pālas which was like a haze had ceased, the queen Sūryamatī was reflected in the habitually pure heart of her lord as in a mirror. 179

She whose other name was Subhaṭā and who was the founder of Gaurīśvara erected on the bank of the Vitastā the holy Subhaṭāmaṭha. 180

By gifts of cows, gold, horses, precious stones and the like on the occasion of the consecration of Sadāśiva, she had made large numbers of Brahmans free from poverty. 181

In the name of her younger brother Āśācandra, also known as Kallana, out of loving tenderness, a Maṭha with an Agrahāra was founded by her. 182

In the name of her brother, known as Sillana, and of her husband, the righteous lady built two monasteries in the vicinity of Vijayeśa and Amareśa respectively. 183

And as an act of great piety, she presented at the sacred Vijayeśvara a hundred and eight Agrahāras to learned Brahmans. 184

In the name of her husband, in Amareśvara also she bestowed Agrahāras and provided for the endowments of Triśūla, Bāṇaliṅga and the like. 185

The couple, when their son known as Rājarāja died, abandoned the royal palace and took up their residence in the precincts of Sadāśiva. 186

From that time onwards, abandoning the residence of former royal dynasties the kings, on account of this which itself became the usage, made their residence in that very place. 187

To the king, on account of his love for horses, those in charge of the royal stables were dear friends; by his favour and by the plunder of the country they, in every way, became his equals. 188

As is the way with those who have been rulers since they were in the embryo, the sovereign's pet was a jester, who robbed the people at all times, Ḍallaka by name who was a man from the plains. 189

A man from the plains known as Padmarāja, the importer of Tāmbūla-leaf, became a dear friend of this spendthrift king who was a habitual lover of Tāmbūla. Bhoja, the supreme lord of Mālava, by remitting heaps of gold had, through him, caused to be constructed a pool at Kapaṭeśvara; the vow had been taken by the rajah Bhoja that he would bathe his face daily with the water which had its source in the sanctuary of Pāpasūdana; it was he who had helped to fulfil that difficult vow by regularly despatching a number of glass jars filled with that water. 190-193

By that vendor of Nāgarakhanda and other leaves, the king was induced to part with almost the entire revenue of the country at this time. 194

The crown decorated with five crescents as well as the lion-throne, this creditor took from the king as hypothecation for a further sum which had accrued due. 195

These emblems of royalty required for use in the hall of audience, continued to be brought on the monthly ceremonial days from his house month after month. 196

By giving up the accumulation in her own treasury, the queen

190-193. Kapaṭeśvara is the modern village of Kother about two miles above Achbal. The stone basin built by Bhoja still exists. See for a description of this sanctuary Ram Chandra Kak's *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 139. Bhoja, king of Malwa, ascended the throne of Dhārā in 1018 A.C. and reigned for more than forty years. He was a prince of uncommon ability, skilled both in the arts of war and peace. Works on science and the fine arts are attributed to him whose fame as a patron of learning still survives. The Bhojpur lake, a lovely sheet of water to the south-east of Bhopal, which originally covered an area of 250 square miles formed by massive embankments is his noblest monument and testifies to the skill of his engineers. Bhoja was a contemporary of the Gaznavite Mahmud. See *Alberuni*, Vol. I, p. 191. The Saṁskṛta for glass is Kāca, a word in current use; it is probably derived from the Babylonian Kās.

194. Nāgarakhaṇḍa is a variety of the Piper betel known as Pān at the present day. See note, Taraṅga VI. verse 19. In western India the Pān creeper is known as Nāgarvel. Pān, which at one time was a luxury for the rich only, is an amenity now available to the poor and rich alike. The cultivation of Pān is very widespread to meet the present enormous demand. The best leaf is, however, grown in Gaya and Lucknow and is called 'Maghai' and 'Golcha' respectively. The state of Savanur in the Dekhan grows a good leaf which is now commonly sold in Śrīnagar.

195. This verse is interesting as a description of the royal crown. Pañcacandraka might mean "Five little moons."

Sūryamatī then removed the maladministration of the state engendered by Padmarāja. 197

And when the terrorism by the equerries, Ḍallaka and others, had been suppressed, the administration once more proceeded undisturbed. 198

From that time onwards it was the queen who applied herself to the affairs of state while the king, having ceased to talk about his exploits, was content to carry out what had to be done. 199

The wife-like submission on the part of the husband and her triumph over her lord owing to their stainless character did not become a matter of reproach for either party. 200

By his devotion to Śiva, lavations, munificence, moral character and like qualities the pious Anantadeva surpassed even the Munis. 201

During the long reign of this king, like a lady choosing a bridegroom, eagerly facing fresh suitors, royal favour passed from one servant to another. 202

A hair-cutter named Kṣema filled the royal treasury, by exacting money through imposts of one-twelfth and by similar methods. 203

Then there was the minister Keśava, a good fellow, a Brahman who was from Trigarta who shed lustre on the king like moonlight on a white terrace. 204

This same man was observed by the people wandering about alone and destitute. Riches which are the flashes of lightning from the cloud of fate—for whom do they endure? 205

Considering that wealth is dependent on destiny, pride of family and achievements on the part of those whose minds are deluded is in vain and their glorification entirely baseless. 206

The care-taker of the shrine of Gaurīśa, Bhūti, the Vaiśya, had sons Haladhara, Vajra and Varāha. 207

From among them Haladhara employed in the service of the queen Sūryamatī, rising into prominence day by day obtained the rank of prime minister. 208

197. The queens of Kaśmīr possessed separate treasuries and a staff of ministers of their own. They could also send orders to the ministers of state which could not be disobeyed. See verse 1206 below.

As the adjoining territories were brought under submission by this man endowed with intelligence, the king, together with his consort, began to look up to him. 209

Kṣemagupta in former times had organised the office of Pādāgra—this intelligent man openly assigned to it among all the departments of state the place of honour. 210

The royal privilege of recording the quality and value of gold which revealed the hoarded wealth of the people, this wise man abolished knowing that future kings would tax accumulated money by fines and other imposts. 211-212

By executing some of those wicked equerries, who had deprived the subjects of their wealth and women, he put an end to the harassment of the people. 213

He, who had abolished the imposts, brought lustre, with the golden glowing shrines of the gods, convents and Agrahāras, to the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu. 214

His brothers and sons, revelling in the intimacy with Fortune, never gave up their predilection for gifts as intoxicated elephants in the presence of Lakṣmī do not give up the predilection for ichor. 215

His nephew the renowned and brave Bimba, son of Varāha, who was in charge of the frontier, gave gifts like water from the clouds during the final deluge. 216

He, who had been the untimely death for a host of Ḍāmaras, lost his life in a fight with the Khaśas refusing to retreat although he had few followers. 217

In Campā having uprooted the rajah Sāla, king Ananta, the conqueror of various ruling princes, placed on the throne a new lord of the territory. 218

By his heroism which was devoid of plan, this king, who forcibly entered territories, was repeatedly reduced to straits in foreign countries. 219

In the campaign against Kalaśa, the son of Tukka, when his soldiers had lost their morale, Haladhara had, by strategy, got him out of Vallāpura. 220

During the invasion of Uraśā, when the enemy had blocked his

209. See note Taraṅga IV. verse 623.

passage, his commander-in-chief made retreat possible by clearing the paths. 221

During the reign of king Ananta, which was disturbed by hostilities and campaigns, all kinds of troubles arose from time to time. 222

The illustrious Rājeśvara, the warden of the frontier, son of Bhadreśvara and many others were slain by the Ḍāmaras of Kramarājya. 223

Although one may look at one's task with the eye of morality and conduct oneself with caution, yet who can live the life of a servant without degradation in the royal residence? 224

Even Haladhara became the target of a wicked rumour owing to his constant attendance upon the queen and was manacled by the infuriate Āśācandra and others. 225

Having been deprived by the king of all his possessions he suffered the hardships of imprisonment; the power of fortune being without substance how can there be perfect happiness? 226

The king having released him from imprisonment, Fortune returned to him and once more embraced him while her face was lit up by the smile of bashfulness white like the regal parasol. 227

And he lovingly experienced the sudden changes from favour to displeasure of the queen from one moment to another like the monsoon with the alternating cloud and sunshine. 228

Thereafter for the simple-minded king, in course of time, the thraldom of the wife became an opening for misfortune. 229

Although dissuaded by the prescient like Haladhara and others, who spoke of the evils of the abdication of power which would bring repentence he, being continually incited by the wife, who was deluded by love of offspring, began to make preparation to give the crown to his son Kalaśa. 230–231

Kalaśa (1063-1089 A.C.)

"You will have to repent, Sire!" though he had been speaking in this wise the chamberlain named Raṇāditya was made to prepare for the coronation." 232

4139 L.E. 1063 A.C.

In the year thirty-nine, on the bright sixth day of Kārtika, the son was sprinkled with the water of coronation by the king. 233

227. Dame Fortune returning to the released prisoner felt ashamed of her own fickleness!

Then in the hall of audience, while presenting the princes Raṇāditya, mindful of the dignity of the royal court and stern in matters of ceremony, placing the hand on the neck while he spoke these words: "this is prince Ananta, Your Majesty!" announced him to the king. 234-235

The enraged king turned round and stared at him when with a smirk he, who was unrelenting in etiquette, openly addressed him thus: 236

"When in this manner are announced the Kānyakubja monarch and the like, what different ceremony should there be for thee who hast renounced the throne itself?" 237

"Day by day thou wilt no doubt be filled with repentance; the renunciation of self-respect cannot be effected even by a Muni." 238

The king, hearkening to his words which appealed to the heart of the far-sighted ministers in that place, became incapable of retort. 239

Seeing, on the next day, the new king attended upon by the full court and the old king accompanied by a meagre retinue the shrewd Haladhara, pretending to be upset, reproached him and induced him with diplomacy to resume sovereignty thus: 240-241

"Having made unhappy the minor son by handing him the burden of state how is it that you, seeking your comfort, do not feel ashamed in this old age?" 242

"Therefore the administration of state affairs should be borne by you while this your son should be free to savour the delights of youth." 243

So saying he induced the king to assume once more his authority and by diplomacy he outwitted Kalaśa. 244

Remaining with the parents constantly even for taking food and the like, Kalaśa thereafter came to be the sovereign merely in name. 245

In all public assemblages, in the worship of weapons and other ceremonies, worthy of royalty, he who was well-nigh an assistant acted as though he were the father's Purohita. 246

234-235. This is an interesting passage. It describes the strict observance of court etiquette and ceremonial. The ex-king was announced to his son, the newly crowned king, by the chamberlain who placed his hand on the ex-king's neck. This was the mode of compelling the person being presented at court to bend and bow—a practice which continues in some of the Indian states to this day. See Taraṅga VIII.2073.

In the case of those, who without reason are overjoyed and who regret without reason—in those whose mind is unsteady like that of the lower animals there is no fixed resolve. 247

Thus having made her husband deliver the crown with such importunity the queen, becoming regretful, appeared to lose her affection for the son. 248

Full of jealousy she, who was hard-minded, could not tolerate in her daughters-in-law the display of costumes and jewelry and the like worthy of the young wives of the king. 249

She compelled the son's wives to do the task of serving maids at all times to such an extent that they did not avert their faces from the polishing of their apartments. 250

The son of Vigraharāja named Kṣitirāja, the king's paternal cousin, at this time by chance came to him. 251

To him he related his grief which was seething in his mind that, his son named Bhuvanarāja, who was enamoured of the throne, had been very rebellious and had taken shelter in the state of Nīlapura and with its armed forces was full of endeavour to make an attack on the father. That filthy-minded man had given the names of the Bhāgavata, held in reverence by his father, to his dogs to whom he had given the sacred thread. 252-254

Although his own wife was opposed to it, Kṣitirāja being very pure-minded had turned his thoughts towards the nectar of complete renunciation which removes the worries of the mind. 255

Having hurriedly given the realm to a son of Kalaśa, next after the eldest, born of queen Rāmalekhā, who was still an infant at the breast, named Utkarṣa, the philosopher prince, in the company of the learned, resorted to the Tīrthas. 256-257

After enjoying for several years the happiness of the inner poise he, who was well-intentioned and a great devotee of Viṣṇu, attained communion with Viṣṇu at Cakradhara. 258

He and the king of men, Bhoja, were far famed for their pre-eminence in liberality and at this epoch both of them were equally well known as the friends of poets. 259

250. The privilege of the mother-in-law still survives in the home alike of the prince and the peasant in India!

Into the lap of the son of his father's paternal cousin, Tanvaṅgarāja, was entrusted by king Anantadeva, the grandson, who was an infant. 260

Tanvaṅga, on his part, having guided to perfect development that child and that state, re-entered Kaśmīr and expired at Cakradhara. 261

Up to this time the relationship among the scions of royalty who shared in common all possessions in this country had not been stigmatised by treachery. 262

From the son of Indurāja, Buddharāja, was born Siddharāja who had begotten a virile son named Madanarāja. The latter's extremely haughty son named Jindurāja who had gone far away from the kingdom when the king was unfavourable but had remained unscathed on account of his overflowing heroism was, at this time, brought by the queen herself who was depressed by the arrogance of the Ḍāmaras and induced to accept the post of minister. 263-265

Thereupon the one-eyed Ḍāmara named Śobha, resident of Degrāma, who had caused grave anxiety to the sovereign, was attacked and killed by him. 266

Then having entrusted to this brave man the chief command of the army the king compelled Rājapurī and other territories to give tribute. 267

For the regime of king Ananta, which had all manner of stumbling blocks and crises, Haladhara had been like a veritable staff to lean upon; he died. 268

When he was about to die at Cakradhara, the king who together with the queen was present by his side and who had sought his advice was thus addressed by him: 269

"Do not recklessly undertake adventurous campaigns in other states. By strategy your disasters in Vallāpura and other places had been screened by me." 270

"Be on your guard against this Jindurāja who has reached the height of power and will cause a rift between you and your son." 271

262. The verse points to the origin of kingship in Kaśmīr. The Mahābhārata mentions different kinds of arrangements to make provision for princes when no portion of the kingdom was given to them as an appanage. They lived jointly with their royal brother, the state bearing all their expenses. Such was the case of the five Pāṇḍava brothers.

263-265. The queen makes herself responsible for law and order and appoints a strong man.

Remembering this statement of his the king artfully got the mighty Jindurāja to give up his arms and had him arrested by Bijja. 272

Then as time passed king Kalaśa, whose mind had been befouled, was induced by servants to take a keen interest in the path resorted to by the unrighteous. 273

Bijja, Pittharāja, Pāja and others were his dear friends. These instigators were scions of royalty born in the line of the Śāhi. 274

The son of the treasurer named Nāga was his intimate servant; this very Jayānanda became his instructor of crooked ways. 275

When the best among the Brahmans, Amarakaṇṭha, had attained communion with Śiva, the king became the disciple of his son Pramadakaṇṭha. 276

To the king, who was naturally immoral, this Guru, who had dismissed the distinction between women to whom there may be access and those to whom there is none, became his instructor in forbidden acts. 277

Of this Guru, who had lost the sense of reasoning, what more need be mentioned?—he who abandoning scruples had turned even to his own daughter for sexual intercourse! 278

By them who were adepts in the procedure relating to important rites and who, being fearless and proud of their own spiritual power, by way of defiance reckoned as naught Bhairava himself—those learned men, through nervousness, fell down on bended knees and were restored to normal condition by the cat-merchant by placing the hand on their heads. 279-280

Formerly, a certain merchant here who carried in the lap a black cat bore the designation of the cat-merchant which had relegated to oblivion his proper name. 281

Pretending to be a simpleton and arrogating to himself the status of a physician and a Guru he, in due course, had secured a foothold and had become the Guru of washermen and other artisans. 282

This merchant got the better of the learned men by placing on their heads his hand which had the powerful odour of cat's droppings and asafoetida. 283

277. This refers to women of near degree of relationship whom affinity made Agamyā, (unapproachable) for cohabitation. See next verse. Agamyā would refer also to women of superior caste.

By such Gurus who thundered, though their character was devoid of substance, day after day, the king was led into darkness as is daylight by the clouds. 284

Those who kept awake till late at night, who indulged in big meals, whose throats were ever malodourous owing to the eructations of undigested meat, who resembled the drains inasmuch as they poured out a stream of liquor as quickly as water on the back to cleanse after evacuation goes down the low level. With these, who had a knowledge of instrumental music, a strolling player had been engaged to serve at night who could play on the flute and who through coercion seduced women. The son of Haladhara named Kanaka in a fit of drunken rage after tying him to a post had his nose cut off by the servants. This satellite, named Camaka, with the missing limb, bringer of ill-luck, gained, by degrees, the favour of the new king by acting as procurer. 285-289

Knowing the art of gaining the king's favour this cock among men even attained a place of honour in the ministry and gained the title of Ṭhakkura. 290

On attaining celebrity when he hastened to break away from the family, the cause of humiliation, he must have been much pleased that prior to it the bridge of his nose had already been broken! 291

What the king, whose mind had been inflamed by him, did, abandoning all shame, although unmentionable will be narrated as an intervening episode. 292

The king's sister named Kallanā and her daughter named Nāgā

284. Clouds which thunder are hollow though they darken the day.

285-289. These verses are realistic and are intended by Kalhaṇa to illustrate the Bībhatsa—one of the necessary eight Rasas or sentiments according to Saṁskṛta poetics. Bībhatsa produces disgust or the loathsome feeling. One of the two foremost poets of modern Germany is Rainer Maria Rilke. In what is regarded as his most remarkable book *The Journal of My Other self* (In original *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Lawids Brigge*) Rilke thus talks of Paris: "There were the mid-day meals and the sicknesses and the exhalations and the smoke of years, and the sweat that breaks out under the armpits and makes the garments heavy, and the stale breath of mouths, and the oily odour of perspiring feet." More and worse need not be cited but such suggestions are to be found in Poe, Amiel, Baudelaire and even Proust.

290. Ṭhakkura is a petty chief. The term survives as Ṭhakor to the present day in Rajputana and Western India where it is a designation of feudatories as well as ruling chiefs.

291. This is an illustration of Kalhaṇa's satire. The cutting of the nose was itself the deepest humiliation.

he, who had a passion for the wives of others, did not omit to enjoy in the way of love. 293

When the aged king and his wife learnt this news, through mortification he did not give vent to condemnation; on the other hand, he concealed the agony. 294

A Brahman, named Losthaka, born in the village of Ovanā, lived by begging for handfuls of corn; this fool even passed as the village diviner. Through the grace of the patron saint of village-fields he, while wandering about at night, had acquired the knowledge of the contents of closed fists and attained great celebrity as the Loṣṭhaka of the closed fists. Of the passionate new king, through acting as Guru in love affairs, pimping for women, and as diviner, he became a dear friend. 295-297

The superintendent of the monastery of Bhaṭṭāraka was the good Vyomaśiva with the matted hair; in order to assume the title of Khurkhuṭa he had taken to the vow of constant austerity. 298

The blind musician named Mamma who rendered service during his worship had a native of Avantipura, a little Brahman acolyte, to lead by the hand, named Madana who when destitute had formerly been taken up as a protégé. He, after his wretched hempen garments had been discarded, having been sent by Vyomaśiva into the presence of the king bearing the flowers........The talkative fellow, by slow degrees, gained extreme intimacy by participating and meddling in the vile conversation regarding procuration. 299-302

By these and other satellites and flatterers the vicious Kalaśa was soon deluded and he came to consider vices, too, as virtues having been made corrupt. 303

Those for whom the phrase which makes one blush is a witticism, the persecution of the subjects a seemly act, shamelessness is mettlesomeness, union with a woman to whom there should be no access a fine sensation, putting up with abuse flung by the wicked is simplicity—in their opinion no act whatever is a vile act which being considered wrong has to be avoided. 304

The king, through his keenness for furtive love, wandered during

298. The title Khurkhuṭa was perhaps derived from the Tibetan 'Khutukhtu.'

299-302. There is a slight lacuna in the text.

the nights from house to house and in the embraces of his wife found no delight. 305

Amours with the wives of others, which become transports of love on account of dependence on intermediaries, cause the flame of desire to flare up in the case of the love-lorn like an offering of melted butter. 306

Having used as pioneers these five or six procurers the king, on one occasion, proceeded to the house of Jindurāja, at night, as a furtive lover. 307

For it was the daughter-in-law of Jindurāja, who was very fond of going with men, who had given a rendezvous by night in her own apartment to king Kalaśa. 308

As he was entering the portals of the house the Caṇḍālas, warned by the dogs which were barking, rushed at him with drawn swords in fear of thieves. 309

Seeing them ready to slay him, who had fallen on the floor through terror, the followers throwing their own bodies on his back saved him. 310

From the midst of them who were dealing blows with the fists etc. he was with difficulty liberated by the personal staff who spoke in this wise, "Stop it! this is king Kalaśa." 311

That after sending the noseless man he had gone out to meet the woman was, no doubt, the very thing which had proved inauspicious for this lover. 312

He had set out from his residence rendered helpless by the side glances of the beloved; on the way he missed death by the side glances of the goddess of destruction through Providence. 313

Having transgressed morality, through the fault of his own mind he had suffered humiliation from the Untouchables, protector of the land though he was. 314

On account of these senses Indra, Candra and others, although they are gods, have been put to shame; how then could the honour of a mortal not be withered by them? 315

307. Caurya-Kāmuka=furtive lover.
308. Puṁścalī=literally a woman who is after men, a harlot.
309. Candālas=the Untouchables were trusted sentries and watchmen in those days as they still are in most parts of India. See VIII.1825. The Ḍomba soldiers are referred to in VIII.94.
312. The sight of one whose nose is cut is unlucky. See Taraṅga IV.304.

First springs up sinister infamy then reprehensible desire, then to
start with righteousness comes to an end and thereafter the laudable
tradition of self-respect; first the family is imperilled and then life
itself; what else does not get upset when character, which is the
wishing stone, has gone to pieces? 316

That very night when the immoral king had reached the royal
palace, the parents learnt that news. 317

Both, after having wept for a long time for the son through love
woven with shame and sorrow, made a resolution to imprison him
who had been guilty. 318

And in making plans to place on the throne the eldest of the grand-
sons, the son of Bappikā, Harṣa, the ocean of all arts, they spent that
night. 319

Then at day-break when summoned by them king Kalaśa, full of
nervousness, spoke to Bijja and Jayānanda of the peril from the
father. 320

By their advice, taking the hand of Jayānanda and escorted by
Bijja, he somehow entered the parents' apartments. 321

He had hardly entered when the father gave him a slap across the
face and thus ordered, "You wretch! give up the dagger." 322

Supporting him, the joints of whose limbs felt loose in panic,
with the arm Bijja touching his sword addressed the king with firm-
ness:

"Your majesty being himself in the forefront of the honourable 323
how is it that you do not realize that the great pledge of chivalry
cannot be surrendered by men of honour?"

"Being in receipt of salary, armed, and a Rājaputra how can I 324
desert my master in this difficulty while I am alive?"

"Your Majesty is the father, he is the son; on another occasion, 325
O lord of the land! When I am not present may you be pleased to
take such action with reference to him as may be fit."

Having diddled the simple-minded king with words, which were 326

319. See note, verse 703 below on the law relating to succession.

324-326. In the age of feudalism the immediate lord was the one to whom the liegeman owed homage. Discharge of duty by a liegeman to his own lord has thus been repeatedly praised by Kalhaṇa although the servant or retainer by fighting against the king of the country must in fact have been guilty of treason.

unctuous as well as jarring, Bijja taking his master walked away from his presence. 327

Bijja's firmness which was quite superhuman was admired by the resolute that in front of king Ananta himself he had been bold in this manner. 328

The infuriate queen, by the power of coming events, happened to be sitting, under a vow of silence which could not be given up, in prayer at that time. 329

If she had desired to exert herself then surely at this time either the total ruin or the imprisonment of Kalaśa and nothing else could have taken place. 330

Then by Bijja the frightened Kalaśa was immediately conducted inside the apartments of his wife named Dilhā. 331

"He is suffering from headache"—so saying that sagacious lady, who knew what had happened, rubbed oil on the forehead of her affrighted husband. 332

By this excuse having stopped the entry of all persons she protected her husband and placed Bijja at the door on guard. 333

Then the queen, who had concluded her meditation, after taunting the king went, on the pretext of enquiring after his health, to her son. 334

When the king went in the same way, with the fixed determination to arrest, he alone was permitted entry by Bijja. 335

His followers having been forbidden, the king thereupon grew angered and in his rage the proud man started to go to Vijayeśvara. 336

While he was journeying with the queen and had arrived near Padmapura, Viśśāvaṭṭa and other Brahmans who lived there approached and thus addressed him: 337

"Having voluntarily abdicated power, O king! why do you now repent? Regret for an act, whether it was right or wrong, is not worthwhile." 338

"Further, 'these subjects have been delivered by me to a wicked-minded person'—even when you inwardly think like this, it is not right on your part to slander the wicked son." 339

"Like a mechanical doll, the king has in fact no power whatever; he is good or bad according to the good fortune or misfortune of the subjects." 340

"Whether the water-bearing clouds discharge rain or lightning that is the fruit of Karma resulting from the good or evil actions of the trees." 341

"Having abandoned the son, who has taken to the wrong path, you desire to live in peace; how is this to succeed in your case when you have set out leaving the treasury behind?" 342

"Even though a man has ability of the highest order, good family and pure character but is lacking in wealth who will touch him like the sword the strength of which inheres in the sharp edge, whose hilt is good, although it is faultless, but which is without a scabbard?" 343

After listening to this, intending to return, while the king was thinking over it, the son accompanied by his wife arrived and placated him. 344

But after entering Śrīnagara he, whose anger had not been appeased, took all his property barring the palaces and once more went away. 345

Then having personally assumed charge of the horses, arms, armour and the like he departed and remained waiting for the queen on the opposite bank of the river for some time. 346

The royal ladies loaded the boats with their possessions of all kinds and departing did not leave behind in the apartments even iron-nails. 347

Unaware of the happenings, the people on the previous occasion had been quiet at their departure; when they now learnt the news they were loud-mouthed in lamentation. 348

As a leave-taking in the city the people offered both of them flowers in the hollow of the hands and strew continuous votive offerings in the guise of tear-drops. 349

"Alas! O mother! alas! O father! where are you both going away like this?" save such a wail no other sound was heard on that occasion on the roads. 350

340. Yantraputraka=a mechanical doll; a puppet or manikin.

343. There is a double entendre and the various attributes applicable to the sword and the man without wealth have been separately translated.

348. Mukhara=loud-mouthed: wailing survives in Kaśmīr to the present day.

On the road when at intervals the sound of lamentation ceased, the sound of waterfalls became audible as though it were the deep sigh of sorrow of the mountains. 351

Their ears which had got accustomed to the continuous lamentation on that road seemed to hear the wailing repeatedly even in solitude. 352

On the highway the people, seeing them in that plight through the son's fault, rebuked the very birds for feeding their young. 353

To both of them who at heart were agonised by the misdemeanour of the son, the sight of Vijayeśvara restored serenity of mind as if he were an affectionate friend. 354

And there occupied in housing their servants, horses, stores and the like and in making arrangements the two of them passed the day. 355

That locality being filled with heaps of bags of treasure and stores, the streets in the market seemed as if they were covered with stacks of fire-wood. 356

Royal princes, the sons of Tanvaṅgarāja, Guṅga and other kinsfolk, Śuryavarmacandra and other Ḍāmaras followed him. 357

The king, having posted Kṣīrabhūpa and other Ḍāmaras at Naunagara and other places in their own locality on guard, felt secure. 358

His Majesty king Ananta who had set his mind altogether at rest began to pass the days in holy festivities at Vijayeśvara. 359

Bands of Rājaputras, cavaliers, men-at-arms, and Ḍāmaras fixed their residence in the vicinity of the aged sovereign. 360

In the year fifty-five, in the month of Jyeṣṭha, he, having come out, arrived at Vijayeśvara and experienced the joy of paradise. 361 *4155 L.E. (1079 A.C.)*

Kalaśa, on the other hand, found on the departure of the king that the wealth of the land had gone just as when the guardian-snake has moved away the region where the treasure had been, is devoid of precious stones. 362

In order to make his own regime bright he bent his energy although he had been drained and taking counsel with Bijja and others he appointed as officers of state men who were respected. 363

Jayānanda was appointed the prime minister by him and Varāhadeva, native of Vitastātra town, warden of the frontier. 364

Vijayamitra, who had been the official in charge of clothing during

Jindurāja's chief command of the army, was made the generalissimo of the army. 365

And according to merit having appointed others also to be officers of state the king being agitated about a contest with the father began to worry about funds. 366

Then Jayānanda, anxious to acquire influence over the infantry, made efforts and even from capitalists, who were undesirable, accepted loans. 367

Having won over the infantry he, escorted by Bijja and other Rājaputras, then arrived at Avantipura to fight the old king. 368

Jindurāja, who had been requested to make use of the opportunity by the king and had been discharged from prison, set forth to fight by the route of Śimikā. 369

Hearing of these preparations the enraged Ḍāmaras, horsemen, and others who were true to him, joined the old king in a hurry. 370

With the troops of horses who played with the balls placed before them and with armaments the entire forest under the shelter of the parasol became crowded at Vijayakṣetra. 371

Then Sūryamatī strove hard and begged from her very wrathful husband, through affection for the son, an armistice for two days. 372

Then at night she sent her most confidential men, Mayya and other Brahmans, and by their mouth she sent this secret message to the son: 373

"What, O son! is this perversity of thought on thy part which forebodes ruin that thou art desirous of fighting this day with thy father of mighty valour?" 374

"By the mere knitting of whose brows the ruler of the Darads and others were destroyed, in that flame of anger why dost thou wish to offer thyself like a moth?" 375

"When the king who is like fire once mounts the charger, pray who will be the saviour of thy soldiers who are like straw?" 376

"Equipped with how many divisions of the army, with how much courage, and what funds is Your Highness rushing to fight this foremost of the puissants?" 377

"The kingdom has been renounced by him through Providence,

enjoy it in its entirety; by the father living in a sanctuary what harm is being done to thee?" 378

"By those who yearn for dissensions thou art being hurled into this very terrible calamity; in a very few days thou wilt be reduced, impecunious as thou art, to the very extreme of destitution." 379

"Withdraw the forces, peril from the father there is none for thee so long as I am alive; on the contrary melt him, who is straightforward, with words of reconciliation." 380

In this manner the son, having been requested secretly through the mouth of the emissaries by the mother, withdrew the army that very night from all directions to his own vicinity. 381

The queen, on the other hand, boldly taunted the husband who, on hearing of the withdrawal of the troops from the messengers, who had approached, was gratified. 382

Although the queen had thus becalmed their mutual attitude of defiance, through the incitements of slanderers their minds were reduced to bitterness from time to time. 383

For such is the nature of enmity that, in spite of repeated reconciliations, the heart seeks differences like wet cloth which gives way when it has been repeatedly patched. 384

When in the vestibule outside after hearkening to the stories about the son the king's mind got heated on entering the apartment, by the comments of his bold wife, he was reduced to numbness. 385

In this manner he got heated each day and cooled down at night; the pure-minded man came to have the semblance of a small pool of clear water in autumn. 386

The son caused the ruin of the houses and other property of the father's partizans; but the father, however, could do nothing to the partizans of the son being under the controlling influence of the wife. 387

Worried by the jarring words of the wife who was blinded by affection for the son as well as by his followers who had suffered injury, the king ever remained in an unhappy state. 388

He was desirous of depriving the son of the realm knowing the

384. There is here a double entendre applicable to 'enmity' and 'wet cloth' respectively.

latter's army lacked in men of courage; and as for Jindurāja he did not think much of his bravery. 389

When he was planning to deprive the son of the throne, Tanvaṅga's sons were requested by him to assume the charge of the state, but they, at that time, were averse to it; at this juncture the queen, apprehending harm to her own descendants, instigated him at night and summoned Harṣa through messengers to make him king. 390-391

He, when invited by the emissaries of the grandparents and being eager for adventure, escaped from the outer court although guarded by armed guards. 392

By dint of rubbing with the spur, in half a moment, he, full of spirit, traversed on the horse, which was swift as thought, the five Yojanas of the route. 393

Many army horses raced in pursuit of that charger, which surpassed his training, but on the way yielded helplessly to exhaustion. 394

On arrival he fell at the feet of his grandparents who with streaming tears of joy performed the Abhiṣeka upon him. 395

The prince having gone over to them, Kalaśa began to tremble at heart and being anxious for peace he refrained from conduct disagreeable to the parents. 396

From Śrīnagara he sent letters to the prince but wisely did not reveal his estrangement owing to the prevailing disturbed condition of the realm. 397

Thus, although enmity continued to grow, king Kalaśa for a time acted according to the advice of the mother to some extent. 398

When the commander-in-chief planned the march to Khaśālī by order of Kalaśa, the queen induced her husband to allow him passage after he had made his obeisance. 399

At this juncture, in order to put an end to their enmity which was proving ruinous to the country, the Brahmans began, with reference to the father and son, a hunger-strike. 400

Thereupon peace was concluded and in pursuance thereto the couple went and lived for two and a half months in the city. 401

But on learning that by the advice of Jayānanda and others the

400-401. The Brahmans went on hunger-strike to put an end to a dispute between the prince and his royal father and apparently succeeded for a while.

son was preparing to imprison them they were grieved and departing once more went to Vijayeśvara. 402

The son had the stacks of hay for their horses set on fire at night and killed their infantry by the use of poison, sword and fire. 403

Although the hostility was thus growing, the good queen yielding to loving kindness for her offspring prevented retaliatory measures on the part of her husband. 404

At this time there was a courtesan, a fisherwoman, named Luḍḍā who had a baldheaded paramour named Thakka, a Ḍāmara, whose wits were under her control. The wicked-minded Kalaśa was wont to hear his parents called by their names by those near him and his face used to beam with the smile of amusement. 405-406

On the other hand the couple, who gave in gifts their own weight in gold, by amazing acts of charity relieved the strain on their mind. 407

When, however, their attitude of firmness was not given up owing to their wealth, the impious son caused arson at night. 408

By that fire, together with all the material resources of the king, was reduced to mere ashes the township of Vijayeśvara. 409

In her grief at the total ruin the depressed queen prepared herself for death but she was somehow drawn away by the sons of Tanvaṅga from the burning house. 410

Having laid aside their clothes while they slept at night and jumped out of the bed the entire royal force had no raiment but the sky. 411

On the top of his palace king Kalaśa who was watching through joy danced in time with the mighty flames which embraced the sky. 412

The king having lost everything crossed over the further side of the river; yet he was submerged, together with the wife, in the ocean of sadness which was difficult to traverse. 413

407. Tulāpuruṣa=The Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana in proclaiming himself an independent ruler is reported to have performed the royal act of Tulāpuruṣa—weighing himself against gold and distributing it among Brahmans and other recipients deserving of charity. Śivaji, too, performed the Tulāpuruṣa when he was crowned king at Raigarh. This custom was adopted by the Mughals. "On the third day of the festival the king and after him several Omrahs were weighed with a great deal of ceremony in large scales which as well as the weights are, they say, of solid gold. I recollect that all the courtiers expressed much joy when it was found that Aurangzeb weighed two pounds more than the year preceding." *Bernier* V. 270.

At day-break the queen found a jewel Liṅga which had not been burnt by the fire; she sold it for seventy lakhs to the Ṭākas who had approached her. 414

She first bought food and raiment for the servants with this money and also caused the dwellings which had been burnt to be cleared. 415

From below the heap of ashes so much gold and other valuables were recovered by the king that in these days O wonder! the bare recital produces curiosity. 416

The king lived in that city, which had become a barren waste, together with his followers under parasol-like roofs woven from reed-bark. 417

With even such small pecuniary resources as he possessed the aged king was desirous of rebuilding the town anew but failed to achieve it for lack of jurisdiction befitting a king. 418

Not having experienced any reverse owing to the partiality of the mother the new king was for ever causing annoyance to the father by painful messages. 419

When, however, the father was constantly told through the mouth of emissaries to go to Parṇotsa by the son who eager for banishment was insistent; when by his wife, who ruled him, he was urged with taunts to carry out this very plan every moment, then, on one occasion, while in private in the presence of Tanvaṅga's son Thakkana he, growing angered, spoke to her in harsh language such as had never been used before as follows: 420-422

"Self-respect, glory, sovereignty, power, intellect and wealth, I who have been obedient to the wife, alas! what have I not lost?" 423

"In vain have people considered women to be the appendages of men; in the end it is the men who are the playthings of women." 424

"In the flood of jealousy by the passionate and through hatred by those who have ceased to love how many men in this world have not been made by wives the guests of the Destroyer?" 425

"Some women have deprived their husbands by acts of sorcery of beauty, some of strength, some of understanding, some of virility and others of life." 426

414. According to Prof. Bühler the Ṭākas were the merchants of Ṭakkadeśa. This region extended from the south of the Pir Pantsal Range to modern Sialkot.

"Women proud of their swelling bosom take away the land by means of sons born in other families just as rivers maddened by the rising clouds carry away soil through the boulders." 427

" 'Eventually these will furnish the maintenance; of what use are the latter who are in senile decay?' thus women cherish the sons but let the husbands wither away." 428

"Although I was all the time aware of these failings of the wife, through regard for her reputation she has not been repudiated by me." 429

"But she, who has gained mastery over me, having destroyed my happiness and prosperity in this world, is striving to ruin the hope of happiness even in the next world." 430

"Wrinkled and grey and nearing the time of death as I am, where is the suitable place for me to go save Vijayakṣetra?" 431

"How is the thirst for service near the door of the moon-crested Śiva, which is capable of annihilating sin, to be quenched?" 432

"A son is the saviour in both the worlds; what man has such a son who sends me away from a sanctuary and wishes that I should die in the wrong way?" 433

"There occurs to my mind today the rumour which has been oft repeated that he who was born in another family had been surreptitiously introduced by her." 434

"The son who resembles not in figure and manners, he who is hostile to the kindred, and who is without affection for the father may be known to be of alien seed." 435

Casting off restraint upon the will and disclosing the inner feelings after a long time the husband, while he spoke in this fashion, hit her in the vital parts. 436

Since in front of an agnate the secret origin of the son had been revealed and she had been attacked in harsh language, she felt the more humiliated. 437

Of the Mahattama named Praśasta Kalaśa, in fact, he was the son who had been substituted by her when her child had died—such had been the rumour among the people. 438

427. There is a pun on the words Payodhara-unnati which means (1) swelling floods in the case of rivers, (2) prominent breasts in the case of women.

Immoderate language on the part of the husband is felt by women, who have subdued their husbands, like a kick of an Untouchable's foot on the head. 439

Thus it was that she, through anger, spoke with accustomed audacity in a loud voice, like a young woman among the commoners, to the husband hard and jarring words as follows: 440

"This lack-lustre, anchorite, dullard, who has suffered reversal of fortune and who has grown old to no purpose—the fool does not know where and what to say!" 441

"He who after the bath formerly had, on getting up, nothing for a covering, do the people not know that since he got me he has been the loser!" 442

"Worthy of the ladies of your own family is what you have said to me; why not do it? this is the time for undergoing atonement." 443

"'He is stupid, superannuated, banished from the country by the son, and is deserted even by the wife' of such calumny the fact is that I have a horror." 444

Thereupon the king, wrung with pain by her words pregnant with taunting insinuations regarding the failings of his family, fell silent. 445

But while his face showed no trace of pain, from near his seat a stream of blood as it spread outwards became clearly visible. 446

Thereupon while the queen was bewildered, the weeping Thakkana saw that the king in his rage had thrust the dagger in the anus. 447

Then the very resolute king, fearing humiliation, himself ordered him "the king has suffered from excessive hemorrhage" let such an announcement be made outside." 448

Kings who lacking in statecraft are in the thraldom of women, who hand over power to the son, who place reliance once more in a hurry on a servant who has been the cause of disgrace, who enhance the reputation of a mean foe by ill-planned attacks, succumb to final destruction ere long. 449

440. For a woman of quality to rise her voice is not considered decent. Prākṛta is the word for a commoner; elsewhere Kalhaṇa uses the word Sāmānya for the commons.

444. The queen suggests that she would willingly have left the ex-king but for the scandal of deserting him while he was in such a plight.

"The king having been out on horse-back had suffered from the autumnal sun; by drinking coriander water when thirsty he had brought on hemorrhage"—thus the king's men who were secretive spread the news in such a way that no one came to know of the happenings in the public outside. 450-451

In the year fifty-seven, on the full moon of Kārtika, in front of the image of Vijayeśa, the king gave up his life. 452 4157 *L.E.* (1081 *A.C.*)

Free from the annoyance of the wife and the son, the king who deserved rest stretched both his legs and found the opportunity to sleep after a long time. 453

He who had borne no resentment against anyone and against whom none had any grudge, the high-minded man was made happy and serene by death. 454

As Saṁgrāmarāja's heir he had, in fact, not been a favourite of anyone; on the floor covered with a cloth he slept like a waif. 455

Neither melting at the lamentations of friends, nor resenting the comments of the foe the king, who had renounced everything, acquired the knowledge of the mystery of the long sleep. 456

The husband having given up life, as if for atonement on account of the transgression of courteous behaviour, the grateful wife constituted herself the guardian. 457

From the Rājaputra to the Caṇḍāla she paid up the daily allowances to the servants as if she were her normal self in order to make her husband free from debt. 458

When all the servants had received the wages, she herself made them swear by libation for the wellbeing of the grandson. 459

With the head placed at her feet the grandson was weeping; kissing him on the forehead she gave him the sacred libation and he was warned by her thus, "Do not trust your father." 460

Then getting up the saintly lady herself took the cane to act as the chamberlain for her husband while she had him decorated for the last time. 461

Having ordered a hundred horsemen in that very place for the protection of the grandson, she then sent away the husband mounted in a palanquin. 462

461. To act as chamberlain was a high honour even for persons connected with royalty. See, IV 485; VII 461; VIII-11, 1936.

One night and a half having passed in this way the lady, for whom the husband was the deity, bowed to Vijayeśa and set out seated in a litter. 463

Seeing the two of them, emerge the loud wailing of the people, mingling with the waves of funeral music, rent as it were the directions asunder. 464

Reflected in the embellishments of the beflagged palanquin, the subjects who were close to the king appeared as if they were preparing to follow him in death. 465

The locks of hair waving in the breeze of the rajahs who had lent their shoulders bore the semblance of yak-tails over the king who was in the palanquin. 466

Watching the last services rendered by the troops, the queen reached the funeral ground as the day was longing for sunset. 467

Either through loving tenderness for the son which was difficult to give up or for some other reason she, at this moment, became eager for the sight of her son. 468

Believing that dust had been swirled up by the troops she became eager and strained her neck in the hope of the arrival of Kalaśa. 469

At this juncture some persons came along the road from Śrīnagara; "What! has Kalaśa come?"—thus they were questioned by her in person. 470

The son, however, who at this moment was desirous of going to his mother had been prevented by those who had caused the differences by raising many a scare. 471

Then the queen seized with disappointment about seeing the son, prayed to the waters of the Vitastā and thus recited this verse. 472

"Those who die with the waters of the Vitastā inside them would, without doubt, find liberation like the expounders of the Vedas." 473

Then when she had drunk the Vitastā water, which had been brought to her, and sprinkled it, she thus cursed the slanderers who had caused the ruin of filial affection. 474

465. The Indian palanquin was elegantly designed. During the Mughal period Bernier describing this mode of travel writes that "the Emperor was most commonly carried on men's shoulders in a tactravān or field throne wherein he sits. This tact is a species of magnificent tabernacle with painted and gilt pillars and glass windows."

"Those who have been the cause of the fatal enmity between us two and our son may they, together with their families, perish in a few days." 475

By this infallible curse of the queen, who had suffered anguish, Jayānanda, Jindurāja and others soon came by death. 476

And in order to give a quietus to the scandal which had originated through her intimacy with Haladhara, the saintly lady duly made a solemn affirmation staking her existence in the other world. 477

In this manner after vindicating her very chaste character, she with the smile of purity sprang from the covered litter into the blazing fire. 478

The sky was festooned with the flames of fire as if in celebration of her arrival it had been painted with minium by the ageless gods. 479

The people were not aware of the crackling owing to their own wails nor of the heat owing to their burning sorrow; thus they perceived the fire as if it were delineated in a picture. 480

Gaṅgādhara, Ṭakkibuddha, the palanquin-bearer Daṇḍaka and the maids Uddā, Nonikā and Valgā followed her in death. 481

Senaṭa and Kṣemaṭa born in the families of Bappaṭa and Udbhaṭa respectively were favourites of the king; renouncing the world they stayed in Vijayeśvara. 482

Living creatures are by nature mechanisms which are very fragile, they do not last for a long time; the mind has this unique quality which is durable inasmuch as a marvellous saga when lodged in it does not ooze out, nor become stale nor increase, like the water of the divine Gaṅgā when placed in a glass jar. 483

The king had passed sixty-one years of his age when, together with his wife, he attained beatific communion with Śiva and Pārvatī. 484

Then after collecting their ashes all the sons of Tanvaṅgarāja set out on the fourth day for the Gaṅgā. 485

Surrounded by the retinue of the grandfather and the treasure,

481. The servants and liegemen and liege women of royalty sought voluntary death. This ancient custom which still survives in Japan is now obsolete in India. See VII. 1447, VIII. 12-13, 414, 2818.

485. The verse refers to the custom which is current among the Kaśmīrī Brahmans of collecting the ashes of the dead on the third day.

Harṣa, on the other hand, assumed an attitude hostile to his father at Vijayeśvara. 486

During the first struggle, the father had been in "the splendid city" and his father in the sacred Vijayeśvara; in this the son was there while the father was in Śrīnagara. 487

Then to his very spendthrift son the impecunious father, fearing an upheaval, diplomatically made requests and through emissaries sued for peace. 488

Elated by the repeated approach of these men who spoke in a suitable manner the prince was induced to settle terms with the father somehow. 489

The safety of the grandfather's treasure and his personal safety were guaranteed to the son by the father, when a daily allowance had been fixed for him. 490

As the king entered Vijayeśvara to fetch the son his eyes felt a burning sensation on account of the houses which had been burnt down as well as his ears owing to the reproaches of the people. 491

After swearing by sacred libation, he took the prince with him and entered the city and he deposited the treasure in safe custody by putting on seals bearing the prince's name. 492

During this period the king's mind took a religious turn and developed a due regard for wealth which cut at the root of poverty in every way. 493

One Nayana of Selyapura, a householder, had a clever son named Jayyaka, who had gradually attained the status of a Ḍāmara. 494

He had the income of his landed property and he sold provisions in distant districts; having by means of trade amassed wealth, by degrees, the avid man began to emulate the god of wealth. 495

For a league and a half he had the soil dug and he continued to fill it with piles of Dīnnāras and on the surface he had rice sown. 496

He had the deposits of Dīnnāras made during the night through the servants and apprehensive of disclosure, he had several of them secretly assassinated. 497

487. Śrīnagar was 'the splendid city' as Paris is known as 'la ville lumiere.'

490. This means that a daily allowance was fixed for king Kalaśa under the pact out of Harṣa's funds.

494. It was open to every one to attain the status of a Ḍāmara. See Traraṅga IV. 348.

When he had planned to get hold of Bhāṅgila, his force suddenly took to flight and his horse getting entangled in a vine he was slain by an unknown soldier. 498

With this ample wealth which had been recovered from underneath the earth, the king got rid of impecuniosity as long as he lived. 499

While his Dīnnāras covered with earth were being washed day and night the waters of the Vitastā became turbid for many months. 500

It is amazing that misers who neither part with nor enjoy riches should, in time, turn out magnanimous inasmuch as they guard them with much discomfort for the sake of others. 501

The snake maintains life by inhaling air, sleeps in a hole of blinding darkness, being naked he looks forward to a veil lent by another during the delight of love to end his embarrassment. Developing this kind of miserliness he guards treasure for the benefit of others; is there any one superior to a miser in doing good to others? 502

And through many other channels various material resources reached the lucky king as rivers pour into the sea. 503

Riches come by themselves with the dawn of good luck to a man in a hundred ways from all quarters, as birds arrive at the tree at eventide. 504

The streams attain great power and nourish the earth from below at its sources; water falls from the sky and the directions pour out water through the mouths of the channels; thus in the season of the clouds a dried up lake is filled up from all sides. On the rise of good fortune riches enter in a hundred ways—what is it which does not become an entrance gate? 505

Thereafter in loving kindness and care of the people like a father, Kalaśa's mind became skilful by the dawn of the subjects' merits of the past. 506

Although like a Baniyā he was himself an adept in keeping accounts, he was discriminate in liberality for good objects and was ever open-handed. 507

Personally scrutinizing the revenue and expenditure present and

499. The king was entitled, under the law of the Āryas, in the absence of all heirs to take the property of those, other than Brahmans, who died without issue. See *Mitākṣarā*, Ch. II. Sec. VII Art. 5.

future he, in the manner of a government clerk, did not allow the birch-bark and the chalk to be away from his side. 508

As he personally bought precious stones and the like for prices according to lustre, no dealers were able to deceive in the sales. 509

Adhering to the three-fold classification, the pleasure-loving king was invisible from midday onward to all officials. 510

While he investigated through spies the doings of his own people as well as of aliens, what perhaps remained unknown to him were the happenings in the dreams of his subjects. 511

As he was devoted to the kingdom like a householder to his own dwelling house, the people in his state did not touch destitution. 512

Alarmed by scandals, the king weeded out those who were thorns and he did not ever award punishment in public even to the thieves. 513

No objective of his was lost which the ministers had to make good; he, on the contrary, put right the objective which had been spoilt by the ministers. 514

Occupied in celebrating weddings, sacrifices, pilgrimages and a hundred other festivities, the people were seen ever merry and bright during his regime. 515

The rulers of the adjacent territories overwhelmed by him who was versed in diplomacy were, even in the matter of food and personal behaviour, rendered incompetent in the absence of his supervisors. 516

Tanvaṅga's three sons, Thakkana and others, who had returned from abroad as well as the sons of Guṅga, Malla and others who were the younger brothers of one predeceased—he gratified them as well as relatives and servants with munificent gifts of riches just as the moon delights with the digits, streaming with ambrosia, the gods and the Manes. 517-518

The king had reached ripe age yet he was not free from immorality and the wicked ways taught by the foul men from the plains. 519

510. The rule to be followed with regard to the various duties of the Sovereign is to be found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 100-17) and the *Mahābhārata* (II. 5, 85). The Vedic injunction of Dakṣa is as follows: Pūrvāhṇe cācared dharmaṁ Madhyāhne 'rtham upārjayet Sāyāhne cācaret kāmam ity eṣā vaidikī Śrutiḥ=In the forenoon he should perform religious duties, at midday he should attend to the political and economic tasks, at eventide he should enjoy love; such is the Vedic tradition.

The Ṭakka named Vulliya brought for him maidens, born in different countries, whom he purchased from the Turks. 520

With these and with the wives of others, who had been carried away through the infatuation of their beauty, he brought up the number of his mistresses to seventy-two. 521

Although he made love to many women every day, he did not lack in virility because of extracts of fish and other aphrodisiacs. 522

When he was busy with the Gurus in high ritual services he, giving up decorum, ate the principal offering of flesh. 523

Although he was a sinner in this way, he renovated the town and the stone temple of Śiva at Vijayakṣetra which had been burnt down. 524

And the king constructed, on the crest of the stone temple of Vijayeśa, a golden parasol which kissed the sky on the head. 525

A permanent endowment was made at Tripureśvara and a temple of Śiva, of which the Āmalaka ornament was of gold. 526

Then the king, an adept in acts of piety, built Kalaśeśvara, the stone shrine of which had a roof decorated with innumerable cups of gold. 527

Over the temple of Kalaśeśa, while the king was planning a parasol

520. By the law of the Āryas an Ārya could not be sold as a slave. Slave women were, however, early imported from Greece and Hellenised Afghanistan for the households of ruling princes in India and were known as the Yavanī (Greek women). They were ushers and favourite personal attendants. The slave trade flourished among the Arabs and later the Turks. For Kalhaṇa's condemnation of this foul trade against the law and custom of the Āryas see IV. 397 n.

522. About the art of rejuvenation of the Hindus Alberuni says: "They have a science similar to alchemy which is quite peculiar to them. They call it *Rasāyana*, a word composed with *rasa* i.e. gold. It means an art which is restricted to certain operations, drugs and compound medicines, most of which are taken from plants. Its principles restore the health of those who were ill beyond hope, and give back youth to fading old age, so that people became again what they were in the age near puberty; white hair becomes black again, the keenness of the senses is restored as well as the capacity for juvenile agility, and even for cohabitation, and the life of people in this world is even extended to a long period... A famous representative of this art was Nāgārjuna, a native of the fort Daihak, near Somnāth. He excelled in it and composed a book which contains the substance of the whole literature on this subject, and is very rare. He lived nearly a hundred years before our time." Vol. I. p. 188.

526. The Āmalaka is a cushion on the top of a Śikhara or spire of a temple which is usually surmounted by a Kalaśa, a light vase-shaped ornament.

of gold, an architect who was born in the country of the Turks came to him. 528

While he said that with thousands of gold bars the gold parasol could be finished, he kept secret his own art of putting gold on copper which he knew. For some days he remained in the enjoyment of royal hospitality; then the minister Nonaka, who was very intelligent, learnt the art by questioning the architect, who being thus disconcerted, went away as he had come. 529–531

A Bāṇaliṅga known as Ananteśa and many other sacred images were founded by the king who surpassed Indra in prosperity. 532

The rajah of Rājapurī had gone to his rest; thereupon his son known as Saṁgrāmapāla had been sprinkled for the coronation. 533

Aiming at the seizure of the principality, the uncle of the infant rajah named Madanapāla made powerful endeavour through arrogance. 534

Through fear of him, the sister of Saṁgrāmapāla, as well as the Ṭhakkura Jassarāja, sought refuge with the king to implore his assistance. 535

The king, having granted the favour, gave to the two of them as an ally Jayānanda, supported by Bijja and other brave men. 536

Having scattered the enemy, he triumphantly occupied the principality; when the official task had ended he became an object of suspicion to the ministers of Saṁgrāmapāla. 537

Anxious for his departure, they gave him various threats with intent to frighten him but that brave man was not shaken. 538

"This mentality on the part of the people of Rājapurī is due to him"—suspecting in this way, he thereafter bore a grudge against Bijja. 539

They then gave him money and begged him, whereupon the shrewd man returned after posting his own troops there on the pretext of protection. 540

When, in this manner, after acquiring Rājapurī he had returned to court, the prescient king Kalaśa, who had inside knowledge of affairs of state, was gratified. 541

In course of time when Bijja and others began to put on the airs of royalty, Jayānanda, as luck would have it, was touched by disease which proved fatal. 542

When the sovereign came to his house to get news of his health, he remarked—"There is something confidential to be said"—during the course of conversation. 543

When he said nothing although every one had gone out, then Bijja on the excuse of desiring to get rid of the Tāmbūla went outside. 544

As he was going out, the king as well as his minister said, "Why do you go out?" Nevertheless that shrewd man came away and tarried outside. 545

Jayānanda, referring to the incidents at Rājapurī, said to the king, "It is clear the realm is indeed not yours since Bijja has acquired power." 546

And he showed to the king an account of the big profits made by Bijja from affairs of state which exceeded the salary received by him. 547

The king was perturbed and thereafter set out for his palace and Bijja, who knew the inner working of the mind, requested leave to go abroad. 548

Pretending to retain him by a touch of affection the king gave him, when he pressed, permission to depart while rejoicing inwardly. 549

Having secured the order, he went to his residence and sending away in advance his brothers with all his property, he presented himself before the sovereign to bid farewell. 550

On the part of the liegeman and his lord who were both respectively stern in the matter of personal dignity and traditions of royalty, during this moment, an amazing display occurred in so far as the lord did not dissuade the liegeman from departure nor did the liegeman, though full of resentment, reproach the beloved liege-lord. 551-552

Having walked a few steps with the sovereign who had risen with him, Bijja for a long time conversed in loud tones and went out laughing. 553

As the dying Haladhara had befouled Jindurāja, so did Jayānanda displace Bijja from office. 554

"Its glory is all that survives to the land which is his doing and he is going away; Bijja should suffer confiscation of his property"—such was the counsel of the ministers which the king did not accept. 555

Expecting that the king would surely dissuade him from departure the whole population barring the court had followed Bijja. 556

The king dreading an attack from the powerful Bijja, startled by even the flicker of straw, had remained sleepless during five nights. 557

When he reached Śūrapura and the people who had followed him had returned, the king, whose anxiety was allayed, revealed that apprehension to the ministers. 558

When they heard this, they recognized the king's sagacity in not listening to their words advising confiscation of Bijja's property. 559

Bijja and the others, who had been loyal, received, in the various countries which they visited, worshipful appreciation like the precious stones. 560

Bijja had waxed exceedingly strong, nevertheless he had been loyal and by the feet of king Kalaśa, as if he were the deity, had ever sworn to be true. 561

Thus having banished Bijja and others and enjoyed prosperity for a short while, Jayānanda, by the curse of Sūryamatī, went to perdition. 562

Jindurāja, who had been hostile to king Ananta, as if to announce the infallibility of the curse, came by death at that very time. 563

Also Bijja and the rest who for a while had attained prosperity, all of them soon met their death in virtue of the curse, in the territory of Gauḍa. 564

Bijja fell a prey to a sudden epidemic and his younger brothers, too, suffered the hardships of prolonged imprisonment. 565

On their escape by flight from prison, Pājaka was killed by a tiger and his remaining brothers perished after suffering hardships. 566

Two or three among those, who had caused dissensions, did not die such as Madana and the rest, for whom ere long an evil end was in store. 567

Then the assistant of Jayānanda and guardian of his sons, Vāmana, was appointed the prime minister by the king. 568

The various administrative acts of that diplomat, which were amazing, are narrated by the old in age, at the present day, in the conferences of the intellectuals. 569

Resuming the villages enjoyed by Avantisvāmin and other

temples, the greedy-minded king created a revenue office called Kalaśagañja. 570

On the minister Nonaka, although an expert in raising money, the king, alarmed by repression, did not confer the office of Pādāgra being generous in protecting the people. 571

The ministers Praśastakalaśa and others, sons of Rājakalaśa, attained extreme intimacy by the side of the king. 572

Sons, who were beyond control owing to wantonness, thieves and those who joined leagues and other unions, were artfully restrained by the king and excluded from being holders of office under him. 573

Once again Madanapāla overwhelmed the chief of Rājapurī and the king sent to his assistance Bappaṭa, an officer in command of troops. 574

Through the king's military glory, Madanapāla himself was vanquished even by that petty officer and sent to Kaśmīr as a prisoner. 575

The valorous brother of Varāhadeva named Kandarpa was appointed warden of the frontier by the king; he effected the destruction of the Ḍāmaras. 576

He had learnt his lessons in diplomacy and war under Jindurāja and his executive orders, the feudatories of the border-land touched with their diadems. 577

This conqueror of Rājapurī and other places, being very hot-tempered, resigned the wardenship of the frontier from time to time and was induced to accept office and placated by the king in person. 578

Madana, who was raised by the king to the chief command of the army, slew Bopa and several other Ḍāmaras who had gained ascendancy. 579

577. It was customary to place a written order of the superior power on the head as a sign of homage.

The king, pleased with the devoted services of a keeper of the falcons named Vijayasiṁha, made him commissioner of Śrīnagara who destroyed all the burglars. 580

By an expedition under Kandarpa, Udayasiṁha and others to Lohara, on one occasion, the king chased Bhuvanarāja far away. 581

And he cut out the hostility with his foe Kīrtirāja, the lord of Nīlapura, by receiving his daughter Bhuvanamatī in marriage. 582

To make him take an active interest in accepting office, by depriving Vijayasiṁha of the post of commissioner of Śrīnagara, Malla, the son of Guṅga, was appointed by the king warden of the frontier, who planted his own military prestige on the crest-jewels of rajahs. 583-584

One has heard of the heroism which was Arjuna's when he was without a retinue during the seizure of Uttara's cattle, such was that of the proud Malla during the invasion of Uraśā, since he after crossing the Kṛṣṇā with fifty horsemen seized the government, together with the herds of horses, of its rajah named Abhaya. 585-586

4163 *LE.* (1087-8 *A.C.*) Thus, to the city of the king who had brought territories under subjection and who was versed in diplomacy, there came in the year sixty-three eight rajahs at the same time. 587

580. Falconry was a favourite pastime of the princes in ancient India. Evidence shows that hawking was practised several centuries B.C. in India and China. The Mughals were devoted to hawking as sport and hawks and hawking are depicted in their paintings and miniatures. Hawking was displaced by the fowling piece and the shot gun in the west but it survives in the Frontier Province, Kaśmīr and the Punjab and the Indian States. The best known hawk is the Basha in India—It is a kind of Sparrow Hawk which breeds in the Himalayas and, in the hands of a skilled falconer, takes quails and partridges most successfully. Other breeds include the Merlin and Goshawk, but the finest of all falcons is the Peregrine. This handsome bird is about 18 inches in length, with a tail of six inches, very strong claws, and exceedingly powerful on the wing. The breeding season is in May and the birds are generally caught on their first immigration into India about October. The method employed in India is to sew up the young hawk's eyes when caught and allow them to open gradually as the bird becomes tamer. This sounds cruel but in reality is not so for if the eyes were left open, the wild bird would damage itself through fear. Long threads are sewn through the hard, callous part of the lower lid which inflict no pain and the threads are then taken up and tied over the bird's head. The Peregrine is generally trained for hawking heron. See 1046 below.

585-586. To discover the hiding place of the Pāṇḍavas, Duryodhana, their cousin and enemy, raided and carried off the cattle of Uttara's father Virāṭa. The story of Arjuna's bravery, rescure of the cattle and defeat of Duryodhana is related in the *Mahābhārata* IV. 35 sqq.

Kīrti, the chief of Nīlapura, Āsaṭa, the rajah of Campā, Ṭakka's son, Kalaśa, the ruler of Vallāpura, the rajah named Saṁgrāmapāla, who was the chief of Rājapurī, Utkarṣa, the ruler of the territory of Lohara, Saṅgata, the rajah of Uraśā, Gāmbhīrāsīha, chief of Kānda and the chief of Kāṣṭhavāṭa too, Srī Uttamarāja presented themselves before the king. 588-590

Although the retinue of the rajahs was on a large scale, in the crowded city, it was difficult to distinguish like the flooded rivers, during the rains, in the ocean. 592

At that time the waters of the Vitastā had become solid and ever in the season of frost undiminished amenities were enjoyed by the rajahs. 592

Whatever those rajahs could fancy, they saw that it had already arrived in the city having been procured by Vāmana. 593

The ability of that minister, difficult to find in any one else, was resplendent inasmuch as remaining unflustered he behaved as usual. 594

When the rajahs had departed and Malla had become averse to holding office, the king prevailed upon Kandarpa to accept the wardenship of the frontier once more. 595

The minister, to whom self-respect was a treasure, had conducted a campaign with his own moneys and by strategy had seized the fort of Svāpika which was difficult to take. 596

He, soon after coming to Śrīnagara, had felt chagrined for some reason and although requested by the king, when he had altogether declined to accept office, then Praśastakalaśa, who had been continuously acting as messenger and who had been upset by his arrogant language, was touched by self-assurance and mustering a large number of soldiers with his own ample funds he got his own brother Ratnakalaśa appointed to Kandarpa's post. 597-599

Although with his riches he had bought a reputation, he was not an equal of Kandarpa at all. Can a lion painted in a picture emulate the activity of a real lion? 600

Then, in course of time, the king somehow persuaded this jewel among officers to accept the office of Rājasthāna in Śrīnagara once more. 601

On one occasion, a thief, who had been excessively flogged, died

and the compassionate one gave up this office also and feeling depressed went to the Gaṅgā. 602

When held back by the hem of the garment he struck the hand of the sovereign and in rage went abroad and the king grew furious against him. 603

Although much hurt the king, when he was brought into his presence, instructed that the latter's pride be taken away but not life. 604

In this manner the king, whose resolute character had developed and who had an insight into character, bore the ascendency and resignation from office of lion-like men. 605

The taste for operatic songs and appreciation of the ballet of dancing girls such as were, *comme il faut* in other lands, were introduced in this country by this very king. 606

Thereafter in the vicinity of Jayavana, the king bent his energy to found a city, full of large edifices, bearing his own name. 607

Rows of monasteries, Agrahāras, palaces, magnificent mansions with beautiful pools and gardens grew up by the thousand. 608

During this period the prince royal Harṣa, full of excellence and manliness obtained publicity by his qualities difficult to find in the majority of kings. 609

Acquainted with the languages of all countries, he was a fine poet in all languages; the ocean of all arts he gained renown even in other lands. 610

By his miserly father, persons who had come from the different quarters had been ignored; radiant with virtue and heroism they were taken up by him and paid salaries. 611

The allowance fixed by the father being insufficient for the prince, who by nature was extravagant in his open-handedness, he had meals on alternate days. 612

He gratified the father by singing in public, as if he were a singer and maintained his establishment with the presents given by him. 613

Once, when he was singing before the king and the courtiers were delighted, it so happened that the king having got up went out for a wash. 614

606. Upāṅga-gīta=light opera as opposed to classical music.

By that interruption in the course of music, the spirit of the intelligent prince was wounded and being agitated through embarrassment and resentment he continued to look at the floor. 615

A master whose forbearance is exhausted, a friend who is very fraudulent, a wife whose language is abusive, a son smitten with arrogance, a servant presumptuous in contradiction; this much it may be possible to bear and even a retinue which causes heart-burning but not a listener, who causes annoyance by rolling in contempt the corners of his eyes. 616

His father's own servant, a sycophant named Viśśāvaṭṭa, then spoke to him, as though in joke, thus: "Rule the kingdom by killing him." 617

When the prince abused him in anger, Dhammaṭa who was seated close by also said laughingly, "He has said nothing irrelevant." 618

Desirous of enjoyments in future, the father's retainers secretly manifest their affection for princes and win them over, as courtesans do with the pals of their lovers. 619

Upon his entry once more into the assembly, the father gratified the proud prince by grace payments as well as by all manner of plaudits. 620

The next day, however, when the prince having fed with the father had gone to his own residence, Viśśāvaṭṭa, having approached him, repeated the same thing in private. 621

When after the prince had said various things which were fit and proper and had repeatedly stopped him, he yet persisted, he wast hereupon struck with the hand. 622

Seeing him bleeding from the nostril by the force of the blow, the high born prince grew sympathetic through kindliness. 623

He had the blood washed by servants; "this is what happens for saying what is sinful" as he said this, he smiled and had apparel given to him. 624

Although the prince did not intend it, he inferred the prince's desire from the presents just as a dissolute man infers from the mere smile of another man's wife her amorous desire. 625

Thereafter he made repeated efforts for a long time and instigated the prince to that act by winning over Dhammaṭa as an intermediary 626

Obsessed with the sin which had its birth in the growing thought

of treason, the prince held counsel together and employed, to kill the father, assassins in every direction. 627

Constantly the king came within the range of their power, but touched by lingering affection, the prince did not permit the murder yet did not give up the plot. 628

When the band of assassins had gained in intimacy, through the fear of disclosure, Viśśāvaṭṭa himself hastened to report the news to the king. 629

The prince came to know of it and in alarm he did not go to feed by the side of the father that day, in spite of requests sent through messengers. 630

When he failed to come the king, on his part, had his doubts on this matter set at rest and in mental agony he, together with the entourage, refrained on that day from food. 631

The next morning, when Thakkana and his brother presented themselves, he related his woe and, placing the head in Thakkana's lap, wept for a long time. 632

And telling him the news about Dhammaṭa, the king in the course of his round about talk, suggested that he should after arresting him deliver him up. 633

"The two of us had not been made aware of this plot"—having thus exclaimed, the two sons of Tanvaṅga said further in favour of the brother. 634

"On the strength of your favour, Majesty! we two who are pledged to afford protection to the distressed have our gates wide open even at nights to allow them entry. How then is it possible, O protector of the earth! that, at the moment when life is in jeopardy, the younger brother, whether innocent or guilty, should be abandoned by us?" 635-636

By affording protection to him there will, forsooth, be the scandal of disloyalty to the liege-lord; to leave the country is the only course—no other save this is open to us. 637

Having considered this and other possibilities, to them both, who

633-636. The right of asylum is referred to in these verses. The sons of Tanvaṅga were cadets of the royal house and were able to give asylum to those who sought refuge with them. Entering a monastery or living in a sanctuary made one secure from punishment. See Taraṅga VIII. 2344, 3295.

weeping had placed their heads at his feet, the sovereign with difficulty granted permission to depart. 638

Then placing Dhammaṭa in the centre for fear some one might slay him, the two then left the country with their troops and transport. 639

When the sons of Tanvaṅga had departed, in the palace which had become vacant, the king summoned the prince and soothingly spoke to him as follows. 640

"From the beginning of mundane existence everywhere in this world people only learnt to know the son by the father whose fame has been established." 641

"O son like Atri through the cool-rayed moon I, on the contrary, am known to all people by Your Highness being a virtuous son whose fame is well-known in all lands up to the horizon." 642

"Thou, who art the foremost among the virtuous, being one to whose fame there is no bar, say! why dost thou resort to the path which is adopted by the wicked?" 643

"That I have not made over to thee the grandfather's treasure as well as thine own—regarding this thou shouldst not entertain bitterness without hearing the reason." 644

"A king, if empty-handed, is liable to be overwhelmed by his own people and by his enemies as well; bearing this in mind the safeguarding of the treasure, forsooth, is being done by me." 645

"After completing the founding of the city and throwing the yoke of government on thee I propose to go to Benares or to Nandikṣetra perchance." 646

"Since thou art ere long to be the lord both of the realm and the treasury, why dost thou, in excessive hurry, desire to do what befits one who is not a gentleman?" 647

"It is not possible in thy case to imagine what has been reported to me by the villains; by a statement of the facts as they are please remove the calumny." 648

Desiring through affection that he should, in order to clear himself, make a denial of his own act, the king had advisedly spoken these words. 649

Because being eager for forgiveness the king was anxious to make his mere word of denial the basis of public confidence. 650

Harṣa, however, having deferentially spoken in appreciation of

what the father had said and saying, "I shall relate the truth in front of your confidant," went outside. 651

"The desire to do that was due to the instigation of low persons"—after saying this to the emissary sent by the father and being ashamed, he proceeded to his own residence. 652

Seeing the emissary's face which had withered, the king exclaimed "Alas! my son!" as he struck the head with both hands and ordered an attack on him. 653

"If he is killed I shall cut off my own head"—the sovereign having thus exclaimed, by his order armed men after merely surrounding the prince's dwelling-place stood by. 654

The assassins, however, having shut the gates and encircled the prince, spoke very bitter words as follows, being resolved to die. 655

"Wretch! after inciting to a brutal, reckless and treasonable plot and having had us slain, where dost thou hope to remain alive?" 656

"He will safeguard thee the son as he the father had been saved by thee; there is the blood relationship between the two of you; we alone are destroyed for certain." 657

"Fight in the midst of us, otherwise we shall kill thee; thus, at all events, it is clear, thou hast no chance of life." 658

Hearing this news from the agitated king, the prince's own Mahattara, who had been standing in front of him, named Daṇḍaka, went to Harṣa. 659

The assassins having granted him admission being of the household, he approached the prince and the shrewd man spoke as follows deluding them all. 660

"O son of a Kṣatriya woman! even after existing for many a Kalpa, the first causes themselves have of necessity to yield submission to Destiny." 661

"Therefore when inevitable death has come near, that honour, for the sake of which arms are carried, should be preserved by you." 662

"Your Highness is learned in the Vedas, of well-known fame, youthful and a true Kṣatriya—then by delaying the fight whatever is the purpose you have in view?" 663

661. The age of chivalry was marked in India as elsewhere by respect for womanhood. In Vedic and Epic times the blessing to a woman was in this form—"May you be the mother of heroes." Thus in this verse he is addressed as the son of a Kṣatriya woman. See VIII. 3063-3069.

"With these as true allies and myself as the forerunner, death or victory, O valiant one! either will now be to your glory." 664

"Arise, get the nails, hair and the rest dressed soon and tie the knight's band which is the nuptial garland for the wedding with the maids of paradise." 665

Having thus addressed he prevailed upon the prince to enter—attended by the barber for a shave, while the assassins applauded—the inner apartment. 666

Throwing down the sword in a moment, he himself entered and securely bolted that apartment and gave a jump through joy. 667

Thereafter he spoke to the Rājasthānīya from the window, "The prince is secure here; you may act as you think fit." 668

The peril, the source of which is evil spirits, the planets and the like, is counteracted by drugs; that which arises from the foe by armed forces; what is engendered by weapons through protective armour. But every menace on earth, from wheresoever it may be, in the case of kings is soon allayed by those who have a mature intellect. 669

Thereupon with loud hurrahs, the soldiers advanced to scale the walls, terraces and the like seeking to enter the prince's residence. 670

While the assassins leaving the prince inside the apartment with the door firmly closed were sallying forth and being killed as they fought, meantime two or three brave, innocent, and respectable persons, who by chance were in the midst of them got away. 671-672

They, after escaping from the mansion which was in the vicinity of Sūryamatī Gaurīśa, arrived near Sadāśiva killing those in fight who opposed them. 673

The royal kinsfolk were protected by word of mouth of the king, who loved his kindred, nevertheless Sahaja was the first among them who was slain. 674

A Brahman named Tivya, a brave and learned man, Rāmadeva, who was adorned by valour as well as Keśin from Karṇāṭa were slain by the hostile soldiers. 675

Some threw down arms, other slew themselves, while the miscreants sought death, imprisonment and other punishment fit for cowards. 676

665. Vīrapaṭṭa=The sash tied round the waist.

On the bright sixth of Pauṣa, in the sixty-fourth year, by leading the father and son into enmity the upheaval had been caused by the villains. 677

Persistent love for extravagance, the inciting words of a beloved young woman, association with rogues, the loss of former affection on the part of the parent, differences with the minister, brother or step-mother, tend to adversely affect the minds of princes in regard to the father. 678

Thus that prince, who deserved to be happy, on account of the levity acquired by associating with villains, had to suffer confinement in a prison-house. 679

When he was imprisoned, the proud queen Bhuvanamatī, who in the treaty of peace had been the surety, having cut her throat gave up her life. 680

The king, having appointed from among his advisers those whom he trusted as guards, sent, through affection for the son, food worthy of his status day after day. 681

"He is incapable of plotting"—thinking in this wise, the personal servant of the prince named Prayāga was not removed by the king. 682

As regards Harṣa, Nonaka said to the king as follows: "Either yourself or through others deprive him of life or both eyes." 683

The king, the deficiency of whose character was on a par with brute beasts, abandoning shame, made love to some of the wives of the son, as if they had belonged to an enemy. 684

Among them one named Sugalā, grand-daughter of the rajah Tukka, having gained the favour of the father-in-law, became desirous of the death of the husband. 685

Having held a consultation Nonaka and she together then instigated the villain among the two cooks to give Harṣa poison mixed with the food. 686

From the mouth of the other cook Prayāga received this news and he got the master to abstain from the food served by the former. 687

When Harṣa heard that two dogs to whom that food had been given for a test had died, he felt hopeless about his own life. 688

Believing this to be the method employed by his father for secret

680. The queen committed suicide because of the insult to her honour as a surety. See also Taraṅga IV. 323 sqq.

execution, he thereafter merely touched all eatables and left them day after day. 689

And with what Prayāga could procure at any time anything in the way of food, he continued to sustain life. 690

Having heard of the abstention from food as reported by the cooks, the king then had Prayāga summoned and enquired the cause of it. 691

He related the whole story of the administration of poison, screening the two instigators and the two cooks and the knowledge of the master himself. 692

Thereupon, other cooks were given by the father, but the prince who had been alarmed did not eat what had not been procured by Prayāga. 693

Since all were hostile to him, each day which he there passed he reckoned as a day gained, and as regards the remainder he turned the face away from hope. 694

At this juncture there suddenly supervened a reversal of good conduct on the part of the king such as had never been witnessed before and which was an indication of his end. 695

He removed to begin with the copper image of the sun called Tāmrasvāmin and he wantonly carried away the brass statues from the Vihāras. 696

By persevering in confiscating the riches of those who were without issue, the limit of the law of the Āryas was transgressed by the king obsessed with cruelty. 697

Then, very soon he was afflicted with loss of vitality caused by excessive sexual enjoyments, which disclosed his great suffering under a curse. 698

While he was about to perform the consecretion of pots in the temple of Śiva, into the pot of Mahākāla fell blood from his nostril. 699

This was a sudden evil portent; remedial treatment did not relieve it in the least, on the contrary it increased. 700

By this continuous flow of blood his health was worn out and by degrees he became attached to his bed in the interior. 701

Weakness of digestion and other complaints having enfeebled his body in strength and flesh, it had the semblance of the moon with the last digit. 702

696. This is an instance of the spoliation of Vihāras for the sake of the metal of the statuary.

He was desirous of conferring the crown on Harṣa; seeing the ministers against it, he then sent for Utkarṣa, for the coronation, from Mount Lohara. 703

High and low all were presented with gifts by him when he was about to die, but not the women-folk in the Pure Interior being exceedingly subject to jealousy. 704

"After giving him money I shall banish him from the country"—speaking in this manner he requested the ministers to bring Harṣa before him. 705

They, however, removed the former guards and placed on guard the Ṭhakkuras, dependents of Lohara, and reported to Utkarṣa. 706

By the latter, Harṣa, with his body emaciated, was dragged out of

703. The right of the ministers to oppose the succession of Harṣa raises an important point of constitutional law—Harṣa had been guilty of treason, and disloyalty was a good ground for supersession. The researches of learned German scholars show that monarchy in the Vedic period was elective. (See Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 162. sqq., Weber, *Indische Studien* XVII 88). In the Epic period hereditary monarchy appears to have been well established but the practice of excluding a member of the ruling family to make room for a person better qualified existed subject to sanction by the people. Indeed the sanction of the subjects as distinct from the election by the cantons (Sk. Viś) existed as early as the Vedic period (see Geldner, *Vedische Studien* II 303). The legend of the Kuru brothers Devāpi, and Śāntanu referred to in the Yāska (*Nirukta*, II. 10) shows that in the matter of succession the will of the people was stronger and prevailed over that of the king who desired to install on the throne the eldest who had a skin-disease. The story of Devāpi and Śāntanu occurs in the *Ṛg. Veda* (X 98, 11) and has several later versions. The *Mahābhārata* version (V 149-14-29) is in brief as follows: King Pratīpa had three sons, Devāpi, Bāhlika, and Śāntanu. The eldest though he had skin-disease (tvag doṣa) was beloved by all and the king made preparations to install him as Yuvarāja. The ministers, the Brahmans, and the subjects opposed this on the ground of leprosy and the youngest, Śāntanu, was installed instead. The story of the supersession of Devāpi also occurs in the *Bhāgavata* (IX. 22, 12-13) where the ground for setting him aside is given as his inclination for asceticism in youth. In the story of Yadu which is related in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 85, 17-35) the eldest son was set aside in favour of the youngest on the ground of disloyalty. King Yayāti declared his intention of making Puru, his youngest son, the Yuvarāja by superseding the eldest Yadu. The Brahmans and the subjects in a body protested, waited on the king and thus addressed him: "A younger son cannot overstep the elder; this we make known to you; see that you do your duty." The king replied: "A son who is disloyal to his father is no son at all. All my sons have slighted and disobeyed me, whereas Puru alone has carried out my wishes. The sage Śukra also enjoins me to declare as heir the son who would obey me. Hence I entreat you to have Puru installed as heir." The people accepted the injunction of Śukra and supported the king. The importance of this decision from the point of view of constitutional law was recognised very early and the story is related at length in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV. 10, 1, sqq.), *Vāyu Purāṇa* (XC. iii, 74-87), *Hari, Vaṃśa*, XXX.

the dance-hall and placed in confinement in the hall of four columns away from friends. 707

Meanwhile the powerless king realizing that the vital spark was about to go out longed to die in a sanctuary and became impatient to start on the journey. 708

Thinking there had been divine anger owing to the destruction of the image of Tāmrasvāmin, he proceeded to seek refuge with Mārtaṇḍa to save his life. 709

709. See IV. 192. This is the famous shrine whose ruins at Matan, according to Prof. Foucher, "rise proudly like a Greek temple on a promontory." Apparently sun worship was prevalent in Kaśmīr in the time of Kalaśa. We know that Akbar attempted to revive the worship of the sun. The Portuguese account is as follows. "It is quite true that he held the law of Mahomed of no account but he was much addicted to the worship of the Sun to which he made prayers four times a day, namely, in the morning when he rose, at noon, on retiring to bed, and again at midnight. On each occasion, he repeated as many as a thousand and fifty names of the luminary, which he counted by means of small balls threaded like our paternosters, but consisting of beautiful precious stones." This is corroborated by Badāoni, who tells us that the people used to crowd every morning "opposite the window near which his Majesty used to pray to the Sun....No sooner had his Majesty finished saying the thousand and one names of the 'Greater Luminary' and stepped into the balcony, than the whole crowd prostrated themselves." (*Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh* Vol.II. p 336).

Badāoni, who like Kalhaṇa disapproved of sun worship, gives an interesting description of Akbar's state of mind at this time.

"His Majesty," he says, "collected the opinions of every one, especially of such as were not Muhammadans, retaining whatever he approved of, and rejecting everything which was against his disposition, and ran counter to his wishes. From his earliest childhood to his manhood and from his manhood to old age, His Majesty has passed through the most various phases, and through all sorts of religious practices and sectarian beliefs, and has collected everything which people can find in books, with a talent of selection peculiar to him, and a spirit of enquiry opposed to every (Islamitic) principle. Thus a faith based on some elementary principles traced itself on the mirror of his heart, and as the result of all the influences brought to bear on his Majesty, there grew, gradually as the outline on a stone, the conviction in his heart that there were sensible men in all religions, and abstemious thinkers, and men endowed with miraculous powers, among all nations. If some true knowledge was thus everywhere to be found, why should truth be confined to one religion, or to a creed like the Islam, which was comparatively new, and scarcely a thousand years old; why should one claim a preference without having superiority conferred on itself? Moreover Sumanis and Brahmins managed to get frequent private interviews with His Majesty. As they surpass other learned men in their treatises on morals, and on physical and religious sciences, and reach a high degree in their knowledge of the future, in spiritual power and human perfection, they brought proofs, based on reason and testimony, for the truth of their own, and the fallacies of other religions, and inculcated their doctrines so firmly, and so skilfully represented things as quite self-evident which require consideration, that no man, by expressing

And for this very reason leaving aside Vijayakṣetra, which gives beatitude, although a devotee of Śiva, he proceeded to Mārtaṇḍa yielding to fear. 710

An official having obtained a position of power regards the whole world as straw when, however, he suffers from an ailment, he is maudlin and bends before even the house-maids. A fool who talks loudly and is sophisticated by acquiring much that is wrong instruction, what act lacking in grace will he not do, like an infant, when life is about to end? 711

By such an exhibition of unmanliness, worthy of cowards and their sort, his pride in the teaching of the Gurus became a matter for ridicule. 712

On the bright third of Mārgaśīrṣa when Night showed her face, straight from the bed the king took to a litter and went out to die. 713

Drowning the lamentations of the populace with the rattle of his kettle-drums and bugles he, accompanied by the ministers and ladies of the household, started in boats by the water route. 714

When three hours had yet remained on the day following, he arrived at the feet of Mārtaṇḍa where he, in order to preserve life, presented a gold statue. 715

He now longed to see his eldest son but as the servants ignored his order, the ailing man suffered greater misery because of his yearning. 716

Outside while the vocalist sang a song composed by Harṣa, he listened through the open hole in the door and sighed. 717

At the closing time of life, when authority diminishes like the ability to run in a dream—incident they say that, in the case of princes, it cuts them to the quick and indeed aggravates the pain arising from death. 718

Then while he was making a request that gifts may be given to the

his doubts, could now raise a doubt in His Majesty, even if mountains were to crumble to dust, or the heavens were to tear asunder." *Ain-i-Akbari* (Jarrett) Vol. I, p. 179.

The worship of the 'dazzling Surya' is still the living faith in India of millions of people including the remnant of the ancient Iranians, the Parsis. It is being revived in recent times through physical culture exercises known as the 'Sūrya Namaskārs'—which the Maratha generalissimo at Panipat, Sadasiva Rao Bhau, practised a thousand times daily.

712. K. condemns Kalaśa for his superstitious fear and for departing from the transcendental philosophy taught by his preceptors.

son who was senior by birth and was giving instructions to Utkarṣa, he became tongue-tied. 719

As he spoke, indistinctly, the word Harṣa again and again, Nonaka to conceal the real intention fetched a mirror for him. 720

He smilingly pushed it aside, bit his lip and while shaking the head kept on murmuring something; for two days and a half he remained tongue-tied. 721

When the expiry of breath was near he, having summoned the ministers by a sign, had himself carried by those astute men in front of Mārtaṇḍa. 722

After ruling for forty-nine years, on the bright sixth day of *4165 L.E.*
Mārgaśīrṣa in the year sixty-five, he attained the culminating point. 723 *1089 A.C.*

Seven Ranis taken in wedlock, the chief of whom was Mammanikā and even the mistress named Jayamatī followed him in death. 724

By the mistress named Kayyā, however, who had been his favourite, the entire womankind was disgraced. 725

If she did not remember that the lord had conferred on her the premier rank among all the concubines, let that pass—she who was sprung from a low family forgot it. 726

After residing in Vijayakṣetra, in course of time, that she should have accepted the position of mistress of a village official is what causes us pain. 727

Her body worthy to be enjoyed by a king and which through the habits of a life of luxury had become radiant, she made the object of enjoyment of a villager; a curse on low-minded women. 728

While all the ministers were occupied in arranging for the coronation *Utkarṣa* (1089 *A.C.*)
of Utkarṣa, the last rites of the king were performed by the grateful Vāmana alone. 729

The blare of the trumpets of the coronation and the auspicious songs was on one side; the sound of funeral music accompanied by wailing on the other side. 730

Then the son begotten of queen Padmaśrī by king Kalaśa, named Vijayamalla, took to hostility against the brother. 731

What daily allowance had been granted to Harṣa by the father, the same was promised him by king Utkarṣa. 732

720. The word for a mirror is Ādarśa which sounds like Harṣa. Kalaśa must have had a stroke of paralysis.

For the sake of assurance he made feudatory chiefs and ministers sureties; for Jayarāja, the son of Kayyā, too, he made an allowance. 733

Women being quick-witted analyze, at the same time while they are lamenting, their altered position and sons even while they are by the side of the funeral pyre discuss the material and moral condition. Having on a hundred occasions entertained such reflections at other people's funerals, it is a marvel that fools will continue to hoard wealth by evil practices for the sake of their wives, sons and the rest of them. 734

Then His Majesty the new King made his entry into Śrīnagara, but not in the hearts of the citizens who longed for the accession of Harṣa. 735

The day of his accession to the throne, although it was a festival occasion, did not appear to be so as is a festival to one suffering from an ailment. 736

Harṣadeva, on the other hand, who after the invalid father had departed in expectation of death had been newly confined in the hall of the four pillars, did not take food on that day. 737

Like one who has been left behind on the road by the caravan he, who was silent through sorrow, was somehow induced by the Ṭhakkuras the next day to take food. 738

And they made a solemn promise to give him the throne in their own country while they remarked, "It is not right that one person alone should have two kingdoms." 739

When he had thus secured an understanding with them, he heard of the demise of the father and he observed a fast when next day, he heard that Utkarṣa had arrived. 740

When with tears he was offering the funeral water to the father, his younger brother, the king, at this time sent emissaries and asked him to bathe. 741

While he bathed, the king was getting ready for the coronation ceremony and there arose the sound of the clarion for the coronation with slogans of victory. 742

By this auspicious sign he, who had a knowledge of omens, reckoned that royal glory would arrive for him as one reckoned the thunder of the clouds by the flash of lightning. 743

Thence forward good omens turned their aspect towards him,

whose time of accession was approaching, as if they were his servants. 744

The messengers sent by his brother to persuade him to partake of food, he returned with this message: "Let the king banish me from the country after releasing me from imprisonment; I would execute, to remain in non-aggression, a pact on oath, otherwise I shall die by fasting." 745-46

The king having falsely promised it through emissaries who had been sent, he was thus pacified, given an oath by libation and induced to partake of food. 747

Then always when requested, the king replied that he would carry out the promise the next day; his continued procrastination aroused apprehension in Harṣa. 748

For the sake of assurance placing his own ear-ring in the hand, he now sent Prayāgaka to Vijayamalla with a secret message. 749

Prayāga repeated to him the very words by saying, "Your unhappy elder brother says to you 'despite your being a prince in this realm we remain sorrow-stricken in confinement.' " 750

Overcome with sadness, he reflected for a long time and said to him, "How would the king who is diplomatic do this at my word of request!" 751

"Nevertheless in this matter I shall exert myself to the best of my ability to secure your release, you should, however, be very careful and safeguard your own life." 752

With this message he sent him to Harṣadeva and remained in anxious thought about the means to achieve that end. 753

Utkarṣa, on other hand, although he had obtained the crown was as though demented by the gods; he made no effort whatsoever to bend his energy which was necessary to put the administration in order. 754

Although he had delegated authority, he did not enquire of Kandarpa and the other ministers about affairs of state, neither did he attend to them in person. 755

The counting and inspection of his hoarded treasure came to be the sole daily work of that king. 756

He acted where no expenditure had to be incurred, or was thinking how not to incur it, whereby far-sighted folk were convinced of his miserly nature. 757

This reputation of his for miserliness was aggravated by his father's wives, who were wantons, as he had been giving them rations with Mudga. 758

He was nervous like a Vedic scholar and petty-minded in his dealings; he failed to be popular with the subjects who deserved to be under a large-hearted man. 759

Failing to receive his regular allowance from that miser, Vijayamalla in anger then endeavoured to go abroad. 760

For his personal safety he requested all the sureties to accompany him and they became ready and followed him. 761

At Lavanotsa, where he stayed one night after leaving the city, the soldiers from the forces of the sureties joined his cause. 762

"If while Harṣa is in prison you depart, the king will have achieved his objective, therefore, after liberating him from incarceration it will be meet for you to depart." 763

Urged by them in this wise as they carried high their arms, the prince turned back and, marched at day-break with his face set towards Śrīnagara. 764

Hearing that such was the purpose of his return, some Ḍāmaras also became his auxiliaries. 765

Madhurāvaṭṭa, the commandant of cavalry, sent as an escort of the prince when he was about to start, being one of the sureties, his son Nāga, who being free from treason and not having forsaken the royal cause, was proceeding with some mounted troops by the route of Padmapura to join the king when he had to slacken his speed owing to evil portents before he could arrive at Śrīnagara; meantime the prince, whose enthusiasm had been confirmed by omens, made haste and burning the houses through his troops who had arrow tips of flaming fire besieged the royal palace. 766–769

Deserting king Utkarṣa who had come out for battle, the prince royal Jayarāja also came over to his side. 770

758. Mudga known as Mung in Hindi is a cheap bean in India.

759. A Vedic scholar is regarded as a person who is not practical and lacking in common sense in the ordinary dealings of life. In Western India such a person is called 'Vediyo' which exactly brings out K's meaning.

764. There are repeated allusions in the poem to carrying the weapons high. This probably corresponded to the modern military order "carry arms."

Hand in hand the two princes considered the fate of Utkarṣa, like two new poets the theme of a poet of well-known diction. 771

"When Harṣadeva is released we shall depart"—declaring this, he had the stables of the elephants and the like set on fire by the troops. 772

"Liberal like the cloud-burst during the deluge let Harṣadeva be crowned king; this miserly Khaśa is a Baniyā, let him be turned out of the realm." Announcing in this way even the sedate citizens approached the imprisoned Harṣa and covered him with flowers thrown through the openings in the windows. 773-774

In the revolution which had taken place, Harṣa by despatching the Ṭhakkuras to the king, whose forces had been routed, got the army to remain neutral. 775

In this way having achieved so much while he was yet in confinement, he with limbs tremulous with doubt thereafter addressed them, who were in opposition to the enemy's objective, as follows: 776

"I am to-day in grave peril, so release me from confinement; if not, soon something undesirable for me will happen through the king for certain." 777

Being thus addressed while they were yet deliberating again and again, kicks fell on the gate of the apartment from outside. 778

"What! this is treason being committed by the villains!" he exclaimed; "O Ṭhakkuras! open the door" was the reply in a loud voice. 779

As the Ṭhakkuras were frightened Harṣadeva bravely ignoring danger himself caused the door to be thrown open. 780

With life centered solely in the eyes, he now saw sixteen armed men of the guard as they were entering who had arrived from Lohara to kill him. 781

For they had been despatched by Utkarṣa to kill him after he had repeatedly heard the advice which Nonaka had been pressing thus: "When the head of Harṣa is cut off and thrown out, all this peril in the country will come to an end in a moment." At the same time he

771. K. is very fond of comparing the art of the poet to statecraft. See VIII. 2290, 2860.

773. The Baniyā, a proverbially greedy person, was apparently no more popular in K's time than he is now. See VIII. 128-134.

781. Netra-mātra-prāṇaḥ=This is an idiom which has been literally translated.

considered the objective which would yet remain to be achieved
and he thought that if Harṣa were not killed at this time, he might
some day be of use when released. As they were going he ordered:
"Remove the Ṭhakkuras and kill the captive if I give this ring as a
token, if, however, this one then let him go after releasing him from
confinement." With these words he showed the rings on his hand·
and they were told to delay. In pursuance of this, they removed the
Ṭhakkuras but did not immediately strike at him at that time. 782-86
Harṣa on his part having invited each one by calling him by his
name offered him Tāmbūla and even induced them to be seated
in his presence.
787
Thus courteously received they felt ashamed and dropped at the
time, when they accepted the Tāmbūla, the arms from their hands
as well as the murderous intent from the mind.
It holds together wealth, creates a reputation, cuts away sin, induces, 788
O wonder! friendliness even in the opponent, it treads along the
paths agreeable to men of refined minds with each phrase; speech is
like the Wishing-Cow, what is the evil which it does not avert? 789
The prince said to them, "Why do you feel as though ashamed of
yourselves? Emissaries are, at all events, free from blame while com-
plying with the orders of their masters."
"Nevertheless you might wait; in this case something very asto- 790
nishing is worth watching as to how reversal of the existing situation
will occur from one moment to another."
"As up in the sky bits of clouds break away creating the impression 791
that they are panthers, elephants, beasts of prey, reptiles, horses and
the like, in the same way in the case of embodied beings owing to the
vicissitudes of time there are these waves of emotion in the heart
which represent successive transitions from gentleness to brutality." 792
"Thus adapting ourselves to circumstances as we continue to stay
here so you, too, should be on the look out for another coup
d'etat."
793
"For indeed such exactly is the kind of risks to life in the case of
princes on the eve of their accession to the throne which lead to
alteration in sentiment."
794

89. Go=Logos-speech.

793. The 'royal we' was common in Saṁskṛta.

"The heat of summer becomes more severe at the near advent of the rains, nocturnal darkness thickens on the approach of dawn, so in the case of a living being when prosperity with its sudden wealth in abundance arrives retreating adversity over-flows with its cumulative hardships." 795

Saying that his continuing to breathe was decisively an augury, he related stories of righteous men which had ended happily and which were similar to his own case. 796

To gain time he related to them, explaining the episodes so as to reveal the sentiments, the story of Hariścandra. 797

That the astute prince was occupied in placating them in self-defence and in searching for news of the world outside was not noticed. 798

During this time ever new views arose with regard to him and royal Fortune and the goddess Kālī went to and fro a hundred times. 799

For king Utkarṣa had contemplated his release and as often had ordered different followers to assassinate him. 800

But he had forgotten to give the token ring while ordering his death and the guards had declined to act on the oral statement of his emissaries. 801

When he saw that their efforts had borne no fruit and recollecting the arrangement about the token, he then sent the Rājaputra, named Śūra, the son of Satva. 802

As he delivered the token into his hands, the king was misled at this moment by inscrutable Providence and there occurred a substitution of the rings. 803

Vṛddhakṣattra, the lord of Sindh, suffered the loss of his own head in consequence of the very boon which he had obtained to cause the fall of the heads of others; and alas! his own divine mace killed king Śrutāyudha in battle. That which is deemed to be protective may itself, through the influence of Providence, become the cause of destruction. 804

In the same way, by forgetting the one and by the substitution of the other token that king, on the contrary, secured his annihilation. 805

Owing to the amiability of Harṣa in a very short time those guards became his well-wishers and hostile to the sway of Utkarṣa. 806

Forcing an entry when Śūra in a rage attacked the gate, they thought

he had arrived for assassination and desired to kill him with uplifted arms. 807

When they opened the wicket gate and saw the ring on his hand, dancing with glee, they came with him to Harṣa. 808

With the head placed at his feet they then prayed that he might depart, but the prince distrusting paused for a while in reflection. 809

At this time believing that Harṣadeva had been killed, Vijayamalla who was in the field, growing angered, fought harder with effervescent manfulness. 810

As he was preparing to set fire to the royal residence, the royal retainers with difficulty prevented him by exclaiming, "our elder brother is alive." 811

In order to convince him Sugalā, the wife of Harṣa, who had taken the husband's ear-ring, was then immediately despatched by the king to him. 812

At the very sight of her, the prince desisted from arson and the king thought that the way to avoid disaster would be the release of Harṣa. 813

The minister Nona, Praśastakalaśa, and others themselves went to Harṣa and after removing his fetters released him from incarceration. 814

That ministerial decision, because of their sadness, after having made trips to and fro, like breath passing out at the last moment, issued from their mouth. 815

Harṣa, on the other hand, screened by the flowers showered by the citizens mounted his horse and accompanied by the ministers went to the king who was in the battle-field. 816

After congratulating the king his younger brother said to him, "Please stop the brother from fighting and come, we shall then do what is expedient." 817

When Harṣa agreeing had departed, the king having left the battle-field entered with the ministers the treasury containing gold and other valuables. 818

On seeing Harṣadeva approach who had passed through great peril, Vijayamalla, through excessive joy, became moveless for an instant. 819

Then he saluted the feet of Harṣa who, in turn, lifted and embraced him and numerous were the things the two of them had to say, the

one who had done the good turn and the other on whom the obligation had been conferred. 820

"Kill these, to begin with, Harṣa and Utkarṣa, then you will become king free from thorns," thus a confidant near him muttered at the time; Vijayamalla, who was free from perfidy, did not accept the advice. But Harṣa realizing this from the signs which he understood felt alarmed for a while. 821-822

His own body which between the two brothers had become like flesh between two hawks, he, who was like a bird without wings, protected by moving about on horse-back. 823

The tree when the conflagration has passed is in peril from the lightning from the impending cloud-burst, he who has escaped from the jaws of an alligator is in peril of being drowned in the sea. Fate creates fresh risks for a living being who has survived danger in order to make intensely enjoyable the happiness which is in store. 824

As he was trying to save his own life by feigning to exercise the horse, some of his infantry having learnt the news formed his retinue. 825

Then having held counsel with Vijayamalla he, after a while, proceeded in order to report the end of the upheaval to the king. 826

Then, as after parting from the prince he arrived in front of the royal palace, Vijayasiṁha prevented him from entering it. 827

And he said, "Having escaped death why do you enter here to seek death once more? O unwise one! discarding hesitation go and sit on the royal throne." 828

While he was thus addressing, the retainers brought the lion throne from the treasury whereupon Harṣadeva immediately sat on it. 829

And camouflaging by boldness her innumerable acts of hostility sat Sugalā by his side to gain the rank of queen consort. 830 *Harṣa*

By the music of the coronation ceremony, soon the ministers collected from everywhere like Cātaka birds by the reverberation of the water-bearing cloud. 831

Utkarṣa, who upon hearing the news was distressed, was removed from the palace and conducted to another house. 832

He was seen departing, in front of the king who was seated in the

824. Nakra=alligator; perhaps a sea-monster is meant here.

830. At the coronation the queen-consort was crowned together with the king. See Taraṅga VIII. 3304.

hall of audience, followed by a few persons and shorn of glory; in whose case is fortune stable? 833

When Utkarṣa entered the house, Vijayasiṁha having posted guards outside it reported to the king that the task had been done. 834

Then having brought the Ṭhakkuras, with whom he had grown intimate in prison, into the royal milieu and posting their forces at the front, he shed the fear from Vijayamalla. 835

Vijayamalla, however, having heard that the elder brother had secured the crown, was proceeding towards him when the latter's emissaries with due honour soon escorted him to his own house. 836

Then seeing that his own troops had arrived, the king, versed in diplomacy, had Vijayamalla brought up in an instant and while he said, "You have given me my life as well as the kingdom", he folded both the hands to him who had provided the reward of suffering. 837–838

Fate having been favourable to him by the judicious use of diplomacy alone, at that very instant his regime was peacefully established. 839

The new king wearing the garments which was his dress inside the prison, nevertheless looked radiant owing to the lion-throne and the presence of Fortune. 840

Worn out by the excitement of such adventures at the close of the day he, who had secured the ascendancy, lay down on the couch like one who having completed the ascent has laid down the load. 841

Seeing as it were the utter futility of existence in every way, he did not get there the comfort of sleep though he closed the eyes. 842

Utkarṣa, on the other hand, having been taken prisoner in the contest asked his advisers for counsel; Nonaka, interrupting the others, addressed him thus in harsh language. 843

"The advice which was given in the morning that you did not carry out O king! Listen to the pleasing prospect in future which is the outcome of this erroneous policy." 844

"You have delivered him who was in fetters to those who subsist on food-remnants; he, however, will deliver you on the morrow into the hands of those who will give you dog's flesh." 845

840. Prison dress was of hempen clothes. See VIII. 93.

841. The load carrier is still a familiar sight in the hills. K. draws his simile from it. See also Taraṅga VIII. 1931.

845. Śvapākas literally people who made use of dog's flesh for food; the Untouchables.

"What refuge other than death is there at this moment? To us, who have abandoned the struggle, even that is unavailable." 846

"And yet, at the time of testing the fruit of failure, skilful taunting which is extremely painful does not look nice in those who have lost their cause." 847

"The plan which you put in action without reviewing the risk, by that suddenly everything has been lost in a mere trice." 848

"Even a petty disturbance, if it is settled by erroneous policy, like worn out cloth mended by a needle, on the contrary, develops a hundred openings." 849

On hearing this, he came out of their midst and entered the inner apartments with his mistress named Sahajā. 850

"I shall remain in evening prayer"—thus having said to her. he remained there absolutely alone behind a screen for a while. 851

Being unarmed, he then stabbed himself, with scissors used for cutting cloth, in the throat and cut the vital veins through despondency. 852

The clang of the scissors falling on the floor made Sahajā suspicious and she looked and found blood flowing from the side of the curtain. 853

Thus she saw him with the thick blood oozing from his limp neck, like a mountain struck by Vajra on the peak from whose inside pour out molten metals. 854

At that moment she displayed her worth, whereby well may women, who have secured the favour of their lovers, hold their heads high even to this day. 855

Night goes off somewhere deserting the declining Moon, but Twilight follows in the footsteps of the Sun when he is setting. Thus there are high and low courses of conduct as a result of love; taking this into consideration, women have never been held deserving of either censure or adoration by those whose minds are refined. Thus it was that although the origin, social life and the husband's love had been alike in the case of Kayyā and Sahajā, their course of conduct was respective blameworthy and praiseworthy. 856-857

For, she had formerly been a resident dancing girl of a temple,

855. The origin of Satī is in the sense of loyalty to the master; death in certain circumstances was a matter of honour. See VIII. 47 n.

who having been seen on the stage, had been taken into the seclusion of the palace as the consort of the king. 858

The lover's blood, which streamed like red chalk, was applied as a thick emollient to the limbs by her and entering the flames she imparted to love the sheen of gold. 859

While she was a courtesan, she had at one time been the sweetheart of Harṣadeva also and hence he had besought her, yet she had not desisted from death. 860

Utkarṣa was in the neighbourhood of twenty-four years and had been king for twenty-two days. On his death, the body was kept for one night and at dawn was consigned to the flames. 861

Some of the bright-eyed ladies of his household, though residing in Mount Lohara, soon trod the fiery path in his foot-steps. 862

When his ministers were being compelled to surrender the sword by the royal retainers and Nonaka, seeking death, had refused to lay down the sword for sometime; "who else but ourselves will be the king's councillors? When a few days have passed he will release us; taking this into consideration life should not be disregarded," thus had spoken Praśastakalaśa these words, regarding him as one of his own group and had prevailed upon him to surrender and had himself given up the sword. 863-865

Nona, Silhāra, Bhattāra, Praśastakalaśa and others were arrested by king Harṣa and lodged in the prison-house. 866

Thus in the course of one day only, such a very amazing revolution in the state was made by king Harṣa as if he were Fate. 867

Somehow many a king has traversed the path of the narrative; O hard lines! the road which is uneven for one's perception now lies ahead. 868

The spring of all adventures and the herald of all failures, the originator of all stable organization and the eclipse of all morality, the maximum of energetic government and the extreme stage of the decline of authority, overflowing with gifts of money as well as confiscation and seizure, charming on account of its overflowing compassion and fearsome because of excessive slaughter, delightful

858. The stage was an important institution in the social life of Kaśmīr. The actresses sometimes came from the troupe of temple dancers.

868. From this part of the poem onwards K. is an eye-witness to the events he relates, the accuracy of which is beyond doubt.

with abundant acts of piety and stained by excessive wickedness, altogether attractive as well as repulsive, deserving of respect and condemnation, deserving of support and ridicule, of sympathy as well as the regret of men of intellect, worthy to be remembered being blessed and to be dropped from the mind because it is infamous—the saga in detail relating to king Harṣa is about to be recounted. 869-873

Forsooth he must have been created out of the luminous atoms only; how else at birth was he difficult to look at even for the great? 874

Neither among mortals nor among the gods is the like of him to be seen any where; among the chiefs of the Titans, the prescient may perchance finds his peer. 875

He was decked with glittering ear-rings which dazzled like the reflected image of the sun, the large round turban was fitted with a high diadem, his regard was like that of a contented lion, his thick beard hung low, he had the shoulders of a bull, mighty arms and a body which was reddish brown, he was broad-chested, with a slim waist, his voice was deep like the rumbling of the cloud; thus he upset the presence of mind of even supermen. 876-78

At his lion-gates, he had big bells tied up in four directions so that by their ringing he might know of the arrival of those who desired to make petitions. 879

On hearing their tale of woe, he removed their thirst like the water-bearing cloud in the monsoon that of the Cātaka birds. 880

One who lacked splendid attire, who was without gold ornaments or who had a small retinue or who was deficient in spirit, no such person was seen at the royal court. 881

At the lion-gate of the king to which people of various nationalities thronged, it seemed the wealth of all countries was being tirelessly piled up. 882

Encircled in gold chains and bracelets, ministers, chamberlains and others beyond count flitted about in the royal palace. 883

Thus the king, radiant and beautiful with the newly acquired sovereignty, abided by the advice of Vijayamalla as of a preceptor. 884

876. The king's crown such as is described in this verse is still in vogue in Nepal

As the grateful king accepted the instructions of Vijayamalla, his levee was thronged by servants like that of the king. 885

Ignoring his own servants, the king handed over the charge of offices of state only to his father's ministers to guard against the reversal of stable conditions. 886

He appointed Kandarpa lord of the frontier and Madana to the chief command of the army and others like Vijayasiṁha were confirmed each in his respective office. 887

When anger had been extinguished, Praśastakalaśa and others were released from confinement by him and appointed to their own posts. 888

Recalling, however, the many hostile acts of that minister, Nonaka, together with his foster-brother, was through anger killed by impalement. 889

Yet from time to time in perilous situations, when he remembered that minister of mighty intellect, who was devoted to the master, he was touched by repentence. 890

A competent man, even though he has done a hostile act, is useful at sometime or other; fire burns down a dwelling-house, for the preparation of food one has to have recourse to it. 891

After exhibiting to his wife his nose and ears which had been cut off, Viśśāvaṭṭa, too, by the royal retainers was executed on the stake. 892

At his accession, the king distributed largesses among his servants who had come out of imprisonment, as the tree which is in blossom in spring treats the wasps which have emerged from earth-holes. 893

The descendant of Rakka, Kṣema's grandson and the son of Vajra, Sunna, was raised by the king to the rank of premier among all the ministers, and his brother as well. 894

When the king was on tour and on like occasions, to the spectators each minister gave the impression that he was the sovereign. 895

Jayarāja's younger brother, who had been appointed the head of all the chamberlains put together, was more than life to the king. 896

By a pilgrimage to the Gaṅgā, Dhammaṭa had requited the two brothers who had found peace in death; he, too, returned with his nephews, the cadet of the family of Tanvaṅga. 897

The king honoured him, who on his account had lost the elder brothers and looked upon him and his nephews without any distinction from his own people at all times. 898

While the king was reigning by dividing the ruling powers in this manner, instigated by the wicked, Vijayamalla, in course of time, was inclined to treason and became disaffected. 899

"Why did you give the crown to another after winning it?" Thus he was addressed by the wicked; ambitious of gaining it, he began to plan the murder of the eldest brother. 900

"In an isolated mansion I shall assassinate"—in this wise, after holding counsel, he started a sacrifice and under that pretext the king was invited to come. 901

The king hearing of the plot became apprehensive of an attack and he immediately ordered the mobilization of his forces. 902

As the royal forces mobilized, Vijayamalla sallied forth swiftly and carried away the horses from the royal stables. 903

Mustering the cavalry and smiting the royal force at sight, the brave man put up a big fight and hurried to get away from the city. 904

Proceeding with his wife who sat clinging to his back he, riding the charger, fought in a superhuman manner. 905

At this juncture by heavy rain showers poured by untimely clouds the land, on all sides, appeared as if it had become topsy turvy. 906

In the battle-field, which resounded with the whistling winds and the rattle of massed kettle-drums, the prince was enveloped in showers of rain and arrows. 907

While he was retreating with his force which was diminishing, bent on killing him the sons of Caṇḍaka did not leave him like one's actions of a former existence. 908

At the bridge over the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu, which had been broken by flood waters, he alighted from the horse and swam across with the wife in his arms. 909

The gallant prince had plunged into the waters with his wife when pressed by the enemy and his horse, too, followed him by crossing the river in flood. 910

901-910. This is a spirited description of the daring feat of Vijayamalla, See App. H para. 3.

Having gone beyond the range of vision of the enemy, the brave prince remounted the charger and heading towards the country of the Darads proceeded by the route of Lahara. 911

But Kandarpa, the warden of the frontier, had barred his passage on all sides and crossing the mountains he entered the city of the Darads which lay concealed in the hills. 912

There he was welcomed by Vidyādhara Śāhi, the ruler of the Darads and, by degrees, some of his own men joined him. 913

Hearing accounts of his being acknowledged and of the agitation among the Ḍāmaras and others, king Harṣa was alarmed and made use of diplomatic methods day after day. 914

These having proved infructuous, Vijayamalla passed the cold season in the city of the Darads; the Ḍāmaras having sent messages in Caitra, he undertook an expedition with ardour. 915

After surmounting the perils, the proud prince lost his life in his tent in a blizzard which came on suddenly while he was encamped on the way. 916

That objective, for the starting of which the resolute work out the details with great energy, Providence destroys it with a thing which is a mere trifle. 917

The lotuses whose opening the sun causes with effort with a thousand sunbeams, the angry Creator uproots them through the one trunk of the elephant. 918

The royal sway of king Harṣa, which owing to the fear of civil war had curled up for a while, prevailed once more when he got the mastery. 919

At that time, the epithet rajah could not have been applied to any one at all; not to him because of his very exalted status, neither to other chiefs because of their small importance. 920

Fashions which imparted beauty and elegance, the king, who was free from jealousy, brought into vogue in this realm like spring the flowers in the forest. 921

913. The Śāhi family furnished rulers to various states for a number of centuries after the break up of the Śāhi Empire.

914. Upāya is a technical term of Indian diplomacy which literally means 'ways and means' or method. There were four recognised methods of dealing with an enemy: (1) Sāman—negotiation and reconciliation, (2) Dāna—bribery, (3) Daṇḍa—punishment or open attack, (4) Bheda—sowing dissensions in the enemy camp.

Formerly barring only the king, men in this country wore the hair loose, were without turbans and lacked ornaments. 922

Whereas for having worn the hair in braids, the army chief Madana and the foremost of the ministers Jayānanda, too, for wearing a short coat of variegated colour had experienced the wrath of the sovereign, in this kingdom, without any distinction, was introduced by this king an attire which was worthy of the realm. 923-24

When some of the ministers looked handsome in their elegant costumes, being free from envy, he made his own maid servants perform the Ārātrika. 925

The fashions of the Dekkan appealed to him who loved the gay life; he introduced the system of coinage modelled on that of Karṇāṭa. 926

With swaying palm leaves, handsome with the thick and fragrant sandal paste and fine long daggers, the men looked so radiant in the hall of assembly. 927

Set off with the golden leaf of the Ketaka, the bun coiffure was decked with long flower-garlands; the tremulous blossoms of the Tilaka embraced the lovely forehead patch; the line of the collyrium joined the corners of the eyes to the ears; bows of string woven with gold were tied at the end of the tresses which were worn in plaits; the long tail end of the lower garments kissed the surface of the floor; the brassiére which traced the curve of the breasts concealed the upper half of the arms; with their smile bright like the powder of camphor, the ladies with sensitive brows were on the move to and fro; when they wore men's dress, they bore the charm of the god of Love in disguise. 928-31

The suppliants by petitioning him attained a position whereby they could maintain others, as by the favour of the sea the clouds are enabled to refresh the universe. 932

By the favour of the open-handed king, who showered gold, all

922-931. Kalhaṇa has given a detailed description of the court dress of the period. The fashions of the Dekkan are very accurately described. Ārātrika commonly called 'Ārati' are tiny lamps which even at the present day are swung round at the finale of a religious ceremony or worship—also as a welcome for bridegrooms at weddings and during other formal or semi-social ceremonies. See V. 483 for the welcome to king Yaśaskara. See also VIII. 3327.

932. The evaporation of water during the heat which goes to form clouds and the ultimate return of it to earth through rain is a phenomenon which has been treated poetically elsewhere in this poem. See VIII. 128.

the troupes of musicians were in a position to emulate royalty. 933

The monarch, who was the crest-jewel of the learned, decorated men of learning with precious stones and invested them with the privileges of the palanquin, the horse, the parasol and the like. 934

During the reign of king Kalaśa, Bilhaṇa who had gone away from Kaśmīr and whom king Paramāṇḍi of Karṇāta had made a Vidyāpati and whose parasol was the only one which was seen by the elephants in the Karnatic army when the king was on the march, after hearing of the liberality of Harṣadeva, the friend of good poets, reckoned even such prosperity to be deceptive. 935-38

In his pleasure gardens, among the trees there was no place for the Wishing-Tree which had been cast into the background by him who was open-handed. 939

Replete with water extending to the horizon and resorted to by various kinds of birds and deer, was the lake named Pampā which was constructed by him. 940

The number of arts which he knew, it is certain that Bṛhaspati himself would not have had the ability to publicly cite their very names. 941

Even at the present day, when a song of his, who composed vocal music, is heard glistening tear-drops roll on the edges of the eye-lashes of even his enemies. 942

He slept for two watches of the day, living the gay life at all times and during the nights when he gave audience he kept awake. 943

While seated in the hall of audience lit with a thousand lamps, his nights were passed in holding conferences with the learned in singing and dancing. 944

But at the end of the discourse was heard there the soft sound arising from the chewing of the leaf or the one produced by the snapping of the chaplets of Śephālī flowers in the hair of the ladies. 945

Its canopies seemed as if they were the clouds, its illuminations were like walls of fire, the gold staffs were like lightning, the circle of swords was like smoke, the lovely ladies were like the Apsarā,

934. Even at the present day, in some of the Indian states these privileges are granted to the subjects by the ruling prince which fix their status and precedence at court.

939. The meaning is that the king was more generous than the Wishing-Tree.

the councillors were like the constellations, the learned were like an association of the Ṛṣis, the musicians were like the Gandharvas, it was the permanent rendezvous of the Giver of Wealth and of Yama, it was the pleasure park of liberality as well as terrorism, the nocturnal session of the court of that king, who surpassed Indra in glory, the muse of what Bṛhaspati is able to describe in its fulness? 946–49

With gold and silver Dīnnāras, there was at that time brisk trade in this kingdom, copper ones were however rare. 950

Sunna, having attained the rank of commissioner of police and being exalted in every way, was during this era the only mean person who, through greed, was exceedingly close-fisted. 951

His own Maṭhas in Jayavana, Sūryāmūlaka and in Vijayeśvara, which are without permanent endowments, proclaim his miserliness. 952

In removing the distress of the starving, the ailing, the orphans, the destitute and the like, Paṭṭa openly made use of the wealth of the realm for a justifiable purpose. 953

At Nandikṣetra by spending every year for seven days, Caṇpaka made fructuous the wealth he had acquired during that entire period. 954

With skins of the black buck, milch cows with calves, and like gifts, the destitution of the Brahmans was removed by the king who cut out completely the distress of his suppliants. 955

Queen Vasantalekhā of the House of the Śāhi founded Maṭhas and Agrahāras in Śrīnagara as well as in the sacred Tripureśvara. 956

Thus it would seem as if like a flame had burst forth in a measure the devotional faith in the Supreme Ruler; his regime, however, can not be called one of liberal administrative acts. 957

Then by slow degrees, the new ministers, who hated the ministers of the previous regime, attained power and perverted the king's mentality. 958

The peacock, whose toes suffer from leprosy, catches, while running, the many footed snake, the sun, who possesses a thousand feet, is at every step guided by him who has no thighs; that the powerful are deceived by those who have little strength and by them who lack

954. Caṇpaka referred to in this verse is the father of Kalhaṇa.

956. The queen Vasantalekhā belonged to the royal House of Kābul. See 1571 below.

power are deluded those who have the plenitude of power—this is the sport of Fate! 959-960

With the desire of taking vengeance for the hostility of the father, he had the Maṭhas including the one named Rājadhānī plundered. 961

The liberal king, while he was spending this way and that way, the father's accumulated treasure gave that miser the epithet of Pāpasena. 962

In his Pure Interior, over three hundred and sixty women of pure character were openly admitted by him whose mind had become infatuated. 963

Whatever the class of women, they were invariably lodged there by him who, however, did not accept women of the Ḍomba and Caṇḍāla families. 964

In the meantime, filled with ambition by the infantry in the fortress, Bhuvanarāja's mind once more became covetous of possessing Lohara. 965

He arrived at Darpitapura but hearing that the warden of the frontier had come out to fight, he again vanished from view. 966

At this juncture Saṁgrāmapāla, the impudent chief of Rājapurī, for some unknown reason had turned hostile. 967

While Kandarpa was endeavouring to bring under control the disaffected garrison of the fort, the king growing angry despatched the commissioner of police to Rājapurī. 968

He, after setting out with large forces on the road to Lohara, irresolutely delayed for a month and a half in the precincts of the stronghold. 969

Owing to the approach of the month of Āṣāḍha and the valour of the enemy he, feeling nervous, could not even apply his mind to the campaign. 970

Being ignorant of the plan Kandarpa, who had remained inert, then became the sole victim of the master's denunciation. 971

959-960. The Dawn (Uṣas), together with the Aśvins, the celestial riders, is the precursor of the dazzling Sūrya, the Sun. Our Āryan ancestors, like their cousins, the Irānians, worshipped her with hymns which retain their freshness to this day. The Dawn as Aruṇa was the charioteer of the Sun and the rising of the Sun soon after Dawn had become visible led to the description of Aruṇa as being without the lower part of the body or thighless (Anūru) see VIII. 50.

962. Pāpasena=he who has an army of miscreants.

Smarting under the royal taunts, he took a vow not to take food till the conquest of Rājapurī and although he was without stores he marched out. 972

When the starving Kandarpa halted in the depth of the mountains on the sixth day, Rājapurī was a little more than a Yojana away. 973

Unobstructed by the hostile forces and knocking down the weapons of the enemy, like a lion in the wood bending the plantain leaves, he made his entry. 974

Out of the forces of the commissioner of police, one man only followed him; it was the general named Kularāja descended from the family of Budhharāja. 975

When in the outer court at Rājapurī he, who had the privilege of the white parasol, had been slain after killing countless enemies, they thought that Kandarpa had fallen. 976

At mid-day, however, the puissant Kandarpa entered the royal palace in person at Rājapurī accompanied by twenty or thirty warriors. 977

Of the foe thirty thousand fighting men, who refused to retire, were held up in front of Rājapurī by three hundred of his infantry men. 978

Of the Kaśmīris were slain in that battle two hundred while four hundred Khaśas, too, lay down on the ground. 979

When the enemy was routed far away, the battle-field where the masses of the slain were receiving final honours became the kitchen of Death with the flames of the countless funeral pyres. 980

By that virile man, in this fashion, the Vetāla of his master's reproach was soon given an offering in the crematorium of the battle-field and pacified with flesh and blood. 981

When only one watch of the day had remained, the enemy smarting under defeat once again mustered and advanced to give battle to Kandarpa. 982

Thereupon he showered, during the struggle, those arrows smeared in medicated oil which penetrated and set ablaze the directions. 983

"He has knowledge of the magical fire-weapon"—thus the ignorant grew suspicious and terrified they fled far away while blaming themselves for having come again. 984

Boldness, presence of mind, dash, skill, strategy, freedom from

confusion do not desert the minds of men of mighty intellect, who are endowed with resoluteness, in critical situations. 985

On entering the royal palace when the sun was longing to set, he saw the outer court once more swarming with numerous troops. 986

As he was advancing to fight, he heard that the commissioner of police had arrived whose soldiers had held back through fear after seeing the grim battle-field. 987

At sight of the casualties on one's own side some are more excited in battle while others are alarmed by those on the enemy side. Who knows the heart of embodied beings? 988

Thereupon Kandarpa himself came out and brought him who was submerged in fear just as the crow vying with the wild goose sinks into the sea. 989

A hostile realm where the subjects are loyal, where the army is mobilized, where there are no factions, where there are ample funds—who else, depending solely on one's own powers in this manner, could have entered? 990

Having exacted tribute from the lord of Rājapurī, who had made submission, within only a month Kandarpa returned to his own land. 991

Being honoured by going forward to receive and in other ways by the king, he became the cause of headache of the commissioner of police and others. 992

At Parihāsapura, Ānanda, the hard-hearted, who while he was working as an administrator was made famous by the local priests' conclave by the appellation of Vātagaṇḍa was appointed in charge of the Pādāgra, after removing Vāmana by the king who was influenced by the incitements of the ministers who had been gratified by heavy bribes; he, at this time, was anxious for the wardenship of the frontier and was very popular with the ministers who were hostile to Kandarpa. 993–995

Incited by them the king, in order to save Lohara where the malcontents had revolted, despatched Kandarpa with the title of Maṇḍaleśvara. 996

He who was wise in counsel and brave in action was by this ruse removed, by malicious servants who were plotting for their own rise, from the presence of the unsophisticated king. 997

"He is fit for embassy"—thus he sends away from his milieu the

eloquent to other lands, "his words might alienate the kinsfolk" thus he abandons the man of intelligence, "this one is valiant, he might seize the throne" thus he is dropped at the instigation of the knaves; the unwise king who is devoid of discrimination and is unsophisticated like a brute beast does not take long to be ruined. 998

Being out of sight the affection for Kandarpa, though very deep, slipped from the king's heart in time like sand, held tight, from the fist. 999

"Taking up the two sons of Utkarṣa, Kandarpa is at present planning to be the ruler of Lohara"—thus spoke the councillors to the king. 1000

Accepting this as true, he immediately despatched Paṭṭa with an army and also Ṭakka named Asidhara to arrest or kill that kinsman. 1001

When they arrived, Kandarpa learnt this news through an interchange of letters and for a while he was down-hearted and his mind was alarmed, but Asidhara who was endeavouring to arrest him appeared before him and like a servant repeatedly rubbed the hand at the time of the game of dice. He, thereupon, withdrew the hand and with the edge of the thumb crushed the latter's hand whereby his skin came off like that of a wetted bird. 1002–1004

The king, who lacked appreciative insight into character, as well as his ownself for serving the king, were cursed by him in mortification and Paṭṭa was addressed as follows: 1005

"Let the king whose wits are guided by others, send me my family; then I shall hand over the fort and go abroad." 1006

After receiving the relatives who had been brought and delivered by them that minister, who had been free from treachery, gave up charge and journeyed to Benares. 1007

By killing in Gayā one chief and replacing him by another, he secured for the Kaśmīrīs exemption from the tax on funeral ceremonies. 1008

And by killing the leader of a robber band together with his force,

1002. Shampooing the body and pressing the hands is an ancient institution which is mentioned by Greek ambassadors to the Mauryan court at Pāṭaliputra; Masseurs of the traditional school are still to be found in India.

1006. Families of high officers were kept as hostages to ensure good behaviour and loyalty.

1008. For the tax on the pilgrims in Gayā see VI. 254 n.

on the highway which had become dangerous to pass, he made for the way-farers the eastern direction free from thorns. 1009

A ferocious tiger was killed by him near Benares and the eastern direction was decorated with Maṭhas devoted to acts of piety. 1010

Those evil ministers who had gained their object by his very banishment then began to injure, on account of mutual jealousy, the affairs of the king. 1011

Where the evil ministers like rams, whose increased arrogance arises from uncontrolled feeding and whose minds are befouled by unrestrained jealousy, strike at one another to relieve the itching of the horns, then in a very few days which are numbered, the king, like a post in their midst, suffers damage in all his limbs. 1012

Then as time passed Tanvaṅga's son Dhammaṭa, in whom was born the desire for sovereignty, intent on treason, began preparations to murder the king. 1013

"He will suffer denunciation for treàson and being disqualified as the son of a courtesan, the crown moreover will come to me only"—thus having plotted for a long time Jayarāja was instigated to murder the king by him whose mind was crooked. 1014-1015

By despatching assassins, natives of the village of Bilva, he secured for the purpose of treason two or three women of the king's household as co-conspirators. 1016-1017

In the house of Sahasramaṅgala, while he stayed awaiting the auspicious day, Jayarāja alarmed at the interruption of the undertaking came to call on him. 1018

While the two were in secret consultation in the apartment about that plot, a certain follower of Prayāga concealed behind the wall had been listening. 1019

He reported the news to Prayāga, from whom having learnt the story, the king prevented Dhammaṭa from departure. 1020

Through fear of the destruction of his family Dhammaṭa was slow in taking counter measures and in his alarm merely safeguarded his own person from day to day. 1021

Seeing the non-success Jayarāja, however, through emissaries, made the brave Ḍāmaras of Śamālā named Vāga and Pāja his sureties. 1022

From the report of his own retainers, who had deserted him after

they had been won over, the king, having heard that he was planning to escape at night, posted sentries in all directions. 1023

Under the pretext of going on a journey, announcing that he was ready, the wily son of Tanvaṅga himself brought Jayarāja in the morning to the hall of the four columns during the worship. 1024

As the king remained in the apartments which were bolted, he then entered the hall of assembly accompanied by his nephew Dhammaṭa. 1025

Then posting guards outside by order of the king, Prayāga spoke thus: "Arrest Jayarāja" in an undertone to Dhammaṭa. 1026

"Relying upon Dhammaṭa Jayarāja should surely surrender the sword while by this order Dhammaṭa will think he himself has not been found out; the death of both or either of them in the scrimmage would be to our benefit or if they reveal the league itself even their execution will not be criticized by the public,"—constantly reflecting in this way, Fate being unopposed, the plan appeared to the king to be the most suitable in the circumstances. 1027–1029

"The king, forsooth, knows nothing about me"—thus feeling assured, the son of Tanvaṅga then approached Jayarāja and spoke to him unashamed. 1030

"The king is displeased with you; if you are truly free from treason then you should deliver up the sword at once to clear yourself." 1031

Whether infatuated by Fate or through trust in him, Jayarāja, who was an expert with the sword and weapons of war, surrendered the sword like an ordinary man. 1032

Seeing this feebleness Tanvaṅga's grandson—and Ajjaka's son named Ṭulla—was enraged and thus spoke to him bitter words. 1033

"You coward! not by king Kalaśa were you begotten out of Kayyā; the begetter surely was some paltry emasculated fellow." 1034

Thus addressed by him, who recognized no limit to the fixed determination of men of resolute conduct, he became like one on whom cold water has been sprinkled while asleep. 1035

1024. Before entering the hall of assembly it was the duty of the king to worship which was concluded by the family priest reciting hymns, invoking blessings, and performing the waving of lights (Ārātrika).

When he was being questioned about the story of the treason, the brave man although put to torture, spoke only about himself but not about the fellow conspirator Dhammaṭa. 1036

Owing to the power of a spell which was an antidote against poison, poisoned food failed and thereafter he was strangled to death at night with a rope. 1037

Jayyaka, the chamberlain, cut off his head and threw his body in the waters of the Bhaṭṭāranaḍvalā to become the food of the fishes. 1038

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After he was killed in the seventy-first year in Bhādrapada, the king, whose heart was inscrutable, began to plan the murder of Dhammaṭa also. 1039

He, accordingly, ordered in secret to carry it out the best of swordsmen, the brave Ṭhakkura, named Kalaśarāja who belonged to Lohara. 1040

"When Prayāga sends you a messenger then you should carry out this"—thus he told him who had been accorded numerous marks of favour. 1041

But Prayāga, apprehensive of failure, when he was on the point of sending his own messenger, said to the furious king, "This should be done after taking counsel." 1042

As the king after summoning five leading ministers was holding council, Vāmana placing his body against the barred door spoke these words: 1043

"Before this resolution as well as these ministers go outside, if this is carried out, good luck will not come to grief." 1044

By a command of the sovereign, Prayāga then despatched the emissary and Kalaśarāja arrived with his two sons. 1045

At this juncture Tanvaṅga's son was sunning the falcon and was inside the royal palace in the company of two or three of his followers. 1046

Seeing Kalaśa in front and his two sons in the rear, no sooner had he spoken of his suspicion than he was deserted by his own men. 1047

1036. For the methods of the third degree see Taraṅga. VIII. 117, 444.
1042-43. The king when he held council was not bound to follow the advice of the ministers.
1044. Na bhadrāṇi daridrati—is an idiom; literally it means "good-luck will not be impoverished."
1046. See note, verse 580 ante.

"O Dhammaṭa art thou able to draw the sword?"—thus exclaimed Kalaśarāja. As he was placing the hand on the sword to strike, meanwhile in the front by Kalaśarāja and in the rear by his two sons he was struck down when he was jumping up from the seat and was soon deprived of life. 1048-1049

When he was on the point of death, the eldest son of Kalaśarāja was wounded by him; but strangely enough as the weapon lacked in quality he was not seriously wounded. 1050

For, as ill-luck would have it, during those very days that swordsman's own sword had snapped and he was thus found armed to disadvantage. 1051

After being slain he was thrown down from the roof by them, like a nestling by the fowlers, and the Svapākas left him to become the morsel of dogs by command of the king. 1052

Tanvaṅga's grandsons, Ralhaṇa and Salhaṇa, who came of their own accord and laid down their arms in the courtyard, were taken by the king under his protection. 1053

Ṭulla and the rest, however, on whom an attack had been delivered and who desired to fight in their ardour, were by the hypocrite Udayasiṁha who approached them cunningly deceived. 1054

"You are my sons", he had called out and through trust in him who observed the rules of chivalry, they surrendered their arms that their lives might be spared. 1055

"Clear yourselves by approaching the king's presence;" this counsel they accepted and took the road to the royal palace. 1056

Then the parasol-bearer, who since childhood had been brought up on the leavings of food in Dhammaṭa's house, laughed and spoke to Ṭulla in this wise. 1057

"O grandson of Tanvaṅga! what formerly thou hadst said to Jayarāja, namely, "Coward! thou art not the son of Kayyā", hast thou forgotten it?" 1058

"In thy case absolutely similar is this present moment of peril; why O fool! dost thou, when it is the time for fortitude, cling to pusillanimity?" 1059

"Hence thou, forsooth, wert begotten by my father who lived on the handfuls of food-remnants; I, on the other hand, by that valiant man, thy father, possessed of glory." 1060

Having spoken in this wise and after receiving the sparkling water

of the shower of swords in the mêlée, the proud man fell as if to wash away the stain of his birth. 1061

Then, while they were making up their minds that they would go before the king, Ṭulla and others were thrown into the prison-house by the king's retainers. 1062

They being in the first bloom of youth, like trees in spring, seemed deserving of protection to the king who took pity on them. 1063

A Ṭakka of the name of Bimba, a miscreant, having persuaded the king killed them by putting ropes round their necks at night. 1064

Ṭulla, Vijayarāja, Bulla and Gulla. the four grandsons of Tanvaṅga, were killed and rolled on the execution ground. 1065

Although they had been executed, their beauty is described in the course of conversation even to this day by old men with tears streaming like the day when the weather is wet. 1066

With their sprout-like teeth, red with the constant use of Tāmbūla, which lay scattered, the execution ground for a long time appeared as if the rubies of a necklace had been strewn around. 1067

Then out of the sons of Utkarṣa, the eldest named Ḍomba who had been brought up by the king was put to death by secret execution by him who was cutting at the root of the family. 1068

And treating as a spark of fire the child who had sparkled with lustre, he killed Jayamalla, the son of Vijayamalla. 1069

By killing his own kinsmen who would be guardians, kings, smitten by fate, make the realm so that some unknown person might enjoy it alone, free from thorns. 1070

The foolish Aśvattha tree, which, through the incitement of Providence, yields to tremors in order to make quite easily removable the honey-comb, which has grown up in the thick of its numerous tall branches, by some lucky soul, kills with the hard blows of the leaves its defenders the bees and makes an end of them. 1071

The king who had lost his wits became, through the great crime of enmity towards his kinsfolk, the prey of sycophants to an extent which would be inconceivable even in a babe. 1072

Kṣema, Vāmana's son, knowing him to be the hater of his father incited him to rob the gold on the dome of the Kalaśeśa temple. 1073

This plan of his was ingeniously cut out by Prayāgaka, who was a devotee, just as a resolute Mahaut prevents a runaway elephant from falling down a precipice. 1074

"Seize the villages, gold and the rest of it belonging to the shrine of Kalaśeśvara; with the stones of that temple I shall build you a bridge over the Vitastā." 1075-1077

"I can paint a picture in the sky, out of the fibres of the lotus plant I can weave cloth, I can bring gold seen in a dream, I can build a fort, with snow." Such among other things when positively asserted, the dull-witted king believes to be the truth and if, through shyness, he has nothing to say about such things he loses dignity and is swindled. 1078

But Prayāga prevented even this contemplated act of the master, just as a good nurse checks the demand for unwholesome food of an invalid. 1079

Then Loṣṭhana one day, while jesting, said, "May the imprisoned god be set at liberty;" smilingly he asked, "How is that?" and the former submitted to him. "Formerly in the town of Udabhāṇḍa there ruled Bhīma Śāhī; owing to differences among the members of the priests' conclave during the reign of king Kalaśa the temple of Bhīmakeśava founded by him had its door closed for a long time." 1080-1082

"When after the hostile feelings had subsided, they opened the door they saw that the silver armour had been removed by thieves." 1083

"Once more, evidently through fear of thieves, beginning from that day until the present day they have kept shut the panels of the door of the temple which is in possession of treasure and plate." 1084

"May you be pleased to take its treasure which is liable to peril from thieves and let the god, too, be released from imprisonment to participate in the joy of flowers, incense and other offerings." 1085

In this fashion having been incited by him, the king acted accordingly and secured from there treasure full of precious stones, gold, and other valuables. 1086

And he wondered, "When there is such stuff in a deserted shrine, how much more must there be in other rich temples of the gods?" 1087

After a hunger-strike the members of the local priests' conclave compelled the king to grant as compensation exemption from forced carriage of loads. 1088

1080. See VI. 178.
1088. The Brahmans in Kaśmīr at the present day are free from Begār or forced labour.

In course of time, the king, who had got accustomed to expenditure upon the different departments of the army, fixed his mind for the sake of its efficiency upon robbing the properties of the gods. 1089

Thereafter the treasures granted by former kings and which were a marvel of the world, the greedy-minded one carried away from all the shrines of the gods." 1090

When all the treasure had been seized, to remove the images of the gods he appointed one Udayarāja "officer for uprooting the gods." 1091

On their faces he caused ordure, urine and the like to be thrown, to ruin the images, by naked mendicants whose noses and toes of the feet and hands had rotted. 1092

The statues of the gods cast from gold, silver and other metals rolled like bundles of fuel on the roads even in excrements. 1093

The images of the gods with ropes at the ankles were dragged and covered with spittle in lieu of flowers by the maimed, the lepers and the rest. 1094

In the village, the town or in Śrīnagara there was not one temple which was not despoiled of its images by the Turk king Harṣa. 1095

There were, however, two puissant gods who were not insulted by him; in Śrīnagara the holy Raṇasvāmin and Mārtaṇḍa among the towns. 1096

Two images of Buddha, out of the colossal statues, were saved by chance the king having been beseeched when in a liberal mood he was engaged in granting favours; the one at Parihāsapura, the place of his birth by the singer named Kanaka and by Kuśalaśrī the Śramaṇa at Śrīnagara. 1097-1098

Even after publicly acquiring prosperity, which is a wonder of the world, those who long for the acquisition of money have indeed no distaste for evil practices; thus the elephant although he is the sports seat of the lotus-born goddess is addicted to the sin of the destruction of the lotus pool in order to possess the lotuses. 1099

Although possessing the treasure of the grandfather and father and the funds of king Utkarṣa, which had been brought from Lohara, O shame! he carried away from the temples of the gods, the wealth

1090-1095. With Harṣa's iconoclasm may be compared the iconoclasm of some of the later Byzantine Emperors—in both cases financial difficulties led to the confiscation of church property.

given by former kings and in his desire to rule, planned the acquisition of money even by the persecution of the inhabitants. 1100-1101

Then the wicked ministers having obtained the royal consent appointed officers to be known by the designation of the various ever fresh imposts. 1102

Fie! oh fie on the time-serving attitude of the dependents of kings—thus old as he was and of virtuous conduct, too, the minister Gauraka accepted, by order of the liege-lord, the office of "prefect of wealth," pledged to the confiscation of the villages and entire property of all the temples of the gods. 1103-1104

In the temple of Samarasvāmin, Sahelaka had been a member of the priests' conclave; as the confidant of Vijayamalla he had been hated by the king. 1105

By the realization of double the income, he acquired the office of prefect of wealth and having secured an opportunity to attend upon the king, in due course, he became a Mahattama. 1106

What more need be said? the king, who was extorting money universally through all sorts of prefects, appointed in order to get money even a "prefect of nightsoil." 1107

1107. The number of kings in the world has largely diminished but in Africa and Asia they still continue as the Rois fainéants under England and Republican France! India has been for centuries the land of Rajahs and K's strictures (verses 1107-1114) are still pertinent.

Maeterlinck in his *Life of the Bee*, comparing unfavourably the human social organization with the superior one of the hive speculates about the impressions of an inhabitant of Venus or Mars if he were to observe the human beings on earth as we watch the bees. Such an inhabitant might conceivably say, "I can see nothing that governs their actions. The little things that one day they appear to collect and build up, the next they destroy and scatter. They come and they go, they meet and disperse, but one knows not what it is they seek. In numberless cases the spectacle they present is altogether inexplicable. There are some, for instance, who, as it were, seem scarcely to stir from their place. They are to be distinguished by their glossier coat, and often, too, by their more considerable bulk.

They occupy buildings ten or twenty times larger than ordinary dwellings, and richer, and more ingeniously fashioned. Every day they spend many hours at their meals, which sometimes, indeed, are prolonged far into the night. They appear to be held in extraordinary honour by those who approach them; men come from the neighbouring houses bringing provisions, and even from the depths of the country laden with presents. One can only assume that these persons must be indispensable to the race, to which they render essential service, although our means of investigation have not yet enabled us to discover what the precise nature of this service may be. There are others, again, who are incessantly engaged in the most wearisome labour, whether it be in great sheds full of wheels that forever turn round and round, or close by the shipping, or in obscure hovels, or on small plots of earth that from sunrise to

Stupidity, which is synonymous with and is camouflaged by social status in the case of those who have been wealthy since they were in the embryo, prevailed and of the treasure acquired in this way, he proved that he was the proper person to make disbursements! 1108

In purchasing rare women with eyes lovely like those of the doe, horses with good breath, toleration by satellites of foul language, and the exaggerated eulogy of minstrels, ruling princes squander their fortune. 1109

In provoking and pacifying their sweethearts, the talk about horses and other animals and in their pursuit, in following the advice of servants and in the description of the chase, ruling princes, like children, pass their time. 1110

In amorous pastimes, amusements, arrangement of seats, vehicles, presents, wines, the cuisine and all such activities whether good or bad the princes as a class, like the shadow, emulate the one who is higher. 1111

Thinking inwardly owing to the adoration of satellites that they are in reality superhuman, the rulers of men, considering that they have a third eye or more than two arms, do not realize that there is death. 1112

During the nights, the wives have the mastery over them, by day the ministers to whom power has been delegated; O what a delusion that, in the circumstances, these princes still believe in their own power of control! 1113

He eats only what is dainty, what is tasty and wholesome he spits out and even continues to make the sound of spitting; if sudden fright is caused he is terrified—a king and a child have similar temperaments. 1114

Whatever the folly and other deficiencies of kings which have been viewed with the eye of criticism—all that retires into insignificance before the stupidity of Harṣadeva. 1115

sunset they are constantly delving and digging. We are led to believe that this labour must be an offence, and punishable. For the persons guilty of it are housed in filthy, ruinous, squalid cabins. They are clothed in some colourless hide. So great does their ardour appear for this noxious, or at any rate useless, activity, that they scarcely allow themselves time to eat or to sleep. In numbers they are to the others as a thousand to one. It is remarkable that the species should have been able to survive to this day under conditions so unfavourable to its development." (*Life of the Bee*, pp. 52–54).

Pleased with the playing of the drum, he gave to Bhīmanāyaka' who was versed in music and capable of captivating the heart, an elephant with its mate, the female elephant. 1116

Owing to this, Kanaka, the younger brother of Caṇpaka, then became his own pupil as a singer and took the trouble of assiduously practising singing. To him a lakh of gold Dīnnāras were granted as favour a by the king whose mind in his desire to reward him for the pains felt no damage. 1117-1118

On seeing the beautiful wife of Parmāṇḍi, the ruler of Karṇāṭa, painted in a portrait he was wounded by Love whose arrows are flowers. 1119

The vulgar minded satellites are for ever inflaming the passions of dull-witted princes, as if they were dogs, by inciting to ludicrous rivalry! 1120

Incited by the sycophants he, who had lost the sense of shame, made a solemn vow in the midst of the assembly for the possession of Candalā and the overthrow of Parmāṇḍi. 1121

He had renounced unboiled camphor in virtue of the vow and poets and minstrels, under the pretence of eulogizing him, made fun of him as follows. 1122

"By the peculiarity of your language and costume O friend! you appear to be a wayfarer from the Dekhan, from its perfume I guess there is in your hand a lump of camphor, if it is boiled then only think of presenting it to king Harṣa, if not it had better for the present repose in that cocoanut-shell of yours." 1123

"Until the ruler of the dominion of Karṇāṭa is slain, till Candalā has been embraced, until the ceremonious entry into Kalyāṇapura, till the sight of Pimmalā, until curiosity has been satisfied by the splendour of the whole of the territory up to the edges of the forests within the jurisdiction of that king, His Majesty of brilliant lustre has forbidden the chewing of Potāsa." 1124

The rogue Madana, the warden of the frontier, flattered the king and accepted the office of chamberlain to that lady who was delineated in a picture. 1125

1122. Crystals of camphor are formed by deposits after certain kinds of wood are boiled; unboiled camphor is as non-existent as "the horns of a hare"—The poets made fun of Harṣa's vow which was as absurd as the proposed war against Karṇāṭa.

As provision for raiment, ornaments and the establishment of the lady, he drew a daily allowance from the king as well as gifts for the pacifying of her jealousy. 1126

The fiction which was maintained became the touchstone of Madana for rascality and shamelessness and of the king for silliness and caprice. 1127

"This is your mother Bappikā; from heaven she has been brought to you"—announcing thus, other rogues showed him an aged woman and robbed him. 1128

"And these goddesses are her maid-servants"—described in this way they were presented at court and the king, while he bowed, giving up prestige and dignity, was laughed at by the people. 1129

The maid-servants, tutored by the satellites, who meddled in love affairs, private conversation, political consultations, and the like, caused the perversion of his mentality. 1130

By some of them who longing for joyous love when a suitable opportunity occurred, secured contract with his limbs, he was deprived of good fortune. 1131

To him, whose mind had been deluded and who being in love with life earnestly asked for a life of long duration, they granted hundreds of years. 1132

He who sought to perfect his body was induced by a certain Ḍomba to drink some peculiar drink by declaring, "This elixir is for achieving the perfection of the body." 1133

What is the use of describing his other follies, who when petitioned by the satellites doled out portions of his life as if it were actual money! 1134

The methods to which he, desirous of strength and beauty, resorted what man of decent manners can describe them which are still more shameful! 1135

Thus, the stupid man was hurled into blinding darkness for everlasting years by his own folly and by the base-born and wicked ministers. 1136

As at the present day, there are people of small imagination whose wits are perturbed by doubt at the extraordinary deeds of Meghavāhana and others; in the same way about these amazingly evil acts which have been narrated the people will surely become, in time, incredulous. 1137-1138

Although his regime was full of intrigues and smitten, as he was, with immorality of such a kind he did not become the victim, because of the remaining portion of his life-span, of enemies who were in search of loop-holes. 1139

While personally instructing the dancing girls at night, standing up in a spot illuminated by lamps that he was not killed, wounded or even shot at with an arrow from a distance by some enemy, was the fruit either of the misdeeds of the subjects or because a portion of lifetime had yet remained. 1140-1141

At this time in the Pure Interior of the king, who was the ocean of all immoralities, the disruption of chaste conduct which was the herald of downfall occurred among the women. 1142

Those young men maddened with lust and the women intoxicated with youth proved, at this very time, to be the ruin of Harṣadeva. 1143

Some of these women were punished by him in his rage together with their paramours while others were carried away from the Pure Interior by the paramours and taken away abroad. 1144

Because the fault was due to their own immoral conduct all the servants felt alarmed and, as they wished him ill, endeavoured to put an end to him. 1145

Meanwhile the weakness of the king's moral character, which had become notorious everywhere, was such as was understandable in one begotten by king Kalaśa. 1146

During infancy the step-mothers who had brought him up by placing him in their laps, he now placed those very ones on his lap, kissed and had the joy of love with them at all times. 1147

By him, who enjoyed those who were related to him as sisters, being enraged at her bitter words, was raped and punished Nāgā, the daughter of his father's sister. 1148

While he ever fostered with money the Turks, who were his centurions, that perverse-minded man until his death ate domesticated pigs. 1149

1149. Śatādhīśa=Captain of hundred, a centurion. The Turks referred to here, it is clear, are those who in accordance with the religious ideas of the Arabs had renounced pork which is very popular among Kṣatriyas and the Brahmans of Kaśmīr to this day. The Emperor Jahāngīr, whose mother was a Rajput princess of Jodhpur, we are told by Wheeler, was very fond of wild boar's flesh. The Smṛtis prohibit the flesh of domestic pigs.

On one occasion, when the slow-witted king had become enraged, he made an attack on Rājapurī with all arms. 1150

Seeing his military equipment which was unparallelled, the rajahs en route imagined that he possessed the power of overrunning the three worlds. 1151

He, too, on seeing the fortress of Pṛthvīgiri became eager to seize it and instead of entering Rājapurī encamped at the foot of it. 1152

When he persisted for over a month, the garrison of the fort whose stores of food and other resources had been dwindling were in sore straits. 1153

To save them, the affrighted Saṁgrāmapāla, the chief of the territory, agreed to any tribute whatever and to any terms. 1154

The king having become a man of firmness and refused to accept them, he won over by gifts of bribe the greedy commissioner of police. 1155

As the king was not prepared to consider a withdrawal, the troops were secretly incited by him to demand large travelling allowances. 1156

When they, who were mostly from the ranks, had started a hunger-strike with ironical speeches, the camp of the king, whose treasury was at a distance, was thrown into commotion. 1157

While he was engaged in meeting the objections, the commissioner of police raised another scare which had its origin in an attack by the Turks. 1158

Then the king, who had little fortitude, raised the camp and retreated and abandoned the entire treasure and equipment on the way in confusion. 1159

A servant, who has not been tested, brings disaster upon the master in a situation of grave peril like a sword of inferior origin in battle. 1160

By him who was unworthy and who did not want others who were worthy, the prestige of the king was tarnished like the stable by a low-bred horse. 1161

From that time onwards in the case of the king, whose military prestige had become extinct, the appellation Cakravartin altogether withered away. 1162

1157. This is an illustration of a hunger-strike by the military. For another instance see VIII. 808.

1162. Cakravartin=paramount king or emperor. It is believed that the cakra—discus, the sign of Viṣṇu—is found on the hand of the prince who is destined to enjoy imperial power.

With faded countenance, he eulogised Kandarpa who had executed the task which had not been achieved by him with all his officers. 1163

When he desired to recall Kandarpa, the same commissioner of police cut out the stupid king's wish by means of backbiting. 1164

When, however, the king learnt of his treason he had the commissioner of police arrested and he punished him in accordance with procedure but not through anger. 1165

In the fort, though living in peril of his life, the greedy man made a collection of Tāmbūla, clothing and other supplies sent by servants and relatives. 1166

The king deluded by fate, on the contrary, restored to his own post him who deserved death and who had been born to cause his complete annihilation. 1167

The sycophants and others by means of flattering eulogies once more incited that king, just as Karṇa and others had done in the case of the Kaurava who had been vanquished in the Ghoṣa expedition. 1168

The defeated dialectitian in overwhelming his antagonist with abuse, the wife who has failed in the vows of a chaste woman in annoying her husband with vile quarrels, and the government official who has been deprived of the glory of wealth in leading the king to a fall in a crisis, does the retrieval of one's own recent discomfiture. 1169

Sahela, the Mahattama, who was an expert in achieving his own ends, being nervous because he had appropriated sums which were owing by him, urged the king on to disaster. 1170

Having discovered a loophole among the Darads, he incited the king to take possession of the fort called Dugdhaghāta with the support of the Lavanyas of Lohara. 1171

Formerly, its garrison officer known as Lakkanacandra had been executed by Janaka, the warden of the frontier, by order of king Anantadeva. By his wife who sat down in hunger-strike at the king's door it had been delivered; treated with neglect by king Kalaśa, the Darad chief had taken possession of it. 1172–1173

On the strength of it the Darads having occupied innumerable villages in this realm, the king was induced by the minister to undertake the expedition. 1174

1166–67. These verses refer to the same man—the Commissioner of Police.

1168. See verse 585 above.

In that place, which lacked reservoirs of water, snow had been stored for the maintenance of the garrison; at that moment this was completely exhausted. 1175

Through spies the Mahattama having discerned this loophole, repeatedly pressed the king to seize the fort and he, thereupon, made preparations. 1176

When Caṇpaka, who was the lord of the marches, was about to start on that campaign by command of the king, the Vātagaṇḍa planned to foil him. 1177

The king having withheld from him the control of the frontier and appointed him to the post of a provincial governor, he had borne a grudge towards all the officers of the frontier. 1178

Although the affairs of his army were tangled, the lord of the marches crossed the river Madhumatī and laid siege with his troops to the fort. 1179

While he despatched all the feudatory chiefs from everywhere, the king himself remained at the distance of one march from the fort. 1180

With the Darad troops who discharged big boulders and the like and who in the shelter of the fortress were difficult to vanquish, the Kaśmīrīs engaged in battle. 1181

Together with his sons, Malla, son of Guṅga occupied the vantage ground named Prājimaṭhikā and rendered the garrison intolerably nervous. 1182

His two sons, the brave Uccala and Sussala, whom the prophesy of an augur had declared destined to obtain the crown, were enhancing their glory at his desire; the more audacious of the two, the elder one, although scorning the king's throne, had yet joined the campaign, because of the force of coming events. 1183–1184

Withered by the drought and the military glory of the king, the Darad warriors could defend the fort with great difficulty. 1185

At this time, as if it were an order of Fate for the reversal of the fortune of Harṣa, there fell a mighty torrent of rain which turned the land into a sheet of water. 1186

By bringing about the fall of some when they are about to rise and

1187. For an illustration of the game of lobbing balls see Mr. N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting* Pl. 11 p. 33. "Krishna and Radha playing at ball." See also VIII. 1633.

by lending a helping hand to others when on the brink of ruin, Providence seems to produce the impression of a game of lobbing balls. 1187

All the towers of the fort were enfolded by impregnable snow, as if a favourable Providence had clothed them in protective armour. 1188

Thereupon hankering after their mansions and inconvenienced by the rain, the evil ministers of the king brought about a demoralization in the royal camp as they had done before. 1189

Like a fish which swimming in the upward course of the water is hit in the face by a rock and retreats, so did the king from this place, too, turned back despairing of victory. 1190

Deserting the shops, abandoning stores, and throwing away valuables and arms, the whole camp became intent on flight. 1191

Fleeing by different roads and lamenting while pursued by the enemy, the royal troops were swallowed up *en route* by the wide river. 1192

As if full of rows of swans owing to the linen clothes, of multitudes of lotuses because of the shields, of water plants because of the heaps of swords, rocks because of the horses, sheldrakes owing to the vessels of gold, and foam owing to the silver vessels which had been abandoned by the men, was the river Madhumatī. 1193-1194

Of the human beings, who were taken or killed by the Darads, whose power was in the ascendant or of those who were carried away in the stream, there was no count. 1195

Endeavouring to save the army which was in such a plight without a leader, the proud Uccala, son of Malla, together with his younger brother, was the only one who did not budge. 1196

The force of the Darads was like an advancing sea, intent on overrunning the world; these two wholly stemmed the tide, as if they were two mighty mountains on the shore. 1197

The two of them having saved the army, acquired power and attained unparallelled renown; as if she were a lady choosing her bridegroom royal fortune honoured them with the halo of lustre. 1198

From that time onwards all the people were of the opinion that these two proud princes deserved the throne and not the craven king. 1199

Although they had rendered such service, these two had avoided an audience with the king, disdaining gifts of favour and hence the people clung to their sanguine expectation. 1200

When the terror of the foe had subsided, the king entered Śrīnagara while the fame of the valour of the two sons of Mallarāja penetrated the directions. 1201

Then everywhere the people said that the two were Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa and the king was the prototype of Rāvaṇa—words which were confirmed by subsequent events. 1202

The king, however, who was shameless and dense was not dismayed; as if that were his daily occupation, he once more commenced the oppression of the state. 1203

Even for a petty fault a mean fellow slays one who is close by, but not an enemy who is at a distance although he has caused a serious injury. A dog in the height of fury bites a stone which has fallen near him, but not him who has thrown it from a distance. 1204

Then on his return, the king heard that Madana, on whom he had bestowed the command of the army having been pleased with his services, had been openly commenting on his discomfiture. 1205

Enraged by this the king, desirous of killing him, charged him with another offence, the basis of which was the transgression of a written order sent by the queen. 1206

On his return from Maḍava he was not granted an audience by the king; he was frightened and proceeded to the house of the minister Lakṣmīdhara who was a Ṭakka. 1207

The king, although being propitiated by another minister in his behalf, had him slain, together with his son, by the troops while he watched with a smile. 1208

The sardonic grin of a king, the untimely blossom on a tree and the demoniacal laughter of the Vetāla do not end in nothing. 1209

Those who, proud of their deep and long standing intimacy, serve kings with an easy mind suffer annihilation like those, who boasting of their friendliness with a mighty serpent, perish through failure of the spell. 1210

The curse of queen Sūryamatī on the coterie of those, who had whispered evil in the ears, had stretched its arm until the annihilation of Madana. 1211

The king, who trembled at the sight of daring feats, put Kalaśarāja in fetters in the house of Lakṣmīdhara. 1212

While he was confined, the king sent his antagonist, one Udaya, to wound his spirit on the pretext of holding a formal enquiry. 1213

Seeing him radiant with prosperity, that mettlesome man was inflamed with wrath and suddenly getting hold of a sword from some one slew him. 1214

Thereupon by Udaya's infuriate retainers, who fell on him, he was killed; thus perished the servants of that evil minded king. 1215

In the kingdom, which was suffering as it were from wounds inflicted by royal repression, there arose, comparable to the touch of caustic, a further series of misfortunes. 1216

Burglars, such as those who could take away the gold plate from the royal palace itself, even by daylight killed the subjects. 1217

Plague was on the increase and the din of funeral music, to which was added the sound of wailing, did not cease day and night. 1218

The villages being submerged by floods in the year seventy-five, *4175 L. E.*
a continuous famine of all provisions arose. 1219 *1099-1100 A. C.*

A Khārī of rice was available for five hundred Dīnnāras; for one Dīnnāra could be obtained two Palas of grape-wine. 1220

For a Pala of wool, the purchase price became six Dīnnāras; of salt, pepper, asafoetida and the like, the name itself became scarce. 1221

With the dead, whose bodies were swollen being soaked in water, the surface of the streams was covered as if by piles of cut timber gliding from the mountains. 1222

"Screened by these, the royal palace cannot be seen from afar"—thinking in this wise, the king ordered the cutting down of trees on all sides. 1223

With their flowers and fruits, the trees who were like householders were felled and by the bees who were, as it were, members of their family were mourned at every step. 1224

Even when the people were in this distressful plight, the king

1220. For Khārī see V. 71 and Pala IV. 202.

1224. The brotherly love for trees in India is the survival of tree worship. The gathering of the mistletoe of oak and worship of trees in ancient Gaul had their origin in the belief in the sacred character of trees. The American Indians attribute their decadence to the cutting down by the White Man of trees, whose spirits had protected the Red Man.

imposed a heavy tax depriving them of breath, like a big boulder on an old bullock worn out by the plough. 1225

He squeezed the people through the officials by means of organised repression and not a clod of earth remained to them in the towns, the country, or else-where. 1226

Then the Ḍāmaras seethed in revolt and the king growing angered ordered the governor, like Yama, to massacre all of them. 1227

He first attacked the Ḍāmaras in the interior of Holaḍā, in the territory of Maḍavarājya and slaughtered them like birds in their nests. 1228

While killing the Lavanyas, he did not leave even a Brahman alive in Maḍavarājya who wore long hair or had a ferocious appearance. 1229

In the belief that they were Lavanyas, even travellers on the highway were impaled and the land thus looked fearful like the kitchen of Bhairava. 1230

When he impaled the fierce wife of a Lavanya, the Lavanyas were terrorised and fled in all directions from the governor. 1231

Some of these ate beef in the dominions of the Mlechhas while others survived by working water-wheels, handmills and the like. 1232

To the king, who was like Bhairava, the governor sent as a present many festoons and rows of the skulls of the Lavanyas. 1233

Rows of triumphal arches were seen at the royal gates everywhere replete with Ḍāmara skulls as if they were small pots. 1234

At the entrance of the royal palace hung bracelets, wearing apparel, and other things with which any one, who brought the head of a Ḍāmara, was rewarded. 1235

To feast on the heads of the Ḍāmaras vultures, crows and the like flocked to the royal portals and crowded on the extensive triumphal arches. 1236

1229. This verse shows that there was no rigid custom among Brahmans to wear any particular kind of dress in those days. See also Taraṅga VIII. 1328.

1234. Making a collection of heads was an old Turko-Mongol custom. The mighty conqueror Chengiz made mounds of the heads of his victims on a mass scale. It seems to have become a fine art by the time of Babar. He tells us in his memoirs of the collections of the heads of the Afghans. The members of Babar's entourage, while he was in Afghanistan on the way to India, amused themselves by giving chase to the Afghans at sight, cutting off their heads and presenting them to Babar.

Wherever the king was in residence, there the people constructed large triumphal arches of the gruesome heads of the Lavanyas. 1237

The nose was offended by filthy smell and the ear was assailed by the weird cries of the jackal, in the kingdom which was strewn with corpses like a burning ground. 1238

From the vicinity of the Baleraka Fountain up to Lokapuṇya, the governor made one row of impaled Ḍāmaras. 1239

Having thus completely annihilated the Ḍāmaras in Maḍavarājya, he marched into the territory of Kramarājya to act in the same fashion. 1240

Realizing that they were about to be wiped out of existence, the Ḍāmaras in Kramarājya mustered their forces at Laulāha. 1241

They all joined in the struggle and inflicting heavy casualties held up the governor there for a very long time. 1242

What else could there be? A Rākṣasa had come down to destroy this kingdom held in veneration by the gods, Tīrthas and the Ṛṣis in the guise of Harṣa. 1243

Dissipation at night, sleeping by day, cruelty, arrogance, meanness, delights in acts worthy of Yama—these and other such attributes like those of the night-walkers have been described as peculiar to him by wise men who were his contemporaries. 1244-1245

Meanwhile the younger son of Malla, then in the effervescence of his youth, had become the heart's delight of Lakṣmīdhara's wife. 1246

She had fallen in love with the royal prince who was her next door neighbour and had no affection for her husband whose figure and appearance were like those of a monkey. 1247

"You have killed innumerable other relatives why have you not O king! slain these two arrogant men Uccala and Sussala who are ambitious and who have the qualities which fit them for sovereignty?" —though addressed by Lakṣmīdhara, through jealous rage, in this wise, the king, pained with remorse at the former slaughter of his relatives, was not incensed. 1248-1249

Although repeatedly addressed by him personally as well as through the mouths of others, the king remembering their gallantry did not venture to order their death. 1250

1244. Night-walker=fiends.

Oblivious of considerations of affection for the kindred, tradition and the rest, the king later on held consultation with the ministers and resolved upon their assassination. 1251

A dancing girl of the court called Thakkanā made their ears familiar with the wicked design of the king. 1252

When Darśanapāla, their friend, had removed any doubt about this matter, both of them left the capital during the night, accompanied by two or three of their retainers. 1253

4176 L. E. 1100 A. C.

In the year seventy-six in the month of Mārgaśīrṣa, they escaped from Śrīnagara and arrived at the seat of a Ḍāmara resident of Utrāsa. 1254

Praśastarāja, the Lavanya, who was hostile to the king sent his younger brother Sillarāja to them and after negotiations he conducted them to foreign territory. 1255

Thereafter the elder brother went to Rājapurī and the younger brother proceeded to the court of Kalha, the ruler of Kāliñjara. 1256

At the time of their departure no one had entertained any hope about them, but the king, who had knowledge of omens, was apprehensive having observed evil portents. 1257

He made a request to Saṁgrāmapāla, through Lakṣmīdhara's mouth, to assassinate Uccala and offered him money. 1258

Saṁgrāmapāla had treated the son of Malla, who had approached him, with scant courtesy; he, however, showed greater regard owing to this apprehension on the part of the enemy. 1259

The enemy, when nearing the dawn of prosperity, attains honour in the world through his own opponent manifesting nervousness being urged by fate. 1260

The people of Rājapurī are, by nature, desirous of injuring Kaśmīr and when its powerful enemy had arrived in their midst how can their intrigues be described? 1261

Some persons for the most part dishonest who had joined him were now caused by Uccala, who was making preparations, to go to the Ḍāmaras to and fro. 1262

The Ḍāmaras, too, who had been harried by the king, despatched in their enthusiasm emissaries with many persents to invite him. 1263

1251. Apparently the destruction of any member of the royal family was a matter on which it was necessary for the king to take the opinion of his council. See verse above 1042.

Janaka, the son of Sūryavarmacandra, filled him with enthusiasm by despatching false emissaries. 1264

Seeing the emissaries of the Ḍāmaras, Saṁgrāmapāla gave up the fear of the king and publicly paid honour to Uccala. 1265

Just when he, affected by the solemnity of the act of state, was about to crush some camphor over the head of Uccala and give him leave for departure for indestructible fame, the chief Ṭhakkura of that country named Kalaśarāja, who had been given a bribe by king Harṣa, arrived and spoke to him apart. 1266-1267

"Abandoning the propitiation of the king you, who are sympathising with the cause of Uccala, are neglecting the Wishing-cow and catching hold of the he-goat's neck." 1268

What is he compared to the King of Kaśmīr? And what is the strength of this poor wretch? Therefore by devotion to the king render yourself free from menace." 1269

"This fellow should be placed in the citadel of Rājagiri, then the king will shower on you what your heart desires and through apprehension be friendly with you at all times." 1270

Thus addressed by him, the lord of the Khaśas, being a man of limited vision, became nervous and lured by self-interest agreed to do so. 1271

But he said, "I am not able to arrest him who is impetuous. You should yourself capture him when he is sent on some pretext to you." 1272

Having thus spoken and permitted him to go to his residence he said to Uccala, "In the morning you ought to go to Kalaśarāja. He is the principal minister of state here; through him you will avoid peril. I shall then leave you free with your followers to proceed to exterminate your antagonist." 1273-1274

When Uccala started the next day to go to his residence, first by evil portents and subsequently by his intimate friends he was warned about the plot. 1275

The plot having been revealed and hearing that Uccala had gone to the Chief of the Khaśas, Kalaśarāja growing angered came up with his troops ready for action. 1276

1268. Kāma-dhenu=the Wishing-cow. The goat has two excrescences at the throat which have the appearance of udders and the meaning of the speaker is that the chief neglecting the substance was hugging the shadow.

Learning that he had come to attack, Uccala, the best among those who wore arms, set forth together with his own followers for battle. 1277

When the mêlée was in progress, the ruler of the Khaśas stood out and pacifying Uccala brought him with Kalaśarāja to his own court. 1278

Brushing aside the servants who were intent on hindering him he, who was a mass of chivalry, entered the assemblage of the Khaśas, fully armed, with his lower lip quivering in anger. 1279

No one, neither Kalaśa nor the Rajah, dared to face that store of lustre who in his wrath was ebullient like the sun at the end of the Kalpas. 1280

When the chamber was cleared, with great spirit he spoke harsh words in anger to the lord of the Khaśas who with his ministers was attempting to pacify him. 1281

"Formerly in Dārvābhisāra, Nara of the House of Bharadvāja was king. His son Naravāhana begot Phulla who begot Sātavāhana. From him was Canda; his son Candurāja, in turn, had two sons named Gopāla and Siṁharāja. Siṁharāja had many sons and a daughter called Diddā, who was given in marriage to king Kṣemagupta. The queen being without male issue installed her nephew Saṁgrāmarāja, son of Udayarāja, on the throne. Her other brother Kāntirāja had a son Jassarāja." 1282-1285

"Saṁgrāma was the father of Ananta and Jassa was the father of Tanvaṅga and Guṅga. From Ananta was descended King Kalaśa and Malla was the son of Guṅga." 1286

"King Harṣa and others are descended from Kalaśa, we are likewise from Malla. This being our pedigree, why do dullards ask, "Who is this man etc?" 1287

"Since the earth is destined for the enjoyment of the brave what, if any, purpose does a pedigree serve and in any case what better friend does a gallant man need but his own two arms?" 1288

"Thank heaven, not having permitted these pitiable objects to touch me on the head with the hand, I have not become a blot on the dynasty of the Kaśmīrī kings." 1289

"So you will watch my capacity", so saying he set forth and from there marched to conquer, followed by a hundred infantry. 1290

Someone appeared before him with a hare which had been killed;

by this favourable sign he considered that the fortune of the enemy had fallen into his possession. 1291

Abandoning the tugging of water-mills, hand mills, and the rest, the Ḍāmaras, Vāṭṭadeva and others, who were in exile, joined him on the march. 1292

From the presence of Saṁgrāmapāla, who was in camp, Uccala arrived, tired, when the former's Ranis in Rājapurī cheered him. 1293

Having banqueted as he was going from their residence to his own quarters at the close of the day, he was attacked by the troops of Kalaśarāja outside. 1294

The Ranis having prevented him from going out by closing the portals, his warriors Loṣṭavaṭṭa and others were slain in the affray. 1295

When the fighting was ended by the intervention of the ministers, Uccala who had but few soldiers was left with a still smaller number. 1296

At the end of the night of full moon in Caitra, he had experienced his misfortune, yet undismayed he started on the campaign on the dark fifth of Vaiśākha. 1297

Having despatched Vāṭṭadeva and others to proceed by their own routes to raise an insurrection, he planned to enter Kaśmīr by way of Kramarājya in person. 1298

Kapila, the son of Kṣemarāja, who on the death of Udayasīha had been posted to the territory of Lohara by the king, left him free to enter. 1299

Marching in person at the head of all, he, carrying his sword and shield, made the soldiers of Kapila the first pupils in flight at Parṇotsa. 1300

Having captured the lord of the marches, Sujjaka, who was taken unaware in camp, he swiftly fell on Kaśmīr like a hawk longing for flesh. 1301

To him, no sooner had he entered than several Ḍāmaras and the Khaśas from the mountains, came swarming from all sides. 1302

As if he had dropped from the sky or emerged from the womb of the earth, king Harṣa quailed when he heard of the unforeseen approach of Uccala. 1303

1293. The Ranis of Rājapurī extended their hospitality to Uccala and entertained and cheered him with refreshments in their own palace.

"He might secure a firm foot-hold and he might kill the governor who is in occupation of Kramarājya"—thinking in this wise, the king lived in constant disquietude. 1304

The prefect police, who had an equipped force, having delayed, he hastily despatched Paṭṭa with numerous officers. 1305

Whether Providence struck down his courage or whether he was assailed by the desire for treason he, abandoning the offensive lingered, on the contrary, on the way. 1306

The others whomever the king despatched, Tilakarāja and the rest, each, in turn, went over to Paṭṭa and failed to go to the front. 1307

Since the person despatched by the king, the chief of whom was the prefect of police, had become paralyzed, Uccala obtained a firm foot-hold. 1308

As he was entering Varāhamūla, a mare bearing auspicious marks which came running towards him from the hostile force was secured by him, as if she were the royal prosperity. 1309

And from the head of the image of Mahāvarāha a garland fell on his head; it seemed as if it was bestowed by the Earth resting on the Boar's shoulder to choose him as the bridegroom. 1310

As his passage was blocked by warriors of the Kāka and other educated families, he retreated from Huṣkapura and went towards Kramarājya. 1311

In the meantime having heard of his arrival and being emboldened, the governor was brought by the Ḍāmaras to the point of a rout. 1312

They had already broken his power by killing many of his bold warriors, chief of whom was Yaśorāja, and his prestige had diminished. 1313

He then retreated slowly and reached Tāramūlaka where his enemies led by Uccala pursued him. 1314

Having mobilized numerous troops, he then held out for a long time, like the east wind, against Uccala who had the semblance of the cloud-burst at the time of the deluge. 1315

The opposing armies here maintained an equal contest for the goddess of victory, like two jealous tuskers fighting for the female elephant. 1316

1311. The Kāka family is repeatedly referred to by K, the name which still survives among Kasmīrī Brahmans is a great one in the history of Kaśmīr.

Ānanda, the maternal uncle of Uccala, having rallied the Ḍāmaras, thereupon, caused a revolutionary uprising in Maḍavarājya. 1317

In that rebellion, massed bands of the Ḍāmaras came swarming in thousands from all directions like wasps emerging from earth-holes upon the melting of snow. 1318

At this juncture, the hapless king had both as commander-in-chief and lord of the marches the Mahattama Sahela who was a civilian. 1319

Ānanda having attacked him, he fought many an action; that he did not retreat from Maḍavarājya was as much as he could do at this time. 1320

Then with amazing valour, the Grand Army was enveloped by Uccala and the governor with his force was taken prisoner in the battle. 1321

We do not know how it happened at that time, but the warriors while still with their swords, horses and armour realized clearly that they had been taken prisoners. 1322

Although captured in this fashion, that superb man upheld the interest of his master; devotion to the sovereign suffers no setback unto the very end in the case of men of honour. 1323

He now incited Uccala to swiftly make his entry into the capital, repeatedly saying in order to give him confidence that no such opportunity might occur again. 1324

When he advanced, Ānanda caused a pillage of the towns and villages and the like through several people, hoping that such acts would be a scandal against Uccala. 1325

He then induced Uccala to occupy Parihāsapura, the exit from which was exceedingly difficult owing to steep land, floods and other obstacles. 1326

There he spurred his own men to burn Uccala and himself at night in the quadrangle, but they would not do so being his well-wishers. 1327

If one's body is fit for risk in the same measure as the mind, then for one, who has no self-interest, what desired object is difficult to achieve? 1328

The timid tortoise is equipped with an impregnable skin which shields his body but the lion who is ever very eager for warlike adventure is without an armour; alas! foolish Providence is mani-

festly swayed by partiality in favour of the mean while the body of heroes through defencelessness is liable in every way to be struck by darts. 1329

He then sent a message to the king, "I have enticed and thrown him in front of you like a jackal. May your Majesty come out quickly and capture him." 1330

Thereupon mustering all his feudatory chiefs and troops, the king came out of the capital resolved to conquer or to perish on that day. 1331

When his existence was at stake, he ordered a general amnesty by beat of drum and all the citizens followed him. 1332

The royal retainers mounted on well-bred horses rapidly covered the distance and slaughtered the hostile force which had already reached Bharata Bridge. 1333

At the approach of the royal army which was like the surging sea, the governor himself entered in the midst of the rebel force and annihilated it. 1334

Thus when the force of Uccala was routed, some of the Ḍāmaras who were swift-footed melted away while others who were exhausted took shelter in Rājavihāra. 1335

A Ḍāmara named Trillasena was seen entering it; mistaking him for Uccala his opponents set fire to this Vihāra. 1336

The haughty Uccala who surrounded by the royal cavalry had continued for a long time to fight with Somapāla, the uncle of Darśanapāla, was turned aside with difficulty by Janakacandra and others from the battle-field of Parihāsapura as if from the jaw of death and he escaped. 1337-1338

Crossing the Vitastā from the village of Gaurikābāla escorted by his cavalry, he once again proceeded with the Ḍāmaras to Tāramūlaka. 1339

With merely such a success elated like a petty gambler the king, while applauding the governor, returned to the palace. 1340

As he did not pursue even though he was aware that his rival was alive, the Ḍāmaras came to life again although they had suffered a rout. 1341

The firm-minded Uccala in the month of Jyeṣṭha endeavoured once again to organise the Ḍāmaras, who had escaped by flight in all directions. 1342

The proud man, whose sole friends being his own two arms, was dependent on others found this mighty effort, in the midst of famine, difficult. 1343

In the midst of it although he was very necessitous, Uccala, when he had it in his power, had preserved the glorious image of Parihāsakeśava; the king broke it up and carried it away. 1344

When that image was broken up, the heavens and earth were covered with dust, dusky like the plumage of a pigeon until the decapitation of Harṣa. 1345

Formerly darkness had prevailed in this land even by daytime and its silvery lustre had illumined the day, such was the legendary belief of the people. 1346

On the installation of the image of Parihāsakeśava this had ended, but on its being dislodged darkness once again prevailed for a month and a half. 1347

While the king had to a certain extent recovered his breath owing to the slackening of the rebel offensive, Sussala made his appearance at this juncture in the direction of Śūrapura. 1348

While he was residing at Avanāha, messages full of reproach from his father who had eulogized the elder brother had roused him from inertia. 1349

After accepting some horses which the Rajah Kalha had presented, he gave up at length his deference for the king which had made him delay. 1350

Although engaged in a grim struggle he, who was one mass of diplomacy from beginning to end, employed the method of negotiation which mystified the opponent. 1351

By defeating in battle general Māṇikya, he secured the glory of victory as well as ample resources from the observation post of Śūrapura. 1352

The entire period of the rise of this favourite of fortune, owing to the wealth thus acquired, became amazingly halcyon. 1353

Thereupon the king, unheeding Uccala, despatched the governor Paṭṭa and others to fight Sussala whose movements were quick. 1354

But at Śūrapura his soldiers were routed by that gallant prince and many perished by drowning in the waters of the Vaitaraṇī. 1355

There the body of Darśanapāla, who fought heroically, was not

touched by the goddess of victory as if through disappointment at his disloyalty towards the master. 1356

The remnants of the royal army in flight, on the following day, went over to Sahela who was encamped at Lokapuṇya. 1357

And Sahela fearing Sussala's attack, like the end of the Kalpa, retreated to Śrīnagara, taking with him the various units which had been routed. 1358

Thus while the invasion of Sussala had tangled the affairs of the king, Uccala, encamped at Tāramūla, once more consolidated his power. 1359

The Ḍāmaras, who being mostly foot-soldiers, feared the royal cavalry conducted him once more by the difficult mountainous route of Lahara. 1360

The king, on his part, having once more appointed Udayarāja to be lord of the marches, sent the governor to Lahara to crush Uccala. 1361

Thus, when the maternal uncle of Malla's sons approached Padmapura, none of the ministers suffering from panic would accept the command of the army from the king. 1362

"Is there no one who is mine?" Thus spoke the king heaving a sigh, whereupon Candrarāja accepted from his hand the chaplet of office. 1363

He was the descendant of men, among whom the noble Jindurāja was prominent, who had despised death on the couch; he proved himself worthy of them. 1364

Like the son of Droṇa, he was appointed chief of the army at a time of disaster. He set forth and repulsed the rebel forces from Padmapura. 1365

He then gradually gained ground and slew the rebel commander on the bright ninth of Śrāvaṇa in the city of Avantipura. 1366

This man was separated from his troops, who were engaged in

1360. The Ḍāmaras seem to have been mostly foot-soldiers. The rulers of Kaśmīr equipped with cavalry thus had the advantage over the people when they rose against them. See VIII. 1094.

1363. The high officers of state wore chaplets of flowers in their hair. The Greeks in the time of Alexander had found this custom in India. The king also wore a chaplet of flowers like the Roman Emperor. See Taraṅga VIII. verse 314, 337 and 1982-1984. App. J. Foot-note 9.

battle in the vicinity of Govardhana and with a small escort was attending a musical concert. 1367

Meanwhile his enemy's cavalry, advancing by the bank of the Vitastā, came up with him all of a sudden and he met his death. How could there be any prosperity for the negligent! 1368

Seeing his head sent by Candrarāja, the king began once more to entertain the hope of victory, believing that fate was favourable. 1369

While going away with averted face, Providence produces betweenwhiles by favourable aspect the impression that it might return, as does a lion by turning and glancing backwards. 1370

Then Candrarāja, who had received reinforcements and who was indefatigable in his efforts, entered Vijayakṣetra holding together his host of eighteen divisions. 1371

Like one holding a balance, the Creator at this time could not bear to upset the equilibrium between the two camps, as if they were the two scales of a balance. 1372

And so when the third day came, the force of the governor at Lahara, demoralised by untimely torrents of rain, began to melt away. 1373

Smitten by chilly winds and sinking in the muddy fields, the soldiers forthwith abandoned their horses, swords, armour and the rest and behaved like the lower animals. 1374

Thereupon, although being protected by Uccala whose heart had melted, Janakacandra and the others slew the governor who had been taken. 1375

Among the corps of king Harṣa's officers, who were stained by treachery and fear, glory was purchased at the cost of his body by this minister alone. 1376

No doubt it was Devaśarman and others, who were worthy to be honoured, whom he had emulated. If this is not so, let some one, if the reverse were true, give publicity to the error. 1377

The extirpation of the Lavanyas, the confusion in the enemy front, and the rest; bearing in mind that fruit is dependant upon Providence, who would not eulogise his actions! 1378

Does not the moon destroy the infernal darkness, is not poison likely to frighten it who swallows the waters; is there not Dhanvantari for the destruction of its internal fire? Although in everything the ocean has at the same time been reduced to fruitlessness, it should

not be denounced as an imbecile. Those who analyse success as being subject to destiny will, by praise alone, show their awareness of the real state of affairs.
1379

His mother Gajjā, rendering homage to her own worshipful character, as one of those women who have borne sons praiseworthy, for their exertions in the service of the sovereign, entered the funeral pyre.
1380

When the king had begun to send her son everywhere on perilous expeditions, she, deluded by love, had spoken to the ruler of the land:
1381

"I have no other children, this is my only son O Lord! May you be pleased not to appoint him to every enterprize which jeopardises his life."
1382

He replied to her: "O mother! as in your case who are without other progeny, so for me who has no other servant, he is the only bulwark."
1383

By this appreciation of faithful service on the part of the sovereign, that proud and virtuous lady realized that her son had attained an assured position of distinction.
1384

Uccala, at this juncture, who had arrived at Hiraṇyapura, was given by the assembled Brahmans of that locality the ritual water of coronation.
1385

To the king, who was extremely depressed on this occasion, the ministers said: "You still have many partisans; with them go to the mountain fortress of Lohara. From there the subjects, when their eagerness for a new king will have subsided, will themselves before long invite you or you yourself will be able to return in a few days."
1386–1387

To this the king replied: "leaving behind the ladies of the household, the treasury, the lion-throne and other rare objects I do not venture to depart all of a sudden."
1388

Again those intimates said: "As they go along, mounted men will carry the treasure and the ladies of the household on horseback." 1389

"And if some one else did ascend a throne which has been occupied by the lover of an Untouchable woman, what loss of dignity would result from it?"
1390

"Let that be, have you any other advice to offer"—being thus urged by the king, they once again excitedly held forth. 1391

"Where is the room for feebleness in the case of kings who govern a kingdom, keeping in view the rules of Kṣatriya chivalry and for whom death in the field of battle is hosanna?" 1392

"When kings give themselves up to vice and dissipation, there is lack of activity, shame, fear, faction among ministers and the members of the royal family become hostile." 1393

"The indolent king, who does not personally attend to the affairs of state but hands over complete charge to the subordinates, is like a blind man dependant on a stick; at every step he is liable to an accident." 1394

"He is an insignificant opponent, I am ashamed to personally take the field against him;" thinking thus he, being short-sighted, is negligent and, misled by a false sense of shame, even effords the latter a chance of growing powerful. 1395

"Mahendra may be reduced in time to the condition of a worm and even a worm may attain the status of Mahendra. This one is powerful and this one insignificant—such pride is unworthy of one's dignity." 1396

"He succumbs to defeat, though equipped with all material resources, who is afraid of a rival determined to conquer but deficient in every way." 1397

"If one, whose position is secure and who is the lucky favourite of fortune, is attacked by a wretched opponent who is dependent for maintenance upon others, how, indeed, in the case of the former is a defeat possible were it not for the fact that the underlying cause was nervous fear!" 1398

"As a result of the divergent opinions of ministers, an affair of state, however trifling, has not been observed to have a satisfactory termination like the cord on the churning stick if pulled asunder successively by two peasants." 1399

"A king possessed of all resources, if he pin his hopes on one man only, is deprived of his throne as well as his life by the enemy, however deficient the latter may be in every kind of resource." 1400

"Wherever the enemy is to be found, advance against him in every bit of the territory overrun by him—thus determined to crush him you will before long again obtain victory." 1401

"In the event of Fate being unkind, kings who fall in battle fighting

in the midst of thousands of brave men obtain glory as well as celebrity." 1402

"Fortunate are those, who obtaining affectionate blessings on their clean and admirable bodies from which the fever of pride has departed, lie on the blessed couch of heroes—the battle-field—where the actors who dance are headless trunks, where the bow-string produces the twang like the tuning of the strings of the Vīṇā, where the jets of lamps are the flames emerging from the jaws of female jackals." 1403

"Glorious should be the last act"—reflecting in this wise, like gamblers, the Kṣatriyas, gambling for the throne, have recourse to fearlessness." 1404

When the king, disregarding even this, asked for other advice they sighed, and as the occasion demanded, spoke roughly declaring their opinion thus. 1405

"Like Utkarṣa you can at least give up your life in this calamity, otherwise some ignominy will befall you which is planned by the enemy." 1406

He replied, "I am unable to slay myself, therefore you should yourselves strike me in the hour of peril." 1407

Regretting this speech of their lord, who was seized with pusillanimity like a man of low station they, with tears, again addressed in this wise. 1408

"When, for purposes of resistance the strength has failed us, whose lustre has been struck down by destiny how, on the contrary, could our hand be raised for such a vile deed?" 1409

They must have been indeed beasts in human form whom the king had maintained, for they failed to remove his distress when he had fallen into such a pitiful condition. 1410

The human body, even if one survives till the end of aeons, is perishable; alas! when the success of the cause depends upon the readiness to sacrifice it—that one's henchmen should turn faint-hearted! 1411

Women, took, remembering the love of the master leap into the flames; then, if in spite of being a man he were to forget it, who else is more degraded than him? 1412

Those who can watch unaffected the sorrow, fear, helplessness and like sufferings of their master, as if he were an actor, make this earth, although it is hallowed by the Tīrthas, unholy. 1413

The son emaciated by starvation, the wife employed as a maid in another's house, the milch-cow in distress through lack of fodder lowing plaintively, the parents on the point of death through lack of food, the master conquered by the enemy; he who has seen this with his own eyes, what other torment remains for him to suffer in hell? 1414

Again those beasts in human form were addressed by the king, who, although he had done noble deeds, had gone astray as if possessed by evil spirits. 1415

"In the final age, as I have administered the realm no one else, I trow, will rule with the same breadth of purpose." 1416

"Yama and Kubera reside on the lips of kings—this tradition has found its justification only in my case in this age of Kali." 1417

"With the path which Rudra, Upendra, Mahendra and others will travel, how can a mortal, when the predetermined hour arrives, feel aggrieved?" 1418

"Nevertheless I am pained that this land from being a chaste matron has, through my imperfections, been reduced like a woman of the town to the state of being enjoyed by force." 1419

"From now onward any unworthy man, knowing that merely by conspiracy is success achievable, will hope to obtain the throne of this land whose glory has departed." 1420

"At the fruitlessness of all those amazing deeds of mine, the small-minded persons who have attained a rise will surely laugh through arrogance." 1421

"An enterprise when seen by the people to be crowned with success, since they do not take into consideration the justification for it, is as a rule not condemned." 1422

"Since the act of churning had been successfully accomplished, has any one cast a slur on Mount Mandāra by scrutinizing the questionable circumstances, namely, that the enemy Indra had been the main auxiliary and that he, whose exudation causes death, had formed the churning cord?" 1423

"In spite of being conversant with many Śāstras that I should have shown myself as a hoarder of wealth for the sake of providing for the people is being made the proof of stupidity." 1424

1416. The final age is the age of Kali. Harṣa's defence of himself shows that he acted from conviction and believed he was doing right.

"Even Uccala, whose brains can be collected on the tip of one's finger, will snigger at my good actions by showing his black teeth." 1425

"On account of dishonour and not through fear I, who am reduced this day to impuissance, on my part ask for death, such as I have mentioned, to vindicate myself." 1426

"'If he had not been slain by his own men who could have deprived him of the kingdom' —I desire to maintain my reputation which will be established through such a reasoned belief." 1427

"Muktāpīḍa the king, who formerly shone at the head of princes, was reduced to great straits by his enemies who had discovered a loop-hole." 1428

"He, it is said, in the region of the North, while his soldiers were engaged in various passes and he had meagre followers, had his passage blocked by the foe in a difficult pass." 1429

"While he was helpless through lack of stores, the king named Śalya who was equipped with eight lakhs of cavalry took a vow that he would take him prisoner." 1430

"Having pondered over the disadvantages of the ways and means including negotiations until his mind became depressed, he asked his principal minister of state named Bhavasvāmin what to do." 1431

"Reflecting that resistance to misfortune was hopeless he, too, convinced that Providence ruled supreme, spoke to him with reference to what should be done with honour in the circumstances." 1432

"While an affair of state has gone beyond the stage of remedial measures, those who glory in their reputation are in appearance calm like one whose heart is undisturbed by greed." 1433

"The job of the statesman is to conserve renown; operations which aim at the acquisition of dominion are, however, of secondary importance." 1434

"Even upon the destruction of the body, when all that remains of a living being is ashes yet he is, like camphor by its perfume, measured by his reputation." 1435

1426. Suicide being an act of cowardice the king asked his officers to kill him. See verse 1407 above.

1430. The verse refers to the Emperor of China. The first Chinese expedition against Baltistan occurred between the years 736-747 A.C. and it is not unlikely that Lalitāditya perished while opposing a Chinese army in the north of Kaśmīr.

"Although extinct the pair have a very amazing place wherein they survive; Cupid lives in the side glances of young women and the man of renown on the tongue of the panegyrist." 1436

"The protective armour of glory secures to a living being a stable existence in other Kalpas; the atoms forming the body of glory abide in the state of perfection." 1437

"The brave should bear in mind Destiny, since it is vigilant towards its opponents; it is constantly endeavouring to destroy their ascendant position which is their wealth." 1438

"Brahman, who delights in persistently pulling down those who are high and mighty, although his own birth is from a family of lotuses, causes humiliation to the cluster of white lotuses, before whom even the moon, barren of purity, feels an inferior, by handing them over to the elephant." 1439

"Those who have neglected to be on the guard, by disregarding the intention of the Creator who is obstinately set on destroying renown, what indeed have they succeeded in saving?" 1440

"The canes, which thrive on the mountain under the shelter of the Bamboo, have this reputation that they sacrifice their bodies by lighting a fire, but alas! they do not know how to save; at the gateway of princes they are made, by enraged Destiny, to cause hurt, to those who pass to and fro, through the hands of the door-keepers." 1441

"Thus realizing that the desired pleasures of life have become well-nigh exhausted now it is time, Sire! to act in order to preserve the charm of your prestige." 1442

"Therefore a sudden attack of that swift disease known as Daṇḍakālasaka may your Majesty broadcast to-day as a ruse." 1443

"To-morrow I shall say what has to be done which would ward off the danger." Saying this the great minister went out to his own quarters. 1444

"Then feigning an attack of Daṇḍakālasaka and rolling on the

1437. See Taraṅga I verse 3 for "body of glory."

1438. K. is referring to the maxims of the Smṛtis and other texts that in public affairs human endeavour is superior to Fate which is nothing but the result of accumulated efforts of the past life. Vide *Manu* VIII. 205, *Yājñavalkya* I. 349-51, *Kauṭilya* IX, p. 349. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and books on political science such as *Kāmandakīya*, *Śukra-Nīti* contain exhortations on this point.

1443. Daṇḍakālasaka=a kind of colic.

ground with starred eyes, the king began to groan as if unable to bear it." 1445

"When sweating, massage, vomiting and like remedies caused no abatement of the malady, the people said that he was about to expire." 1446

"Thereupon announcing that his master's death was imminent, the minister made his entry into the flames as a token of his sense of gratitude." 1447

"The king inwardly appreciated him, who had generously not mentioned the only course that had remained, yet had artfully suggested it by his grim conduct." 1448

"'I am not strong enough to bear the intense suffering' declaring thus the proud king then consigned his body to the flames." 1449

"That high-minded man, by disregarding life in this manner, prepared a ladder for the high ascent of another's reputation and not through self-glorification." 1450

"Thus, the cure of disgrace brought upon them by Providence is successfully achieved, either by their own genius or by the advice of the ministers in the case of the high-minded." 1451

Having spoken in this wise he fell silent. "In order to preserve the seed of the dynasty may you be pleased to send Bhoja, born of your body, to the stronghold"—thus he was thereupon requested by the ministers. 1452

When that prince had set out after the conclusion of the ceremony of departure, the king, misled by the chief of the police, made him turn back. 1453

For his sagacity, spirit of adventure and dauntlessness in peril had vanished of a sudden, when the hour of his perdition approached. 1454

The flash of lightning of prosperity, the crane of celebrity, the thunder of heroism, and the rainbow of prowess follow the cloud of Providence. 1455

On account of intelligence, heroism and like qualities the king, of whom during the era of prosperity, it is deemed possible why he should not singly make an attack on Indra he, at the dawn of his

1447. This reminds one of the heroes of Japan who sought voluntary death under similar circumstances. See Taraṅga VIII. 1224-25.

misfortune, is then relegated to imbecility like a lame or blind person and thus, one even wonders, "How indeed did he set foot on the ground?" 1456

To hold up the rebels, the force of the Tantrin was despatched, yet remaining in Śrīnagara it drew from the king allowance for the campaign. 1457

All the royal retainers began to seek shelter with the rival kinsmen; the few who continued to reside in the palace, were merely physically with him. 1458

Only two or three there were who did not even so much as think of taking shelter with the enemy. And yet what would be the good of praising them, since soon afterwards, in the manner of women, they committed suicide? 1459

A dancing girl belonging to the family of the danseuse Kāṇaśrāvatī had adopted as her daughter a girl called Jayamatī of unknown birth. 1460

In her early youth she had fallen in love with Uccala, but having been lured with money and given up her virginity had accepted the position of mistress of the Maṇḍaleśa. 1461

When the latter was slain she, forthwith, discarding shame went over to Uccala and this very person was destined, through inscrutable Providence, to be his crowned queen. 1462

Forming groups, the royal servants discussed the merits of Uccala and were unafraid even within sight of the sovereign. 1463

By all those, who had accepted allowances, a propagandist was put forward who, by proclaiming corruption and lack of self-respect of the leaders, undermined the soldiers; if forced to curtail his activity he cut to the quick by sarcastic remarks, he caused squabbles at the hour of rations, etc. by claiming privilege; he was an expert in praising the high-mindedness, largesses, etc. of his own master; thus each and every mercenary caused demoralization of the regiments. 1464-1466

Śrīlekhā's nephew Vyaḍḍamaṅgala, owing to the hatred for the family of Malla, was attacked by the king and assassinated. 1467

His wife, who was the daughter of the maternal uncle of Uccala and Sussala, set fire to her own house and with her mother-in-law perished in the flames. 1468

"He, who has camouflaged his cruelty under a vow of silence and other austerities, is comparable to Death; Malla is a hypocrite par

excellence, he will act according to his innermost thought which is different. Therefore you should unhesitatingly kill this enemy who desires the throne for his sons," thus at this time the king was addressed by the Śāhi princesses. 1469-1470

In person the king leading the attack stood in front of his door and Malla came out to fulfil the desire of him who sought his life. 1471

It is said, although his two sons, who were preparing for rebellion, had besought him because he had taken the vows of a Muni and owing to the demands of the pure life, he had not deserted the king. 1472

To assure the sovereign, on the other hand, he had given Salhaṇa and others, the step-brothers of the future kings, as hostages and had stayed at home. 1473

Against such a man who lived a saintly life and who since his birth had cherished the worship of Fire, the king whose death was nigh turned his wrath. 1474

While engaged in the worship of the gods, he was summoned by his enemies; he was resplendent in the same garb when, for battle, he came out. 1475

Wearing the sacred thread, with the rosary of Rudrākṣa in the palm of his hand, the fingers aglow with the sacred Darbha and the forehead gleaming white with the mark of ashes, he appeared like another Paraśurāma. 1476

His black hair streaked with white, still wet after his bath, was wavy. It seemed as if he bore, when renouncing the body, the waters of Prayāga on his head. 1477

With his warrior's belt for a turban, with the shield as the parasol and with the sword as the staff, he shone as if he were a pilgrim on the road to the Dhārā Tīrtha. 1478

Some of his liegemen, who in the banquet held the place of honour, sallied forth in front of him and they were the first also to share in the joys with the celestial nymphs. 1479

Two Brahmans, Rayyāvaṭṭa and Vijaya, as well as the superin-

1474. Agni—the altar-fire which the Āryans and the Irānians in India and Persia tended. It was the symbol of the divine fire and together with the flaming Sūrya became the object of worship which still continues in India.

1476. Rudrākṣa—berries of the Eleocarpus used as rosaries. See II. 127.

Darbha—The grass used in religious ceremonies. It is different from Dūrvā (Cynodon Dactylon), the favourite grass of horses; see VIII. 1056.

tendent of the kitchen Koṣṭaka and the soldier Sajjaka were slain in the fight. 1480

Although wounded, the janitor named Udayarāja and the commissar Ajjaka were not, owing to the balance of life remaining to them, deprived of life in the fight. 1481

On seeing that the soldiers had left no loop-hole at the gates on all sides Malla, undaunted, sprang straight at their heads. 1482

Gliding in the midst of swords as if they were moss and among shields as if they were lotuses, white with age, he gleamed like a swan. 1483

In a moment pierced with a hundred sharp arrowheads was seen this gallant knight lying on the hero's couch like another Bhīṣma. 1484

Oh! how deplorable was that act of the king, who cut off the head of such a man when life was extinct and rode his horse on his back through malice! 1485

Rani Kumudalekhā and Malla's wife's sister, Vallabhā, sacrificed their bodies as an offering to the sacred fire kindled in their residence. 1486

Āsamatī and Sahajā, the daughters-in-law of Malla, who were the wives of Salhaṇa and Ralha, and daughters of Rāja and Avakalya, also consigned themselves to the flames. 1487

Six Maids of Honour of the ladies of the interior, who shared in all their luxuries, also perished on the spot. 1488

This occurrence took place on the left bank of the Vitastā, the waters of which were warmed by the grand mansion which was ablaze as also by the flow of burning tears of sorrow. 1489

Nandā, the mother of the future kings, descendant of a faultless family, was anxiously watching from the terrace the camps of her sons situated on the further bank of the river on the north and the south, distinguishable by the smoke of their kitchen-fires. The saintly lady burned herself, in her mansion which was set on fire, in the company of her wet-nurse Cāndrī, who felt she could never bear to see the water-offering at the funeral of her daughter whom she had nourished at her breast. As Nandā stood upright, she was surrounded by the dancing tongues of fire as if they were her Maids of Honour

1484. The verse refers to the story of the death of the Kaurava prince Bhīṣma which is related in the *Mahābhārata*.

when she cursed the king as follows: "My sons! may your action, in the next few days, towards the dynasty of your father's foe be comparable to that of the son of Jamadagni." 1490–1494

Although the king was at any moment about to kill Darśanapāla, because a balance of life had still remained, he was spared through amazing interludes. 1495

Either his lifetime was for one more year or it was due to spite that he was spared in order that he might suffer humiliation and rot as a result of disease. 1496

When, on the dark ninth of Bhādrapada, the sons of Malla heard of the murder of their father, rage swallowed up their sorrow. 1497

Then setting fire to villages up to Vanhipuraka with the flame of his wrath Sussala, on the following day, advanced to Vijayakṣetra. 1498

To give battle to the invader, Candrarāja now advanced but Paṭṭa, Darśanapāla and others, together with their troops, deserted him. 1499

Left in the lurch by his own people, he there fought a hard battle for a long time, although he had only a small force against the superior numbers of the enemy. 1500

In that battle Akṣotamalla and Malla, descendant of Cacara, who were both officials of the palace, departed to participate in the revels of the celestial maids. 1501

In a cloud of dust lit up by his moon-like umbrella, Candrarāja was slain to be embraced by the celestial maidens and so was his henchman Indurāja. 1502

When even this gallant knight was killed Providence, as if it were, crushed to bits the very bulb of the lotus plant of king Harṣa's hopes. 1503

Thereupon Paṭṭa and others took refuge, through fear, in the courtyard of the temple of Vijayeśa and when Sussala arrived at the spot they barred the gateway. 1504

Only the member of council named Padma died fighting outside and Lakṣmīdhara longing to die was taken prisoner and carried away by the Ḍāmaras. 1505

Then ascending the terrace of the treasury of Vijayeśvara, Sussala

1493. Paraśurāma, son of the sage Jamadagni, avenged the death of his father by the extermination of the Kṣatriyas.

observed all those persons below who were like so many frightened beasts. 1506

Sussala was amused, but being a shrewd man he appointed an intermediary and to begin with he had two of them, Paṭṭa and Darśanapāla, brought before himself. 1507

Those two being unable to ascend for lack of a stairway, Sussala's followers tied their hands and dragged them up, as if they were dead, with a rope. 1508

They prayed for permission, feeling humiliated, to go abroad and the sagacious Sussala having promised this wiped away their disgrace. 1509

But by his soft words and by the enjoyment of fried meats and other delicacies in his company, their anxiety to go abroad diminished during the course of that very day. 1510

What Sussala, moved by some strange impulse, achieved the following day is a matter the recollection of which, I imagine, must thrill the very limbs of the world's creator. 1511

He, absolutely alone, having broken open the portal stepped, sword in hand uttering harsh and reproachful words, in the midst of them who were standing in the courtyard of the shrine of Vijayeśvara, wherein were Rajah Jāsaṭa, the maternal cousin of king Harṣa, and three other Rajahs prominent among whom was Umādhara as also the galaxy of Rājaputras, Chevaliers, the Tantrin and the Feudatory chiefs of the eighteen corps d'armèe who were without number. 1512-1514

They did homage to him and he granting pardon pledged himself before Vijayeśvara as his witness to spare their lives and then departed. 1515

Once more he climbed to the top of the terrace and on their surrendering their arms he had them all brought into his presence by his servants with the hands bound with ropes. 1516

Decorated with rows of gold and silver sword-hilts and all manner of arms, the floor of Sussala's court appeared as if it was strewn with flowers. 1517

Handing them over to the Ḍāmaras, as animals are placed with herdsmen, to be guarded Sussala encamped there for three days. 1518

Then on arrival at the village of Svarṇasānūra, he released Paṭṭa and Darśanapāla, who were eager to leave the country. 1519

Paṭṭa arrived at Śūrapura and, although induced by his wife who had come from home, deficient in courage, he forgot about the journey abroad. 1520

What little decorum the traitor Darśanapāla had displayed, by indicating eagerness to go abroad, on account of his friendship for Paṭṭa, the very strands of it were lost. 1521

Then Sussala, through self-conceit desiring to seize the realm by the occupation of Śrīnagara, planned to forestall the elder brother. 1522

The two being of about the same age and of a very independent nature, there had been a lack of precedence at all times in the matter of seniority and juniority between them. 1523

Two or three days had passed, when occupying various regions the mighty Sussala made his appearance in the very precincts of the royal palace. 1524

When he was about to set fire to Kalaśā, the crown prince, Bhojadeva, alias Buppa, came out to give him battle. 1525

Apprehending from his own case the character of princes to be wicked, he had, owing to the force of comin events, ever been kept powerless by the father. 1526

But now, however, when there being no alternative, the control had ceased, did he not then in those various combats become the foremost of warriors? 1527

If like his great-grandfather he had been trained from the beginning, endowed with energy might he not have rendered the directions free from rival kinsmen? 1528

Every one is acquainted with political science but not with its practical application. Acquaintance with the use of arms is met with universally, a strategist, however, is rarely found. 1529

That prince royal had been born to surpass in valour his very brave enemy, just as in the case of the sea-fish Timi is he that swallows the Timi. 1530

Where the father has shown ingratitude his progeny does not deserve condemnation. When sesamum seed is converted into refuse, does the oil lose the perfume of flowers which has been imparted to it? 1531

The son of Deveśvara, the villain Pittha, though raised by the sovereign to an exalted position, had sided with the opposite party. 1532

Thereafter his son Milla, when the campaign against Sussala had started, begged for a horse through exhaustion from the king who looked at him with contempt. 1533

"Sire! you will know this day my inmost feeling!" So saying he departed. The mettlesome man washed away the humiliation in the stream flowing from his sword blade in the field of battle. 1534

The loss of everything had not caused in the mind of the grateful king such excessive pain, as was caused by the failure to realize his inward feelings. 1535

Ever deluded by the glamour of luxury kings realise inherent character so late that it is possible for them to honour it merely with words. 1536

Bhoja having defeated his forces, Sussala melted away from the battle-field and fled to Lavaṇotsa which had twice witnessed his arrival and departure. 1537

On his return, after this, Bhoja having suffered from the fierce sun threw himself bodily, time and again, on the bed by his father's side in the garden. 1538

At this time there arose a clamour on the bank opposite to the north of the royal residence. "The elder son of Malla has arrived; the bridge should be cut down." 1539

"Sussala will seize the throne if you do not come quickly to-day"—such was the message which had been sent to Uccala by the miscreant, the superintendent of police. 1540

Thereupon marching rapidly he first killed in combat Devanāyaka, whom he found before the temple of Narendreśvara. 1541

Then Nāga, the commissioner of Śrīnagara, who was in camp with large forces advanced to meet him with his squadrons of cavalry. 1542

The king had built his hopes in him who was equipped with the best regiments and entertained no apprehensions from Uccala, having emerged victorious from the contest with Sussala. 1543

Having a small force while the son of Malla feared an attack by him, Nāga, in the meantime, having removed the helmet made him obeisance. 1544

Suspecting him to be a well-wisher of the enemy like the Maṇḍaleśa he ordered, "Go to your own house", and that villain did so. 1545

In this case the reward of treachery was seen in this very life, since by begging in this very land he ended his existence. 1546

Then the king on approaching the river bank beheld the Ḍāmaras at the bridge-head awe-inspiring and dark like trees burnt by a forest conflagration. 1547

Only the figure of Janakacandra, who wore a coat of mail, was radiant in the midst of them like the planet Venus in the gathering darkness. 1548

The great bridge was constructed by the king with boats for his own ends; it, however, enured, through the force of Providence, for the benefit of the enemy. 1549

Then taking fire with them the Śāhi princesses and other queens, desirous of death, ascended to the four-columned pavilion in the palace of Hundred Gates. 1550

The people in their indifference watched the struggle of the liegelord with his rivals at the bridgehead, unmoved, as if it were boisterous play on the Aśvayujī day. 1551

While victory was in the balance, the king repeatedly restraining his wives who were ready to set fire took the field at the bridgehead. 1552

At this juncture Janakacandra and the rest struck with arrows the royal war elephant who had thrown off its armour and who was in front of the bridge. 1553

Hit by the arrows in his vital parts, the elephant began to trumpet and roar and trampling under feet his own army turned tail. 1554

Crushed by the elephant which like Fate had become hostile, the army was converted into a fleeing mass of infantry and cavalry. 1555

Then crossing the bridge, on being compelled to retreat by the soldiers of the enemy, the king entered the square of the palace of Hundred Gates in a panic with his cavalry. 1556

He who even in private was never seen without magnificent raiment and the movement of whose mouth was not perceptible even while he ate—his body owing to the rays of the sun was now dripping wet with perspiration which was doubled by fright; again and again the armour which was slipping from his shoulders was being put right by his retainers; to pull up his charger which had quickened his pace being urged by the kick of his unsteady heels he was repeatedly drawing back his hand which had lost control over the bridle; with

1551. See IV. 710.

his hand from which the sword had slipped he was pushing back over the ears the locks of hair flowing from the sides of his bald head; his long hanging earlap, devoid of ornament, was suspended on the shrivelled neck like a veritable death dealing snake; he was pouting his lips which were very dry owing to lack of Tāmbūla and pale like lac, and in his exhaustion, with difficulty, he was moistening them with the tongue; raising the thin and dusky face with the dust clinging to the eye-lashes and despair in his heart, he watched his loved ones who stood on the terrace while by the sign of the hand he was dissuading them who were preparing to set fire; thus he was seen wandering panic-stricken in the courtyard by the people. 1557-1564

Mallarāja's house was close to the royal palace; Janakacandra having crossed the Vitastā set fire to it. 1565

Seeing the flames extending in the direction of the royal palace, Bhoja took to flight concluding that the kingdom was lost. 1566

Breaking open the gate, which was hidden as if with bristling reeds by the terrible darts of the enemy, he made a sortie from the courtyard on horse-back. 1567

Escorted by five or six horsemen he, intending anxiously to get to Lohara, departed after crossing the bridge in front of the monastery of Siṁharāja. 1568

The prince having disappeared from view the king, with tearful eyes, continued to look in that direction and escorted by the royal horse-guard wandered outside the palace. 1569

In the meanwhile, in order to save some of the queens who were desirous of dying, their servants broke open with stones the four-columned pavilion. 1570

The Śāhi princesses were unaware of this and believing that the enemy had rushed in they kindled the fire, thereupon, on the top of the four-columned pavilion. 1571

Then the inhabitants and the Ḍāmaras with up-lifted arms massacred one another and looted from the burning royal residence the treasure and other objects. 1572

Some met their death there while others rid themselves of penury; while in the case of others the acquisition of objects, which they had never seen before, made them look ridiculous. 1573

"This white stuff is sugar"—thinking thus one put camphor in his

mouth, but when his mouth began to smart, he chucked the vessel into the river. 1574

Some wretches, desirous of obtaining gold, burnt gold embroidered clothing and eagerly collected the ashes. 1575

Mistaking a collection of whole pearls to be white rice, low class women at one place ground them down in their hand-mills. 1576

The goddess of Fortune, who had her residence in this unique land, having been in this fashion villainously outraged was never again visible anywhere. 1577

Comparable to fairies, in noble attire, the beautiful royal ladies were seen being kidnapped by the fierce Ḍāmaras at every step. 1578

Led by Vasantalekhā seventy Rāṇīs, while the rest left, consigned their bodies to the flames on the spot together with their daughters-in-law. 1579

The burning edifices caused such a crackling noise that, hearing it one imagined it to be the roar of the celestial river being boiled by intense heat. 1580

Standing near the fountain of queen Padmaśrī and watching this scene the king, in his agony, recalled this verse of the sages and muttered it repeatedly. 1581

"The flame which has arisen from the persecution and harassment of the subjects is not blown out so long as it has not consumed the fortune, life, and dynasty of the king." 1582

Uccala, at this time after burning the royal palace and seeing that the foe had not been deserted by the army, had again crossed over to the opposite bank escorted by the Ḍāmaras. 1583

Then the mind of the king, who desired to die fighting, was reduced to a state of perplexity from one moment to another owing to the conflicting views of the infantry. 1584

As he set out upon the advice of Anantapāla and other Rājaputras for the battle, he was dissuaded by the words of the superintendent of police at every step. 1585

"Either fight or retreat to Lohara;" so said Caṇpaka; to Prayāga, however, the latter alternative appealed but not the former. 1586

Not getting news of the son, the king became anxious and said to Caṇpaka, "Follow the track of Bhojadeva." 1587

"Prayāga will be your only follower—Sire! in a little while; therefore you should not lose me also"—thus he replied heaving a sigh. 1588

Choking with tears the king said, "You have the reputation of being loyal, how is it that you also at this time transgress my command?" 1589

"Without my son I cannot see the directions even by day though the sun is shining; with him who has been brought up in your lap, it is not right that you should feel anger." 1590

For over a mare, in those very days, a tiff had arisen between this same minister and that proud prince. 1591

Taunted by the king's speech pregnant with reproach, he hung down his head in embarrassment and went off in search of the prince. 1592

With fifty horseguards including his brothers, retainers and others he crossed but on the opposite bank of the river he found himself with five men including himself. 1593

When his two brothers and the horseguard, the son of Śeṣarāja, had fallen on the way, their horses having been killed, he wandered about followed only by Dhanaka. 1594

Without having obtained any news of the prince although he had travelled on the same road he, when the day was worn out, arrived at the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu. 1595

In this way the king despatched other trusted retainers to search for his son while others availing themselves of this excuse deserted from his side. 1596

He who in the war of Rājapurī and elsewhere had accepted bribes and had turned impudent, who unable to tolerate efficient officers had undermined the morale of the camp, who had made the king put obstacles in the son's departure for Lohara, who when the king was occupied in battle elsewhere had connived at the enemy's entry into the city—this very man, who had been the cause of the King's total ruination, the superintendent of police, was even at this time turning him aside from the proper course. 1597-1599

The irresolute king listened in a state of absolute despair to many suggestions but failed to fix upon any one course of action. 1600

As when everybody blows into its various holes, the flute can surely produce no sound so, too, by many persons with divergent views assembled in a consultation a decision, in fact, cannot be arrived at. 1601

And of the ruin of good fortune surely this is the sign when even

a common person presumptuously offers, unasked, advice which is worthy of his own heart. 1602

The equerry named Trailokya, running down the superintendent of police, held the bridle and thus addressed once more the king who was eager for a fight. 1603

"With the half of the Ekāṅgas and their cavalry your grandfather had formerly triumphed, therefore, let us go to the outskirts of the Akṣapaṭala with a view to muster them." 1604

"With their help we shall fall on the rear of the enemy who are massed together and mostly consist of infantry and slaughter them as hawks do birds." 1605

Thereupon as the king was about to start, his troops dispersed in all directions like a crowd of spectators in a theatre struck by showers of rain water. 1606

To the sons of Śeyārāja who had reached the opposite bank of the Vitastā, he gave for the road-expenses of his son jewelled necklaces and other valuables. 1607

When these gardeners took delivery of the emblems of royalty, in a moment, the king who with the halo of distinction had looked radiant was noticed by the people to have lost his splendour. 1608

At every step the troops deserted as he wandered about the Akṣapaṭala and other offices till no one was left by his side in his misfortune. 1609

In search of asylum he wandered in the evening to the houses of the ministers but no one allowed him entry while he stood at the door. 1610

Those who are experts in hunger-strikes have nowhere proved useful in the long run. In vain do kings hold as an object of veneration the Brahman wretches. 1611

Wandering about with expectancy, he approached the house of everybody who was anybody in this land until he came, hoping for admission, to the residence of the minister Kapila. 1612

This one was in the fortress of Lohara, but his wife pressed him to stay and then go towards the fort by boat, but he did not enter being infatuated by destiny. 1613

From that hapless king the minister's sons, perfidious like their

1606. This verse shows that the theatre in Kaśmīr was open to the sky as among the ancient Romans and Greeks.

father, hid themselves as do impecunious debtors from their creditor. 1614

"I am guilty"—thus he himself only now realised while he listened to the denunciations; the wicked ministers had concealed every act from him formerly. 1615

In the grip of absolute despair and mistrusting even those who were in his milieu, he found himself with hardly any follower when he had passed Pradyumna. 1616

Those who boasted of their birth in the thirty-six clans—the aristocrats who would not tolerate a higher status for the luminous sun himself—even those Rājaputras, Anantapāla and the rest, at the end deserted him having in the gathering darkness pulled up their horses step by step. 1617-1618

When he alighted from his mount on arriving in the vicinity of the Johila monastery, he was deserted even by the superintendent of police and his younger brother. 1619

"In this place my father-in-law lives; after seeing to your accommodation for the night there I shall come back;" so saying by way of excuse he went off. 1620

As he was about to leave, Prayāgaka asked for a bracelet from his younger brother in order to get rations. He, however, gave porridge but not the former. 1621

Thereafter with his fortune reduced to the one suit of clothes or the remainder of his lifetime, the king had Prayāga as his sole remaining follower. 1622

The cook of Jelaka, a servant of Caṇpaka named Mukta, at this time joined the king and became intimate with him. 1623

"Owing to breeches caused by floods the country in front is difficult to cross;" thus they were told, while wandering about, by a woman living in a cave. 1624

Then on the bank of the Vitastā the king having sat down, Prayāgaka summoned some boatmen to proceed to the fort of Jayapura. 1625

He had previously come to an understanding with the men-at-arms posted there to conduct the king to the seat of Bhīmadeva, which was under the protection of Preya. 1626

Although he was a protégé of Uccala, Bhīmadeva had said, "I shall turn liegeman of the king as soon as he enters my demesne." 1627

The bargemen brought a boat but the king, heading towards perdition, did not go aboard agitated by the frightful events recently witnessed. 1628

As if at the very sight of the cobra held in the hand by the advancing Destroyer the lamp of their intellect rapidly sinks to the point of extinction, when the moment of death arrives, in the case of embodied beings. 1629

Although at this time treason was rampant the Ḍāmara Bimba of Nīlāśva had not joined the rebels, on the contrary the eyes of this proud man, like a chaste lady of good family, turned towards no stranger; yet he was forgotten by the king who was seeking an asylum. 1630–1631

Then the massed clouds commenced to discharge water as if to bathe the earth polluted by contact with treason. 1632

A wilderness, torrential rain, gathering darkness, evil company, menace of the foe; how many things had combined to make him miserable? 1633

Alas! the necessity of recording facts will now compel the public mention of the names, although they should not be remembered, of the perpetrators of wicked acts. 1634

A necromancer named Somānanda worshipped some divinities known as Someśvara near a crematorium. 1635

There in an enclosed courtyard screened by a grove of towering trees was a hut belonging to a low-born ascetic of the name of Guṇa. 1636

With a woman of the town named Bhiścā, who had advertised herself as Varāha Bhujaṁgī, he followed the occupation as beseemed a procurer. 1637

To his hut which was situate near the temple of Pratāpa Gaurīśa, Mukta conducted the king to lodge during that night. 1638

The king hung on to Mukta and Prayāgaka, in turn, clung to him and thus they proceeded discovering the way at intervals during the flashes of lightning. 1639

Without a turban, with wet garments clinging to his body the king stumbled along and was somehow brought by Prayāga and Mukta to that hut. 1640

At this time the king sorrowfully remembered Kandarapa who was driven away by wicked ministers and who was

capable of warding off adversity just as Utpala had thought of the giant Rudra. 1641

Mukta having entered by climbing over the wall and removed the bolts the king entered the courtyard of the hut from which the mendicant was absent. 1642

As he stepped in, his right foot was injured by a stone and began to bleed. By this evil omen he reckoned that his death had come near. 1643

As the hut was secured by a bolt he, unnerved, passed in sitting posture in the courtyard that fearful night overhung with a sombre line of clouds. 1644

Splashed with mud he remained on the bare slushy ground with his limbs enfolded in a little blanket of his menial during that night of rain. 1645

When he got up from the sitting posture and walked about at intervals he forgot his agony but sleep had left him and he was stunned like a man falling down a precipice. 1646

"Who am I? Who has overpowered me? Where am I to-day? Who is my henchman? What is to be done now?" Ruminating thus he, from time to time, shuddered. 1647

"The kingdom is lost, my Rāṇīs have perished in the flames, the son is missing, without a friend or provision I, who am utterly alone, am rolling about in the yard of one who lives on the dole!" 1648

And as he dwelt on each one of these misfortunes, he could discover none like himself in depth of misery or as inconsolable even in fiction. 1649

Bhoja, on the other hand, proceeded with the remaining two or three horses till he arrived near Hastikarṇa, after emerging from the heart of Śrīnagara. 1650

As he travelled, it was his belief that he would undoubtedly recover the throne in five or six days were even Indra to be his rival. 1651

Throbbing like the embryo in the womb what exploit does a virile man not long to do; touching with the breeze of Karma, Providence, however, does succeed in stupifying him. 1652

In expectation of one Nāgeśvara, a servant sent by his mother with provisions for the journey, he had halted at Raṅgavāṭa. 1653

There, while in a deserted temple, the prince, having heard him

approach, came out; the latter, however, unflinchingly struck at him. 1654

There in the face of open treason, what the prince who held fast to Kṣatriya chivalry did—who will not pay a tribute of admiration to it! 1655

Like a lion he played havoc in the combat with his assailants and with his limbs annointed with the sanguinary emollient he adorned the hero's couch. 1656

His maternal cousin Padmaka met his death as also Khela who had performed, as if in mere play, countless exploits in battle. 1657

That night Uccala entered the monastery of queen Sūryamatī and his brother, too, worn out by fighting arrived there from Lavaṇotsa. 1658

When the two of them heard that Bhoja had been slain and Harṣa alone remained, the thorn was removed from their mind leaving as it were only the edge. 1659

The throne, which was within their possession, the two of them nevertheless felt had not been gained though they had forgotten the fatigue of the march and in a sense had got the happiness of sovereignty. 1660

At day-break Mukta having somehow discovered the mendicant brought him and he, after making obeisance to the king, unbolted his hut. 1661

That hut, buzzing with stinging mosquitoes in which grass was strewn for a seat, after it had been sprinkled with water by Mukta the king entered. 1662

The monarch, to listen to whose speech was a great honour even for ruling princes, was compelled in despair to cajole an almsman. 1663

Befitting a mendicant was his churlishness which was vulgar and coarse; listening to his talk and by his way of eating the king suffered pain. 1664

The mendicant was given by Prayāgaka his own undergarment for sale and sent to the market to secure food. 1665

He who used obscence language and bitter words while present and in his absence caused fear of betrayal, the villainous ascetic, became for the king the source of disquietude like the enemy. 1666

At midday the wretched ascetic brought a hamper containing pots of eatables carried on the shoulder of a female ascetic. 1667

Then realizing that he had already been seen by a menial and the mendicant and that now he had also come within the range of vision of a woman the king despaired of life. 1668

The food served by Prayāga was merely touched out of consideration for him but not eaten by the king whose mind was ebullient with accute suffering. 1669

"What is the news?"—thus Prayāga standing in the courtyard having asked her, that boorish woman thereupon loudly spoke of the death of Bhoja. 1670

Although Prayāga maintained that it was false the king, experiencing an ominous sign in his body, was convinced that the rumour was not untrue. 1671

What would not come on the tongue even of a bitter foe, uttering maledictions such a sorrow now befell him who was already plunged in adversity. 1672

Filled with repentence for the surveillance to which in early youth he had subjected his son for the sake of policy, he felt that thereby he had persecuted the latter from his very birth. 1673

He had been killed in a fight where he had acquitted himself in a manner which the bravest might have envied, yet the king owing to extreme tenderness felt that his infant in arms had been butchered. 1674

He conjured up a vision of his son with strings of pearls on his limbs and upon the chest expanded by youth and in a transport of love, he muttered blessings. 1675

"The youth who deserved to be saved has been slain while I, an old man, am taking care of my life in this unseemly way;" he suffered mortification while he thus cogitated. 1676

In this wise aching for his son, he bore his indescribable anguish and in the anchorite's lodging he passed the next night also. 1677

Prayāga begged him to start for the Bhagavan convent, but that night his mind being plunged in sorrow he could not even think of it. 1678

Then came Night, her visage, the long drawn moon, shedding

tears of heavy dew-drops, her lamentation the cry of the Cakravāka; she seemed to offer condolence 1679

Seeing the master emaciated with hunger and thirst, Prayāga requested the anchorite in the morning to furnish victuals. 1680

The anchorite went out and returning in a little while placed before them two vessels filled with food together with sauce. 1681

"These have been brought by me from a sacrificial feast held by a certain householder"—when he had thus spoken, Prayāgaka drawing forth a sigh said. 1682

"Sire! during this time of separation from their liegelord look at the complacency of the people!" to which with a smile he replied, "Why do you talk as if you were a simpleton?" 1683

"He who has departed departs by himself; by injury to him no one else is hurt. Every one is concerned about his own ease; no one will lament in the least for another." 1684

"When the sole source of vision in the world, the sun, has departed for the other world, the entire mankind, unconcerned, goes to sleep in their houses; who else then will venture to speculate, "How indeed can this world exist after suffering separation from me?" 1685

"In my son from the beginning there was loving reliance; when his death has been reported, over this affection no other could possibly prevail in favour of any human being." 1686

"When I myself after hearing of the murder of my son, who was the very breath of my existence, am hale and hearty then how can any one else be reproached?" 1687

When after having thus spoken the king had ceased, Prayāga prevailed upon the anchorite privately to produce some food while giving away the two pots. 1688

"The amount of balance with me, after the expenditure of yesterday, is not sufficient, nevertheless I shall try"—so saying he departed as if he were sorry. 1689

Is not confidential information, which must be kept secret, when entrusted to petty-minded persons as hard for them, as is the imperishable mercury for persons of low vitality, to digest? 1690

1679. Cakravāka=the ruddy goose. In poetry it is the symbol of 'love in separation' (Vipralambha Śṛṅgāra). Kālidāsa describes it as bewailing the separation from its beloved after nightfall though divided only by a lotus leaf!

A relative, Manoratha by name, of a Brahman hermit learnt these particulars from the mendicant who was his friend. 1691

"By discovering the king to his kinsman we shall become the recipients of fortune"—thus the wretched anchorite was induced by him to act like a traitor. 1692

I fancy, he had been begotten by some despicable low class servant, since birth is an accurate indicator of good and evil actions. 1693

Illārāja having learnt this news from them reported to Uccala and he ordered him to act himself in this matter. 1694

Some say, however, that a Kāyastha named Bhūtabhiśca caused the ascetic and the Brahman to approach Illārāja. 1695

If this story is a slander uttered at a time when many rumours were afloat, it was because that knave of a servant was notorious for perfidy. 1696

Paraded on the shoulders of an Untouchable and after having been subjected to various indignities that he should have died in prison, was what he deserved for that act. 1697

Suffering from hunger king Harṣa being repeatedly requested by Prayāga, despite the ever present grief for the son, thought of food. 1698

Believing that the anchorite had perchance arrived bringing food, he looked out from the window like a nestling from the bird-nest. 1699

Instead he saw the hut completely surrounded by men-at-arms who had approached and he heard the sound of the bolt being removed from the gate of the courtyard. 1700

Then he knew that he had been betrayed and he saw the dastardly mendicant in the company of the gendarmes, as he was shouting to Mukta to come out of the courtyard. 1701

Permitting Mukta to leave, the king fearlessly threw open the door panels and picked up the short sword which was lying near him. 1702

A fierce warrior in mail armour, effervescing with arrogance and self-assurance, who was near him now rushed at him with drawn sword. 1703

Him, even though impeded by the narrow hut, the king, an adept in athletics, threw on the ground yet refrained from killing through leniency. 1704

"To kill this caitiff who is on the ground serves no useful purpose for me," thus he spoke vaingloriously even at such a moment. 1705

A soldier having removed the roof had dropped down and another was just getting up, but they crouched on the floor with fear on seeing the king ready to strike. 1706

On the back of the one who had first entered, standing in a posture of defiance, grim like a pillar, he was like Cāmuṇḍā over Ruru radiant for a moment. 1707

Neither with battle-cries, nor the rattle of kettle-drums and trumpets nor in the proud clash of arms was glorified the final struggle of the king. 1708

On the contrary, like cats after a mouse which has entered a vessel, armed Ḍāmaras had effected their entry noiselessly into the hut. 1709

Then another soldier entering by the roof struck Prayāgaka on the arms and head and rushed at the king. 1710

Parrying the king's weapon as he was striking, that gendarme swiftly dealt two blows of the dagger on his chest. 1711

"O Maheśvara!" after uttering twice these words, life having gone out, he fell dead on the ground like a tree cut at the root. 1712

Having fled and taken refuge such as would befit a thief, though he had been a supreme potentate, he found such a death in a dwelling-house. 1713

No other king was seen in this age who like him had been full of prosperity and in no other case a humiliating funeral like his was seen. 1714

Or perhaps it was due to just one thing—aversion to war—whereby the exalted position charming in every way of that high-minded king was shattered. 1715

Or that he suffered his judgment to be swayed by others was his only failing; and all the errors which resulted in universal suffering were, in fact, the acts of his ministers. 1716

4177 L. E.
1101 A. C.
Forty-two years and eight months of age was he when he was slain on the bright fifth of Bhādrapada in the seventy-seventh year. 1717

Like king Duryodhana, by the conjunction of planets at his nativity which purposed the extermination of his own dynasty, he had been made to destroy his own family. 1718

He was born under the sign of Cancer; Mars and Saturn stood in the fifth, Jupiter and Mercury in the sixth, Venus and the Sun in the seventh and the Moon in the tenth astrological houses. 1719

Those born when the Moon and the malignant planets stand in the tenth, seventh and fifth astrological houses, the Kauravas and others, the learned authors of the *Saṁhitā* have declared to be the destroyers of their own dyansty. 1720

Sacrilegious were all the people in this land who having severed, like that of a thief, the head of the sovereign carried it to his rival. 1721

When the head of the sovereign was being severed, the earth together with the oceans trembled and although cloudless the sky discharged a mighty torrent of rain. 1722

For the indecent manner in which the people behaved towards his head mounted on a staff, they in future, by its curse, had to suffer enduring calamity. 1723

As in this land the destruction of the images of the gods was an innovation, so was also the decapitation of the king a novel procedure. 1724

King Uccala, through decency, did not look at the head when it was brought before him—on the contrary, dissolved in tears for sometime, he ordered it to be consigned to the flames. 1725

Alas! like that of a thief the body of even a sovereign ruler, such as he was, could not receive, without the order of Uccala, the final sacred rites. 1726

Deserted by his servants, and his dynasty destroyed, by some official of the timber warehouse named Gauraka, he, naked and like a pauper, was consigned to the fire. 1727

Long is this saga of King Harṣa which is indeed somewhat amazing and in a way like that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or the *Mahābhārata*. 1728

Riches are evanescent lightening flashes from the cloud of Fate

1720. "*Saṁhitā* means *that which is collected*, books containing something of everything, e.g. forewarnings relating to a journey derived from meteorological occurrences; prophesies regarding the fate of dynasties; the knowledge of lucky and unlucky things; prophesying from the lines of the hand; interpretation of dreams, and taking auguries from the flight or cries of birds. For Hindu scholars believe in such things. It is the custom of their astronomers to propound in their *Saṁhitās* also the whole science of meteorology and cosmology." *Alberuni*, Vol. I. p. 571. The verse refers in particular to Varāhamihira, the author of the *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā*. For an interesting criticism of the theory of Varāhamihira that the Great Bear stood in Maghā when Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the earth and the Kaśmīrī belief that the Great Bear wanders through a lunar station in 100 years (Taraṅga I. 55-56) see *Alberuni* Vol. I, Chapter XLV.

1724. See above verse 1091 Sqq.

and a rapid rise has an end which is disgusting. Nevertheless in the case of those whose minds are smitten by delusion the egoistic enjoyment of luxury does not cease. 1729

Although he had a bevy of mistresses not one wailed for him, out of so many retainers no one either followed him in death or retired to a sanctuary, seeing the lack of affection on the part of the people, whose mind is obsessed with its own comfort, it is a pity that the heart of man, through disgust, does not crave lovingly for the remote forest. 1730

To begin with there is nothing, and certain it is that hereafter there is nothing, during the interval, by chance he reacts swiftly to the controlling states of pleasure and pain. Like an actor, without head and feet, having acted his part repeatedly, a particular living being disappears behind the screen of existence—nor do we know where he goes! 1731

Fortune leaving the House of Udayarāja established herself in the House of Kāntirāja of the family of Sātavāhana, like the splendour of day which after leaving the pinnacle of the Himālaya abandoned by the gods settles on the divine slopes of Mount Meru. 1732

[Thus the Seventh Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī, the composition of the poet Kalhaṇa, son of the noble Lord Caṇpaka, the great Kaśmīrī minister.]

Eighth Taranga

Aum. Obeisance to the remover of impediments

Pārvatī, consort of the Lord of the moving and the moveless who has—it is a marvel, since the holy one, cognisant of character and conduct, joined himself to half of her body—excluded his entire retinue of the Snake, the Bull and the Moon with the snowy lambence, though they had been, as the dignified chamberlain, the old imbecile and the hunchback respectively, his habitual intimates. May she sunder misfortune. 1

Uccala 1101-11 A.C.

The new king, for sometime, disguised his displeasure and pleasure as the ocean before the churning had brought to light neither the poison nor the ambrosia. 2

At first his womb-brother and the Ḍāmara assemblage, who had become extremely overbearing, prevented him from asserting himself, as the cloud is checked by the gale and drought. 3

Since the brother, in the intoxication of youth, acted in a thoughtless manner the king's mistaken policy, because of his loving kindness, engendered unrest. 4

For the former, seated on an elephant, with a drawn sword was always roaming about, absorbing from the land all that was valuable just as the sun sucks up moisture. 5

He made the suggestion, "Destroy all these Ḍāmaras by fire when assembled in one place," but the king, who would not swerve from righteousness, did not accept the advice. 6

With the Ḍāmara free-booters for his ministers and feudatories, his womb-brother longing to partition the kingdom, and the country denuded of treasure, what mischance did not befall the king? 7

1. See Taraṅga I. in.
2. The simile is from the story of the churning of the ocean. See below 1591, 1780, 2948 and App. C.
4. Vātsalya='loving' or 'tender kindness'; an abstract noun for the love of the cow for her calf, from Vatsa=calf.

He honoured the brother by crowning him king and later sent him to rule over a separate principality, the appanage of the fortress of Lohara. 8

He took with him on his departure elephants, equipments, infantry, horses, treasure, ministers and the rest of it and all this the elder brother permitted through indulgence. 9

Apprehending resistence from the garrison to his entry, he took withhim a s on of Utkarṣa, named Pratāpa, and addressed the soldiers as follows: 10

"I propose to make this one the king and to take up office as his chamberlain." The neighbouring chiefs thereupon remained submissive as if they were his own dependents. 11

When the passage of his retainers was barred for seven days, the vocalist Kanaka having secured an opportunity went abroad. 12

In Benares by relinquishing life—having abandoned himself to grief—he was the one, among the servants of king Harṣa, who made publicly manifest his sense of gratitude. 13

The prudent Uccala, remembering past services, put up with the sascendency of the robber Ḍāmaras, out of generosity, as the sandal tree tolerates the snakes. 14

At this time Janakacandra behaved with such arrogace that it seemed as if the king and the other Ḍāmaras had n lost their splendour. 15

Out of the princess Vibhavamatī, daughter of Abhaya, the ruler of Uraśā, was born a son to Bhoja, son of king Harṣa, who having been born after the death of two or three sons, was given the

8. The famous fortress of Lohara is now no more but a site covered with stone heaps in the Lohrin valley. Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Kaśmīr, according to *Ferishta* in 1015 A.C. and according to the *Tabākāt-i-Akbari* in 1021 A.C. *Ferishta* writes that the fort of Loh-kot "was remarkable on account of its height and strength." Alberuni, who was present in Mahmud's army, says that the fort of Lahur was one of the "strongest places I have ever seen". Mahmud and his host were held up by the siege of Lohara which they failed to take, He adds, "After a while when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kaśmīr, the Sultan was obliged to abandon his design and to return to Ghazni."

11. Chamberlain. The office of the chamberlain was one of high rank and dignity. See VII. 461. The chamberlain had some royal privileges such as the right to use the saffron emollient. See VII. 1897.

12-13. Kanaka was Caṇpaka's brother and the author's uncle (see VII. 1117). This is another instance of loyalty reminiscent of medieval Japan. See verses 414 and 1224 below.

unbecoming name of Bhikṣācara—mendicant—by the Gurus, who were anxious that he should live. This two-year old child who, since he was a scion of the hostile line, should have been treated as an enemy, was protected by the king by the advice of Jaṇakacandra and entrusted to the queen. 16–18

By taking charge of him perhaps Janakacandra had been thinking of administering the realm himself; Uccala perceived the ulterior significance and bore himself with diplomatic astuteness. 19

Reflecting that the Ḍāmaras, unable to tolerate the ascendency of an equal, would be bitter against Janakacandra or that he himself by reason of the high honour would turn true to the core, the king announced the grant to him of the office of the warden of the frontier, whereupon Bhīmādeva and all the others Ḍāmaras turned hostile. 20–21

When the bitterness between them and him became brimful, the retainers on either side spoiling for a fight laid a wager. 22

The sovereign anxious to witness their respective tourneys on the bridge was, in confidence, warned against it by the ministers nevertheless he ascended the fourpillared pavilion. 23

But while the duelling bouts were in progress, the Ḍāmara retainers on either side getting worked up suddenly commenced a fearful pitched battle. 24

As fighting began to take place along the two roads leading to the bridge, the soldiers of Janakacandra poured a shower of arrows towards the king from the river bank. 25

The discharged arrows sang through the air in their flight and having grazed the king's person were buried in the pillars and were seen quivering as if in a rage. 26

Drawing away the king by his arms almost forcibly, the personal attendants thereupon went inside and put the bolt on the door of the pavilion. 27

Then Janakacandra and his partizans and Bhīmādeva and his party draw their swords in the pavilion bent on killing one another. 28

In that affray a retainer of Bhīmādeva, the agile Arjuna, son of Kālapāśa, pierced the body of Janakacandra with his short sword. 29

Finding himself wounded and believing that the king had organised the treachery, Janakacandra, in anger, kicked the door of the royal apartment. 30

When it did not give way he, in his agitation, betook himself

to a bath tub and Bhīmādeva, intent on slaying him, rushed at him with a drawn poniard. 31

Taking cover behind a pillar was the chief accountant of Bhīmādeva's household who, seeing this, cut with his sword the body of Janakacandra from the middle into two. 32

He being slain his two younger brothers, Gagga and Saḍḍa, in their flight were wounded by the same man with a sword, himself remaining unobserved. 33

Lightning, after striking down a tree, does not abide for long nor does a man, who has acted recklessly, after slaying an enemy of very high rank. 34

Janakacandra was killed, in that year of two Bhādrapada months, three fortnights neither less nor more—after the day of Harṣa's death. 35

Or it may be that, having committed treason against his sovereign although he was his benefactor, he had come by his end so soon through the enormity of his guilt. 36

As the king, inwardly pleased, displayed feigned anger and grief Gagga still had confidence in him, while Bhīmādeva took to flight. 37

He sent Gagga to Lohara to recoup after his injury and the other Ḍāmaras, too, who were nervous were dismissed to their own districts. 38

Having thus secured his crown by diplomacy and repression and rid himself of the Ḍāmara plunderers, king Uccala, little by little, grew self-assured. 39

Then, when he had consolidated his position in a very short time, the ambitious king compelled the Ḍāmaras to disband their mounted and other troops in Kramarājya. 40

Afterwards he marched into Maḍavarājya and having captured the Ḍāmaras led by Kāliya, who were fond of disorders, had them killed by impalement. 41

The powerful Illārāja who had usurped land was also, in turn, put to death by him in the capital itself, having been attacked with overwhelming numbers. 42

Perchance as the result of friendship continuing from a former existence or because of his ability to judge character, the king grew fond of that very Gagga as if he were his son. 43

The king, who could not bear even the mention of the names of

those who were thorns in the side of his people whom he loved, did not ever lose his temper with Gagga even on occasions when he was guilty. 44

When at the inauguration of his reign, when asked, the sagacious Bhīmādeva had addressed two counsels of prudence, the king remembered them as if they were counter-charms. 45

In pursuance of one, he would go out from early morning to learn of the condition of the people and transact business until the day was done. 46

In accordance with the other he, being nimble by nature, upon hearing the mere mention of an enemy, were it even midnight, would cut off insurrection by rapid marches 47

His courage was indomitable and among kings the character of this high-minded man alone was stainless, since it was not blemished by avarice. 48

The virtuous conduct of Uccala, like a bath in the waters of the Gaṅgā, will to-day remove from my muse the sin arising from the chronicle of a wicked monarch. 49

Although his resources were incomplete, he well-nigh dispelled the obscurity which impeded the recognition of right even as the thighless Dawn, the dense darkness which obstructs the vision of the righteous. 50

As he had made a solemn affirmation that in the event of death of a hungerstriker he would sacrifice his own body, he compelled the judges to make careful investigations. 51

If he heard the cry of distress of a suffering person, he was wrung with pain; for this high-souled king, none was above chastisement, not even himself. 52

If an outcry against persecution arose owing to the evil action of

47. The wife followed in death the deceased husband as a matter of honour and loyalty. In verse 448 below there is an instance of a sister giving up life for the sake of what was considered a matter of honour in the Middle Ages. Similarly the queen Bhuvanamatī, who was a surety for Harṣa, committed suicide when the prince was arrested and imprisoned (VII. 680). All that makes men and women willing to die for transports them beyond self-interest and gives their ideal a foundation in dignity. Thus the ideal of loyalty underlying the suicide of the wife or the liegeman was no different to that of Christianity for the slave, the nation for the citizen, Harakiri for the Japanese or Communism for the worker.

50. Aruṇa (Dawn), the charioteer of the Sun-god, is thighless (Anūru). See below 2549.

an official, the indignant king assuaged it by the laments of the relatives of that official. 53

As that king was, at all times, keen on favouring the weak, the inhabitants had the uppermost hand while the officials were weak. 54

He moved about unattended on horse-back and whenever he heard any criticism by the people, who had failed to recognise the sovereign, of any of his shortcomings he soon rid himself of it. 55

When approached—whatever the method of approach might be—the audience never proved infructuous, as the king was like the wishing-tree to the petitioners. 56

The beloved of the people, who showered ambrosia through his charming conversation and bounteous gifts, found himself unable to part from those who served him even when in the privacy of his apartment. 57

Those who exerted themselves in a praiseworthy manner every minute in the discharge of their duty were able to obtain audience with him even during nights three or four times. 58

When a service was rendered, the magnanimous king bestowed largesses instantly. He was thus, for every one, like a tree produced by conjurors. 59

When he hearkened to the complaints of distress of the inhabitants, he would give up every other work and remove their misery as a father of his sons. 60

In his loving-kindness for the people, he by supplying at nominal rates the grain from his own stores killed famine as soon as it arose. 61

The tender-hearted king weaned even burglars from their occupation of theft and by appointing them guardians of the treasury made them lead blameless lives. 62

Investigating through spies who was in need of support or in whose division troubles had to be put down, he was for ever worrying about each individual case. 63

One striking thing about this king, namely, his indifference to

59. The conjurer in India has long enjoyed the reputation of being able to produce a plant capable of bearing fruit on the spot!

61. From ancient times grain has been stored by Indian States to be supplied to the people in times of scarcity free or at nominal rates. Kaśmīr still maintains state granaries of rice.

money was his great merit; various other virtues intimately related to it burgeoned from it. 64

Although he imposed fines on those who deserved to be fined to preserve stability, he did not take their money fearing its sinful contamination but made them expiate through charitable work. 65

If he proposed to grant an applicant any one thing, he fulfilled the promise by extending the benefit a thousand-fold. 66

And thus it happened that, as one hears the constant cry of the mendicant, "Give, give to me", so was this donor heard to say, "Give, give to him." 67

No largess of his was seen which lacked in generosity, or was delayed, reduced in amount, given without a proper welcome or was half misappropriated by the ushers, messengers or other intermediaries. 68

On festive occasions, upon requests for relief of distress, conciliatory gifts and for the materialization of projects, unlike a tree depicted in a picture, he never lacked fruition. 69

During festivals, such as the Śivarātri, he showered largesses on the mass of the people just as the mighty Indra floods the earth by torrents of water at the conjunction of the planets. 70

Such a passion for presents of the Tāmbūla and for lavish expenditure during festivities as he had, was not displayed even by king Harṣa. 71

Although when he secured the status of royalty, nothing better than a clod of earth had remained, he made charming gifts such as even the god who is the giver of wealth would have found it difficult to do. 72

In building and pulling down edifices, in the incessant purchase of horses, Kaśmīrī, though he was, he did not pulverise wealth by consigning it to plunderers. 73

By close application in each different activity—nay, by throwing himself heart and soul into them—he became conversant with all affairs like the soul in embodied beings. 74

The Brahmans, who were suffering from disease, got comfort

65. Money realised from fines was regarded as unclean, being the result of repression.

worthy of royalty and medicine and those, who lacked means of livelihood, obtained pensions from him. 75

He honoured the Brahmans by gifts of thousands of cows, horses, gold, and the like upon the occasion of sacrifice to the Manes and propitiatory ceremonies for solar and lunar eclipses, comets and other evil portents. 76

During his reign, he rebuilt finer than it was before the entire township of Nandikṣetra burnt down by fire which had been a public calamity. 77

This beneficent king who had a passion for repairing ancient buildings restored the sacred sites of Cakradhara, Yogeśa and Svayambhū. 78

The sacred image of Parihāsakeśava had been carried off by king Harṣa; this king installed a new one at Parihāsapura. 79

This king, who was free from covetousness, embellished the temple of Tribhuvanasvāmin with the parrot-house which has been described above and which had been taken away by Harṣa. 80

The monarch renovated the lion-throne, the emblem of the realm, which had been brought by Jayāpīḍa and which during the overthrow of Harṣa had been damaged by fire. 81

Jayamatī, having through her husband's love occupied half the throne and attained the dignity of the queen consort, a privilege quite unobtainable for a commoner, had not disgraced it. 82

For she had distinguished herself by her benevolence, charm of manners, munificence, partiality for the virtuous, tactfulness and gentle acts, prominent among them being the relief of the destitute and the distressed. 83

Women who have ingratiated themselves in the favour of kings, even though alluring in their loveliness, turn out a disaster for the people, as if they were female fiends, because of their temper. 84

This was another virtue surpassing all good qualities of king Uccala who was devoted to his people and who, by nature was not avid for wealth. 85

80. See Taraṅga V 31.

82. This is an instance of a woman from the lower strata of society who upon her marriage with the king attained the status of queen-consort and shared the throne with him.

"Indeed the officials are ready to kill, given to corruption, seizure of the property of others and worse than demons, one should protect these subjects from them"—thus reciting the verse and believing ever this counsel of prudence of traditional lore, he rooted out officials. 86-87

For, indeed, the officials like cholera, the colic and wagering stakes, smite the world swiftly and are another epidemic for the subjects. 88

The crab kills its father, the white ant destroys its mother but the ungrateful functionary, when he has obtained office, destroys everybody. 89

If an enlightened man trains and helps an official to rise to power, the villain like a Vetāla would destroy him without scruple. 90

The bureaucrat and the poison-tree, it is amazing! render the very ground, on which they prosper, difficult of access. 91

These charlatans were put down by that king with loss of rank, dismissal from office, and incarceration at every step. 92

Having deprived of office, the Mahattma Sahela and many others, he compelled them to wear hempen clothing in prison. 93

In order to make him ludicrous, he compelled Bhūtabhiśca, with his wife, to dress like a strolling player and made him run like a Ḍomba soldier. 94

The tall man with his beard tied up, an extravagant turban, the impaling stake in his hand and his knees and thighs tied together—who could help laughing at him? 95

Another official who loved the demi-mondaines, the king compelled him to dance and play before himself exhibiting the beard, environed by courtesans and jesters, with whom he had placed himself on equality. 96

He had another tied up nude to a cart, with the half of his head shaved and the braid of hair marked by dusting a mass of china-powder. 97

These officials in disgrace became notorious everywhere, through their nicknames acquired by the playing on clay drums and their decorated heads. 98

86-90. The Kāyastha were the government servants. Kṣemendra's skits on the bureaucracy recall the play of Gogol "The Government Inspector". The government of the new king took drastic steps to remove corruption and official extortion.

98. See I. 350, VII. 281-83, VIII. 903, 1445, 1893.

Every night some of these discharged officials could be seen wandering and begging for any little thing, screening themselves from sight with worn out and filthy rags. 99

While others, who had wasted their years up to old age, commenced to study as if they were children at the house of a teacher believing that learning was as easy to acquire as the bark of the birch. 100

There were some, who amused the people in the morning, by loudly and solemnly reciting hymns and getting their children to sing in chorus. 101

Some, in order to obtain employment, compelled their mother, sister, daughter and even the wife to please the nobles of the entourage by offering their persons. 102

While other scoundrels worried the astrologers by making them scrutinize their horoscopes, dreams, omens, and favourable portents. 103

Those who were in prison, being lean, their faces withered and the hair of the beard growing wild, appeared to others like goblins with chains clanging on their legs. 104

When the king had torn up the symbols of the arrogance of the officials, their eyes became capable of recognizing their own kindred. 105

Then they took to reciting hymns, such as the Stavarāja from the *Mahābhārata* and to meditation with the spell of the Durgottāriṇī lore with tearful eyes. 106

Then were these ever evil-minded officials seen at every step, during the reign of this monarch, sinking deep in their growing misfortune. 107

For they had not been able to lure that sagacious king as they had done other rulers, by reconciling the disaffected, by proffering large sums of money and by catering for rare dishes and like delicacies. 108

The monarch kept under continual control these wicked persons, who were thorns in the sides of the people, through various honest superintendents. 109

"As the city of Bhūteśa burnt down by fire has soon been restored to its former glory by your command so, Oh king Uccala! may you

100. For schoolmasters and private teachers see Taraṅga V. 469, VIII. 706.

104. Fetters were apparently in common use in prisons.

restore to contentment, happiness and stability this your own capital, which has been licked by the five-fold flames, namely, the Kāyastha, the cadets of the ruling House, ordinances, ministers and hunger-strikes." 110

When during the pageant of Śivarātri, the erudite Śivaratha recited this verse, the king was determined to make him the chief superintendent. 111

Although he was unfamiliar with judicial work, he made the just visualise for some little time the state of things in the Tṛta Yuga, through the purity of his administration. 112

Intelligent men highly appreciated the quick punitive methods of this king of ardent vitality, in reference to the rapacious Kāyastha. 113

For those, who are expert in the prudent use of the rod, do not recommend delay in the punishment of the low-bred horse, the Kāyastha, one possessed by the evil spirit and the foe. 114

For these, if punishment were delayed, would utilize the interval and would surely do something through fear of punishment to endanger the life of the chastiser. 115

The considerate king, on no occasion, persecuted the sons, wives, friends, or relatives of those whom he had punished because they were guilty. 116

By torturing in a painful manner persons, of whom Loṣṭadhara and others were the ringleaders, who whispered evil in his ears, he made slander lie fallow. 117

The former pious resolutions of those, who obtain the crown, are relegated to oblivion like the desire during the embryonic state of those who have since attained birth. 118

117. See verse 444 below.

118. The living being '*en ventre sa mere*' is supposed to make all manner of good resolutions for the future which it forgets after its release from embryonic confinement. Comparing the Hindu theory about the soul with the Greek, Alberuni quotes from *Proclus* as follows:

"Remembering and forgetting are peculiar to the soul endowed with reason. It is evident that the soul has always existed. Hence it follows that it has always been both knowing and forgetting, knowing when it is separated from the body, forgetting when it is in connection with the body. For, being separated from the body, it belongs to the realm of the spirit, and therefore it is knowing; but being connected with the body, it descends from the realm of the spirit, and is exposed to forgetting because of some forcible influence prevailing over it." Vol. I p. 57.

Uccala, however, during his reign forgot nothing either good or evil which he had contemplated before his accession to the throne and was like a person who had retained the reminiscence of his former existence. 119

If formerly he had observed that an enemy was free from treachery or his partizans to be perfidious he showed realization of the fact by suitable action. 120

The paramour does not remember the faithless wife's perfidy to her former husband, nor does a stupid king recollect, in these days, hostility of a treacherous servant to his former sovereign. 121

It seemed as if together with the Earth, who came as a gift from the person of Śeṣanāga and who was wedded to him, had come wisdom also to this king who could discriminate between righteous and unrighteous conduct. 122

Thus it so happened that he was able to probe a doubtful point in a law-suit between a certain Baniyā and his customer, which was beyond the comprehension of the judges and the rest. 123

A certain wealthy man, as a resource to fall back upon in adversity, had deposited a lakh of Dīnnāras in the house of a Baniyā who under the cloak of friendship had concealed his real nature. 124

At intervals, he had used the deposit in order to meet his current expenses by drawing upon the Baniyā for sums of money. 125

After the expiry of some twenty or thirty years, he requested the holder of the deposit to deliver the balance of the amount. 126

But the Baniyā, who was a wrong-doer and eager to misappropriate the deposit under various pretexts, temporised through evil design. 127

Water carried to the ocean by the streams may be recovered from the mouths of the clouds, but a thing may never again be regained which is deposited with a Baniyā. 128

With his visage sleek as oil, being very restrained in speech and inoffensive in appearance a Baniyā, charged with misappropriation of deposit in a law-suit, is more terrible than a tiger. 129

The Seṭh does not till the end of his life give up knavery in a law-suit although by his smiles and assertions of former friendship it might appear that he had finally given it up. 130

122. The serpent is the emblem of wisdom.

130. Śreṣṭhin=a merchant. From this word is derived the modern Seṭh which is in common use in Western and Northern India.

The courtesan, the official, the clerk, and the Baniyā—who by temperament are swindlers—being disciplined by training under experts—leave in the rear poisoned arrows. 131

He who trusts a Kirāta bearing a sandal-wood mark on the forehead, dressed in white clothes, and perfumed with incense—for him disaster is not far off. 132

The Baniyā who daubs with sandal the forehead, the eye-lids, the two ears and the chest causes instant death like a scorpion with six spots. 133

The Seṭh with his pale brown colour, sweating with the smoke of sacrificial fire, a mouth thin like a needle and a big paunch, resembles the gourd and sucks blood and flesh. 134

Thus when the depositor became insistent he, having exhausted his subterfuges, lost his temper and showed him the account-sheet with frowning brows. 135

"The amount at first deposited to your credit has since become a debit account. Towards tolls for crossing bridges six hundred Dīnnāras were withdrawn by you." 136

"A hundred Dīnnāras were paid to the shoemaker for repairs of a torn shoe and of a whip; the maid-servant took melted butter worth fifty for a boil on the foot." 137

"When her load of earthen pots was smashed you gave, from compassion, to a wailing potter woman; look! many times—here it is down on the birch parchment, three hundred!" 138

"To feed the kittens of that cat you bought mice from the market as well as extract of fish, through indulgence, for a hundred." 139

"During the fortnight of the ceremonial baths of the Śrāddha were purchased, for seven hundred, butter as an emollient for the feet, rice-powder, melted butter and honey." 140

"Your child took honey and ginger when suffering from cough. He whose tongue could only lisp what could he know of speech? Therefore a hundred was debited." 141

132. Kirāta. See Taraṅga III. 39.

134. The gourd is used for causing blisters. A tiny hole is made at one end of the gourd and it is filled with smoke over a fire; it is then applied to the body as a vesicatory. The moisture which comes out of the gourd when it is on the fire is compared to the sweat on the Baniyā sitting near the sacrificial fire.

140. Śāli-cūrṇa = literally *poudre de riz*, an old favourite for the toilet. Śāli is still current as the word for rice in Kaśmīr.

"To that mendicant who could tear his testicles and was pestering you for alms, three hundred were given, as he was skilled in assaults, to get rid of him." 142

"A hundred or two hundred should be reckoned on an average of the entire cost towards the supply of incense, the roots of the Śandā and onions presented to the Gurus." 143

In this way that merchant totalled up these and other such payments which could scarcely be remembered and which were debit entries and, little by little, he even made an account in his own favour. 144

Through his fingers glided the years, months, weeks and days returning again and again without end as in the cycle of existence. 145

Then referring to the original deposit and totalling up all the intervening entries, he spoke unctuously pouting his lips and half closing his eyes. 146

"Remove this dirt—take your deposit amount—but you ought to give me, without trickery, the amount of this debt advanced on trust together with the interest." 147

For a while the customer breathed freely, believing that this was equitable but later he winced with pain, when he realized it was like a dagger coated with honey. 148

Thereafter the claimant sued the rapacious and ignoble fellow. But in the law-suit he could not rebut him nor could even the judges who had to decide it. 149

When this matter, upon which the judges had failed to reach a decision, was placed before the sovereign he, having determined what the decision shoud be, addressed that Baniyā. 150

"If the Dīnnāras forming the deposit exist to this day please show them to us, however small a part they may be. Thereupon I shall pronounce judgment as may be fit and proper." 151

"When he complied, the king looking at the Dīnnāras asked the ministers—Do kings mint coins in the name of future rulers?" 152

"If not, how among these Dinnāras deposited in the reign of king Kalaśa do coins with my name on them also find a place?" 153

"It follows that the Baniyā has expended sums out of the deposited

143. Apparently the Gurus in those days had no objection to onions! As a rule onions are taboo among Brahmans all over India. In modern Nepal an honoured guest is given a present of onions which also form part of Pūjā. For Garlic see I. 342.

lakh, just as the depositor from time to time had withdrawn sums from the Baniyā. 154

"Therefore, if the plaintiff is to pay to the Baniyā all sums borrowed by him together with the interest up-to-date, the Baniyā should also pay him the profit on the entire sum of one lakh, commencing from the deposit and of course the original sum." 155-156

"Lenient persons like myself can go only thus far, but in the case of such individuals, stringent measures such as those of His Majesty Yaśaskara, would be appropriate." 157

"In a law-suit in the case of mistake of fact a lenient order is meet; on the other hand, the rigour of the criminal law is indicated in the case of one who has made a shift with fraud." 158

The king, who knew how to abide his time, was patient in controversial matters which like arrow-heads that have entered especially vital parts are difficult to eliminate. 159

In this fashion did the protection spontaneously extended to the people by the king, who was vigilant and high-minded like Manu, became well known. 160

Friendship which should be based on disinterestedness; power which should be free from hauteur; a woman's virtue which should be above popular criticism; a gift for the appropriate phrase which should find favour with all classes, learning which could command power; youth free from vacillation and royalty free from imperfections are, indeed, found reversed in recent times. 161

Even such as he, a moon among great monarchs, being deprived through jealousy of his self-control, became a terror, like a shower of meteors, owing to his wrongful acts. 162

Jealous of noble bearing, courage, intelligence, power of endurance and youth, he put an end to the dignity and lives of innumerable men. 163

On the other hand, the king, too, was made to experience humiliation by the retorts of men of exalted rank who were roused to anger by his caustic speech. 164

Like the mighty hooded snakes who are asleep, human beings, too, do not, as one knows, flare up unless roused to fury. 165

157. See Taraṅga VI 41.

In this heterogeneous world of living beings, there is not one whose physical condition, heredity or conduct is not marred by imperfections. 166

The birth of the creator of the universe is from that which springs up in mud; his body is covered with a tawny hue and his dignity impaired by the decimation of his head, the consequent loss of his original disposition and other defects. When one is faced with such imperfections in him who pervades the mighty cosmos who is there who could pride himself in being spotlessly perfect? 167

This was not how the monarch thought who publicly discussed, from day to day, the shortcomings of the lineage, daily life, and personal appearance, etcetera of his followers. 168

Having pinned his faith on war he encouraged mutual rivalry and became the cause of the deaths of innumerable great warriors through duels. 169

On the days of the monthly levee, during Indra pageants, and other festive occasions, he gave richly to mail-clad warriors who engaged in joustings. 170

During this period there was not a single festival when the ground of the royal quadrangle was not drenched with blood and a wail of woe did not arise. 171

Warriors, the ornaments of their family, who had sallied forth from their houses as if stepping lightly for a dance were carried away by their relatives with mutilated limbs from the royal courtyard. 172

At the sight of the soft dark locks, seductive mustache, and fine raiment of the slain warriors, the king felt delight instead of pain. 173

Upon the return of their husbands from the royal palace, women regarded that as one day gained but otherwise lived in continual despair. 174

Assuming infallibility he would say, "Every thing must happen as I choose to order," and would make those subordinates, who did not contradict and were humble, do the work of the ministers. 175

With his mind prejudiced by dislike, he then deprived those

166-167. Brahmā had five heads; for an act of incest contemplated by him Śiva cut off his fifth head!

170. Indra-festival = the bright twelfth of Bhādrapada is still observed in Kaśmīr as a day of pilgrimage to the sacred site of Varāhakṣetra. See below verses 182 and 495.

very persons whom he had advanced and put many of them to disgrace. 176

Danchaka, the commander-in-chief, with whom he had become exasperated, as he had waxed strong, vanished towards Viṣalāṭā where the Khaśas fell upon and slew him. 177

The warden of the marches, one Rakkaka, whom he himself had raised to dignity, was deprived of the office when the king realised his preponderating influence. 178

General Māṇikya, who was suddenly deprived of his command of the frontier, became despondent and took the vow of renunciation at Vijayakṣetra. 179

Holders of high military rank and others, brave men such as Tilaka of the family of Kāka, escaped his wrath owing to their complaisance. 180

Bhogasena, who had no retainers and a poor wardrobe, was appointed to the post of Chief Justice by the king being pleased with his great services. 181

Seeing his striking valour during the tourney on the twelfth day of the Indra festival, even Gaggacandra, supported as he was by strong forces, melted away like a craven. 182

Then there were the sons of one Saḍḍa, an ordinary gendarme, Raḍḍa, Chhuḍḍa and Vyaḍḍa; the king raised them to be ministers. 183

The two sons of Vijayasiṁha, Tilaka and Janaka, who had escaped from penury by serving the king were included in the milieu of ministers. 184

Officers like the warden of the frontier, principal among whom were Yama, Aila, Abhaya and Bāṇa and others—who can enumerate them all, whose prosperity was evanescent like lightning! 185

Two or three, Praśastakalaśa and other ancients among them, had the grace of time-worn trees standing in the midst of saplings. 186

Kandarpa, although summoned through emissaries by the king and although requested, did not accept office being aware of his lack of forbearance. 187

Under the new king everything in the kingdom became new such as the etiquette of the court, debates, administration and the rest. 188

Fortune, like a woman of the town, who in order to bewitch has

decked herself with powder, brings under control even sober men and leads them astray. 189

The status of royalty is like the condition of a person who has departed for the next world; it is ready to find open hostility among even the close agnates, and militates against the affection of one's relatives. 190

Thus it happened that king Sussala, although endowed with every kind of prosperity, made an attack on his brother, bent upon depriving him of the kingdom. 191

Suddenly the report reached the elder brother that Sussala falling upon the kingdom like a hawk, having passed a place known as Varāhavārtā, had arrived. 192

Thereupon Uccala advancing by forced marches fell upon him, before he had obtained a footing, with superior numbers and inflicted a defeat. 193

One could have some idea of his resources from the heaps of Tāmbūla leaves and the variety of stores abandoned by him on the spot from which he had vanished. 194

As the king was preparing the next day to return after having achieved his objective, he heard of the return of Sussala who was brutally valiant. 195

Thereupon Gaggacandra marched with large forces at his command and crushed the army of king Sussala. 196

Countless warriors of Sussala, impatient of the sufferings of the battle, obtained relief from fatigue in the flowery aerial chariots of the heavenly nymphs. 197

The two Rājaputras, Sahadeva and Yudhiṣṭhira, having sacrificed their lives in that battle, paid off their debt for the favour of their sovereign. 198

Gagga captured thorough-bred horses running away from the camp of Sussala which excited the admiration of the king, though he himself owned a large number of horses. 199

Having heard that Sussala was encamped on the road to Selyapura intending to go to Kramarājya, the king immediately pursued him. 200

With the elder brother assiduously following him upon his tracks, Sussala entered the country of the Dards with a meagre following. 201

The king killed a Ḍāmara called Loṣṭaka, native of Selyapura,

who had allowed passage to Sussala and then returned to Śrīnagara. 202

While Sussala was far away, the king, though upset by his hostility, did not, through affection for his brother, attempt to seize the mountain territory of Lohara. 203

The illustrious king Sussala had married Vijayapāla's daughter, the celebrated Meghamañjarī of spotless virtue; being himself without a son, the ruler of Kālañjara through love had brought up like his own son this grand-daughter, who had lost her father. 204-205

Under the aegis of the ruler's power, the very enemies in open hostility had not the might to hurt even a child at Lohara. 206

The resolute king Sussala, too, having traversed inaccessible routes arrived in his own territory by a difficult mountain pass. 207

After this upheaval had subsided, the other troubles of the brave king Uccala were smothered as soon as they made their appearance. 208

Bhīmādeva having brought with him Bhoja, a son of king Kalaśa, summoned to his assistance Jagaddala, the ruler of the Dards. 209

Salha, the son of king Harṣa by a mistress, and Sañjapāla, the brother of Darśanapāla became their bulwark. 210

The attack of the ruler of the Dards was warded off by the statesmanlike king by diplomacy alone and he turned back and returned to his own territory. 211

Salha followed suit, Bhoja secretly returned to his own territory and Sañjapāla took service under king Sussala. 212

Betrayed by his own servant who had accepted a bribe, Bhoja soon met his death by order of the king as if he were a thief. 213

The son of Deveśvara, Pitthaka, too, who aspired to the throne, vanished without leaving any trace, when supported by the Ḍāmaras, the king marched against him. 214

Fools rush about without giving a thought to anything like the lower animals, and make themselves altogether ludicrous being slaves of the desire for publicity. 215

A certain *chef de cuisine*, who was skilful in plotting, announced abroad that he was the son of Malla, named Rāmala, and many neighbouring chiefs who loved to foment disorder being taken in added to his prestige by rich gifts, homage and the rest of it. 216-217

In the summer when the heat became trying he entered

Kaśmīr alone, and the royal retainers on recognising him cut off his nose. 218

This same man was again seen, roaming about selling food-stuffs etc. in the royal camp as befitted his own caste, with amusement by the people. 219

Vainly indeed do people strive to rise in life by employing the crooked ways of intrigue. It is not possible to reverse the result desired by Fate. 220

Man's endeavour resembles the embers in the Kāṅgri which sometimes burn when apparently extinguished and sometimes go out, although kindled, by puffs of air, at the will of Fate. 221

By flight is not averted inexorable Providence in the case of man, nor would a flame of fire tied to the tail of a bird. 222

The life of a being, whose breath, it is destined, should endure until the appointed pleasures have been enjoyed, cannot suddenly be cut off by his opponents by a shower of flames, poison, sword, arrows, nor by his being hurled down a precipice, nor by witchcraft. 223

Bhikṣācara, whose death was sanctioned, was removed at night from the apartments of queen Jayamatī to the place of execution by the executioners by royal command. 224

Tied to a stone he was cast into the Vitastā; the wind soon threw him up on the bank and he was discovered while his chest was yet heaving by a certain kind-hearted Brahman. After a while, it was surprising, he regained consciousness. He was delivered to a lady called Āsamatī, who being a relative was addressed as Diddā, through respect, by the Śāhi princesses. This clever lady secretly took him abroad and he grew up in the Dekhan. 225-227

Thereafter having come to know this story of his life Naravarman, king of Mālava, treated him as his own son and had him educated in the sciences and the use of arms. 228

While others say that queen Jayamatī, by having some other child of the same age killed, had herself protected him. 229

221. Kakṣāgni = Literally 'fire in the armpit'—the Kāṅgri of the Kaśmīrīs in which they carry fire and keep it next to the skin in winter. It may also mean a jungle fire or conflagration as in *Raghuvaṁśa*, II. 92.

225. Diddā = Term of respect for an elder sister which is still used among Kaśmīrī Brahmans. In Bengal the eldest sister is called Didi, a form which survives in the name of the Kaśmīrī poetess Lalleśvarī, popularly known as Laldidi.

When the king got this report from an emissary, who had returned from abroad, his regard for the queen diminished in consequence. 230

Then the sagacious king keeping this back from the public made diplomatic connections with the rulers of the territories which lay *en route* to prevent Bhikṣācara's entry into Kaśmīr. 231

For, a stupid man, by failing to hide his jealousy of the wife and by showing apprehension about his enemy, invites trouble from others on himself. 232

While others say that, upon the execution of Bhikṣācara, it was Diddā who having taken some child which resembled him passed it off under his name. 233

Whether this was a fact or fable, he gained so much in prestige that Fate itself could not have reduced him to insignificance. 234

There are certain wondrous phenomena produced by the bewildering diversity of Karma, which are beyond the compass of dreams, witchcraft or fancy. 235

This scion of royalty, who was to be the bane of his people, grew up secretly like fire in the midst of straw which destroys towns, villages, and other habitations. 236

In close proximity to the poison tree grows the creeper Prativiṣā, the antidote, and in the season of rain when the pure waters are sullied twinkles the rising Canopus; watching the rise of the perils which tend to cut at the root of creation, it is amazing how far-sighted Providence devises means to counteract them. 237

Birth of Jayasiṁha (1105 A.C.)

Thus it happened that at this very time a son was born to king Sussala capable of delivering the earth from the catastrophe in which it was sinking. 238

Commencing from the time of the child's birth, the king achieved victory everywhere and so he was appropriately named Jayasiṁha—the lion of victory. 239

As, owing to the realization of all the desired powers, Sarvārthasiddha is both an appropriate and the proper name of the Buddha, so in the case of this king his appropriate appellation did not cease to have the conventional use restricting the name to him. 240

On seeing the mark which had manifested itself on the foot of the prince, king Uccala's displeasure towards his brother had disappeared. 241

It was this very mark on the child's foot which had removed the bitterness between the father and uncle and had brought tranquillity to both the realms. 242

Thereafter to acquire merit king Uccala erected a Maṭha, in the name of his father who had gone to heaven, on the site of his ancestral property. 243

By his gift of cows, lands, gold, wearing apparel, and grain on that great festive occasion, the open-handed king became to all suppliants like the wonder-working Wishing-tree. 244

Even mighty kings in distant lands were amazed at the presents of great value sent to them by the monarch whose opulence was the subject of praise. 245

Jayamatī, too, erected a Vihāra with a Maṭha with a view to diverting to higher purpose the wealth which she had obtained through the favour of her lord. 246

Through some unknown lack of sufficiency of the king's merit in a former life, this Maṭha failed to retain the wished for name and style and was known as the new Maṭha. 247

Similarly a Vihāra built by him in memory of his sister Sullā, on another site in the paternal territory, did not obtain celebrity worthy of it. 248

In fact, as he did not suspect that death was hovering over his head, he had not conveyed permanent benefactions to defray the expenses of his foundations. 249

Once that king, while sojourning in Kramarājya, proceeded to a village in the mountains named Varhaṭacakra in order to see the flames of Svyambhū. 250

As he was marching by the road to the village of Kambaleśvara, there suddenly appeared armed Caṇḍālas, robbers living in that locality, who surrounded him. 251

Although they wished to cut him down immediately as he had a very small force, they did not strike—their weapons being arrested by his resplendent glory and high courage. 252

Then as his passage was barred, he passed one night wandering about with a few followers in that steep mountain defile. 253

At that moment there spread in the camp the painful news, which caused a sensation everywhere, that the king was no more. 254

This evil rumour, with its small beginning in the camp, assumed

serious proportions in the capital, like a storm gust from a mountain gorge which is magnified when it reaches the wilderness. 255

In charge of Śrīnagara was, at this time, a man named Chuḍḍa who was of the family of the yeoman Kāmadeva and brother of Raḍḍa and the rest. 256

Having allayed the unrest in the city, he entered the palace armoury and together with his brothers deliberated over the future course of action. 257

While they were deliberating whom to make their king, a Kāyastha named Saḍḍa, an intriguing soul among the bourgeoise, also addressed them. 258

"You yourself being invincible owing to the number of your friends, relatives and servants should administer the realm which you have thus secured free of thorns." 259

When thus addressed by him, those villains then entertained the aspiration to seize the government and immediately began preparations to ascend the lion-throne. 260

The tradition that they were the descendants of the illustrious Yaśaskara had imparted to all of them in that family an eager desire for the crown. 261

Thus it happened that, owing to the incitements of their evil friends, this yearning embedded in the hearts of those fellows, who had ignored the rule of good conduct, became a rage. 262

How could this wicked course not appeal personally to Saḍḍa, since that caitiff was born in the family of the load-carrier Lavaṭa. 263

Though he was the son of a petty official called Kṣemadeva, he had the stout-heartedness worthy of a great desperado. 264

From the royal residence he removed a gold vessel by theft and although suspected owing to certain clues, could not be identified because of his astuteness. 265

Wearing a poniard, without a turban, ridiculing every one with his cynicism, he treated the three worlds as a mere trifle as if he were a Rājaputra. 266

As he twiddled his fingers, his anxious thought for ever was for the throne and it appeared to bear a bitter fruit. 267

258. Kuṭumbin=literally men with families hence well-to-do house-holders, bourgeoisie.

261. See verse 256 above and V. 469.

By his advice and because of their own plans as well, Chuḍḍa and others aspired to the throne, but when they heard later that the king was alive their hope perished. 268

Although it showed no sign of life neither, so to speak, was it somnolent nor dormant, this plan was, however, from that time onwards, constantly present in their minds. 269

Then, little by little, the king, whose esteem did not long endure, reduced them to the status of mediocrity by forbidding them the royal court. 270

And the king, who naturally used harsh language towards every one at all times, made remarks, betweenwhiles, which cut them to the quick. 271

Their father had died in the reign of king Harṣa and they had lived in the house of their widowed mother who was still in the exuberance of youth. 272

They had slain a trusted friend, their neighbour, of the name of Mayyāmattaka, a yeoman, through suspicion that he was the paramour of the mother. 273

"Why did they not punish her although she was unchaste;" reflecting thus, the indignant king caused the amputation of the mother's nose. 274

This affair the king, in their presence, laid bare and began to ask for them saying, "Where are the sons of the nose-cut woman?" 275

The sovereign, who had become like death to the Kāyasthas, removed even Saḍḍa from office after having appointed him the treasurer of the principal treasury. 276

Thereupon Saḍḍa's own chief accountant, whom he had cruelly harassed, laid a complaint before the king that he had misappropriated the revenue from the treasury. 277

When the king in his anger removed him from the post of Praveśabhāgika, this dour man incited Raḍḍa, Chuḍḍa and others to their former design. 278

272. The verse shows that women owned immoveable property. The original text is as follows:—Te rājye Harṣabhūbhartuḥ pitari pramayaṁ gate/ Mātus tāruṇyamattāyā vidhavāyā gṛhevasan// If the house had belonged to her deceased husband, the sons would have been owners, according to the law as we now know it, with merely a right of maintenance for the widow.

Then planning the death of the king they, while waiting for an opportunity, began to conspire with other miscreants such as Haṁsaratha and others. 279

The conspirators against the king's life had met together and had sworn over the sacred libation, but for five or six years had not got any opportunity. 280

It was amazing that this secret plan was not betrayed although many persons differing widely had for a long time hatched it; it was due to the sins of the people. 281

"It is to you that the king constantly addresses words which touch you to the quick"—saying this to every one in turn; they had created disloyalty towards his Majesty. 282

The king was constantly shadowed by the assassins whose chests, sides and backs were protected by concealed armour of steel. 283

He who was unable to bear separation from Jayamatī and although a king would formerly have made every effort to please her like a swain among the commonalty, then for two years displayed a continuous dislike for her owing to a change in his disposition which was the portent of destruction. 284-285

Some assign the reason for this to her protection of Bhikṣācara, while others to the course of love affairs which like flashes of lightning are transient. 286

Then the daughter of the ruling chief of Vartula, named Bijjalā, whose hand the king had held in wedlock, became his favourite. 287

About this time, the ruling prince Saṁgrāmapāla died and his son of the name of Somapāla succeeded to the ancestral realm. 288

The king became indignant with Rājapurī, when he heard that conspirators had crowned him after having imprisoned through hatred his elder brother who was entitled to rule. 289

He gave in marriage the hand of his daughter who was the surety of wealth and stability. 290

This was the last great festivity made resplendent with various kinds of expenditure, celebrated to please all his subjects, by the king who was the Wishing-gem of the suppliants. 291

When the son-in-law had departed, the monarch deprived all the

283. For an armour of steel to be thus concealed it must have been chain armour, light, and of very fine quality.

290. There is a lacuna in this verse.

Tantrins of their allowances through some displeasure, but allowed the conspirators to depart. 292

Bhogasena, too, whom the king at this time had removed from the office of the warden of the frontier, became hostile. 293

This valiant man, while in command, had formerly vanquished all the Ḍāmaras and had set out towards Lohara to gain a victory over king Sussala. 294

He was then recalled by the king, whose hostility towards his brother was mingled with affection, whereupon Bhogasena spoke ill of the king who grew angered on learning this. 295

The king having humiliated this gallant man, who was his best friend, Raḍḍa, Chuḍḍa and others admitted him into the conspiracy. 296

Those whom he had disgraced, who had vast ambition, who had formed a league and who had been deprived of their salaries were not banished by the king, as if he were desirous of gaining the realm of Yama. 297

The crooked-minded Saḍḍa blamed the others for having placed themselves at the sweet will of Bhogasena, knowing the latter from his valour to be simple-hearted. 298

And he said, "The king should be murdered this very day even if it be at the cost of our lives, otherwise the shallow-minded Bhogasena might make a confession." 299

What Saḍḍa had said was not incorrect, for Bhogasena anxious for a disclosure had addressed the king that he wished to speak to him in private. 300

"What are you going to say? I shall not entrust the wardenship of the frontier to you"—so saying the king ignored him, which led him to favour the cause of the traitors. 301

He, who is paying his court to Providence, resents anyone to rouse him to action like a person sunk in oblivion in his siesta at the fag-end of summer. 302

Thereafter the Tantrins who, in their turn, mounted guard, entered the royal palace with their own fully equipped and united troops. 303

"During the night whomsoever we strike do you strike him also"—with these instructions they admitted certain Caṇḍālas, to whom a pass-word had been given, inside the Hall of the Pavilion. 304

When the king had finished his repast they were standing in the outer vestibule. They managed to dismiss the servants by telling them that the king was in a rage. 305

The king desiring to proceed to the apartment of Bijjalā emerged, from the inner apartments, in an amorous fashion, his way being lit by small lamps. 306

When he had reached the middle Hall with a very few retainers, Saḍḍa closed the apartment from which he had emerged and held up the rest of the followers. 307

The others having barred the front door all the assassins rose and surrounded the king. 308

While one fellow kneeling in front of the king stopped him by pretending to present a petition, the Brahman Teja, son of Dinna, dragging him by the hair pierced him with a dagger. 309

Then several poniards penetrated his golden coloured limbs as if they were snakes entering the peaks of Mount Meru. 310

Shouting "treason, treason" he released his hair which had been seized and with his teeth tore open the leather belt of the hilt of his toy dagger. 311

For his servant, one Sujanākara, who carried his Katar, had run away from his side when the assailants were striking him. 312

Then he drew that tiny dagger which was fit for a boy; it came out with difficulty from the sheath as it was secured at the hilt. 313

In spite of his protruding entrails when the enemy let go his hair, he tied up locks intermingled with flowers holding the dagger between the knees. 314

With a roar he struck Teja and behaved with such gallantry that the former collapsed on the floor as if struck in all the vital parts. 315

Thereafter he pierced Raḍḍa who was about to strike him from his back and roaring like a lion he turned round and tore open Vyaḍḍa. 316

He felled to the ground another soldier, who was clad in armour who writhing in travail soon lost his life. 317

314. It was the fashion for the king to wear a chaplet of flowers in the hair. See below verse 337. Ministers also wore chaplets of flowers for the different offices of state. See 1982 below and App. J.

Having secured a chance he ran in order to get out, but the apartment was closed by the guards who were ignorant that it was the king. 318

When he moved towards another door Chuḍḍa intervening muttered, "Where art thou going"? and smote him with sword strokes. 319

At this time the king saw Bhogasena who standing near the door with his face turned the other way was painting the wall with a wooden brush. 320

The king, as he ran past, exclaimed, "Oh Bhogasena! why do you merely look on?' to which he, shamefast, mumbled something indistinctly. 321

One Rayyāvaṭṭa, a lamp bearer, being without arms took part in the fight with his metal lamp and fell wounded by them. 322

One Somapāla, a Rājaputra from Campā, having wounded the assailants was rendered *hors de combat* by his injuries but maintained his conduct free from reproach. 323

The grandson of the illustrious Śūrapāla and son of Rājaka, Ajjaka, melted away, like a dog, hiding his dagger which bore a semblance to the tail. 324

Thereafter, as the king ran and tried to climb the wooden banisters, the Caṇḍālas made passes at his knees and he embraced the earth. 325

A loyal Kāyastha named Śṛṅgāra, who threw his body on the king's back, was hacked by blows and dragged away by the enemies. 326

Death of Uccala (1111 A.C.)

As the king attemped to rise again, all the assailants attacked him in a body with their arms which served like a wreath of dark blue lotuses presented by Kālī to her chosen one. 327

"Perhaps this rogue though not dead is feigning death"—so saying the villainous Saḍḍa himself cut off his neck. 328

And he exclaimed, "I am the same person who was deprived of office", and further cutting off the fingers he extracted the rows of bejewelled rings. 329

The long-armed king was seen asleep on the floor with one foot retaining a shoe and the visage covered with his locks from which the chaplet of flowers had fallen away. 330

The lack of pity shown to individuals by this mighty king was, in a measure, atoned by his valliant conduct at the end. 331

A servant, Śūraṭa, having come out of the palace bewailing

the treason was felled to the ground outside by the enraged Bhogasena. 332

Having set out for the apartment of his beloved the king, as if through an error of direction, had taken the road to the residence of Kālī. 333

In the flower garden, bees, in rapture with filaments, indulge themselves with different sorts of enjoyments; so kings in their realms in their ardour for enjoyments take a delight in various kinds of raiment. Alas! of a sudden they become visible and disappear, somehow, being upset; the bees by the creeper being stirred by the breeze and those kings through Providence intriguing with their luck. 334

The autocrat of Laṅkā, conqueror of the three worlds, had suffered a rout from the lower animals, the lord of the Kurus, paramount of kings without exception, had received a kick on the head. Thus everyone might have, in the long run, a mischance stripping him of his exalted rank as if he were a commoner. Who indeed can afford to be high and mighty and, obsessed with oneself, to persist in self-conceit? 335

The lifeless body of the monarch abandoned by the enemies was carried naked, like a pauper, to be consigned to the fire by his parasol bearers. 336

One of them took the king's arms on his neck and another caught the feet with his hands. Thus they carried the king, his hair tousled, the neck hanging down and drenched with blood; his open wounds seemed to be hissing; nude, as if he were a pauper, he was taken from the royal palace to the funeral ground. 337-338

On the site of the islet at the confluence of the Mahāsarit and the Vitastā, they hurriedly consigned him to the sacred flames in their nervousness. 339

Neither when he was slain nor when he was cremated was he seen by any one; as if he had flown away, he suddenly disappeared from men's sight. 340

He had passed the forty-first year when he lost his life in the year eighty-seven on the sixth day of the bright half of Pauṣa. 341 *4187 L. E. (1111 A. C.)*

Thereupon Raḍḍa, garnished with blood and carrying a sword

335. The reference is to the story in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which Rāma's allies—the monkeys and the bears—helped him to defeat Rāvaṇa and to Duryodhana, in the *Mahābhārata* story, who was kicked by Bhīma on the head after the combat.

Raḍḍa (1111 A.C.)

and armour, stepped on to the lion-throne like a Vetāla sitting on a rock in the crematorium. 342

... ... 343

When he descended from the lion-throne to fight in the battle that was raging, his relatives and followers doing martial exploits formed a decoration for the battleground. 344

His two relatives named Vaṭṭa, and Paṭṭa, who were Tantrin, having fought for a long time and warriors like Kaṭṭasūrya and others fell dead at the lion-gate. 345

Like an actor on the stage of battle, Raḍḍa, armed with sword and shield, danced in the royal quadrangle as he smote his opponents. 346

Having at every moment placed victory in doubt for his opponents and having cut down many by his strokes, he at last fell in the scrimmage. 347

Garga, whom the butchery had caused to abandon the limit of decency, ordered that the punishment for high treason against the person of the sovereign be carried out on the corpse of Saḍḍa. 348

Near the convent of Diddā, Vyaḍḍa was thrown with his head submerged in the drain of a latrine by the citizens who showered stones and ashes on him. 349

These traitors against the sovereign, when being dragged about from place to place with the ropes tied to their ankles, were received by the people by being immediately spat upon which was what they deserved for their enormity. 350

Haṁsaratha and others, having fled joined Saḍḍa somewhere, to suffer for a time the torment of adversity which is worse than death. 351

Bhogasena, who in his impudence had believed Garga had been crushed after the ruin of his younger brother, now heard this news which came to him like a cataclysm. 352

Having turned back intending to make a stand, he saw the fleeing soldiery and becoming nervous he fled from there to an unknown place with certain of his own men. 353

Thus did Garga accomplish, with the unassisted strength of his

343. There is a lacuna in the original text.

own two arms, the work of slaying and scattering the leaders of the coalition of traitors. 354

The intrepidity and success in a daring adventure such as were displayed by this valiant man, I have not heard of even in history at any time. 355

The traitor Raḍḍa having reigned for one night and one watch of the day under the designation of Śaṅkharāja went the way of evil doers. 356

These conspirators had claimed descent from the House of Yaśaskara and thus their rule like that of king Varṇata lasted only for a moment. 357

By igniting forest fires, by constructing decoys and traps the Kirātas slay the lion and other animals, but themselves meet death through sudden landslides in the jungle. Indeed on the same path of death is every individual plunging headlong. I am the slayer and he is the slain—the notion of a difference merely lasts a short while. 358

Those who in transports of delight have hearkened to the festive songs of lovely ladies at their own weddings have to listen helplessly, in their last moments, to the loud wailing of their wives; he who but yesterday exults while slaying his foe at last sees an enemy gloating over him when he himself is about to be killed. How awful! Fie on this illusion which has brought on dim-sightedness! 359

This desperate plot of the conspirators was conceived overnight and bore blossoms the next day; it thus resembled a tree which is the giver of ominous fruit. 360

Then having accomplished that task and cleansed himself from wrath, Garga threw himself with his limp body on to the lion-throne and for a long time wept for the sovereign. 361

While he was mourning, the entire body of citizens, freed from panic, found occasion to bewail the king who had a loving-kindness for his people. 362

The artful Jayamatī, who longed for life, gave her treasure to and thus addressed Garga in order to appeal to his compassion. 363

"Brother, make a promise to me." He, however, being simple-minded believed that the words referred to the ceremonies and thought of a funeral pyre for her. 364

Oh these women with their inscrutable hearts! the waviness of the mass of hair, the culminating coquetry of their eyes, the firmness of

their rounded bosom, these lumped together residein their innermost recess—no one can understand them! 365-366

While she, riding in a palanquin, tarried on the way, Bijjalā passed her and going ahead entered the pyre. 367

Then as she was in the act of ascending the funeral pyre the relic-seekers begging for ornaments looted her and caused hurt to her limbs. 368

Then the whole populace in their turn watching the two queens being consumed together with their parasols and yak-tails made loud lamentation as if it burnt their eyes. 369

At this time Garga, whose worthy conduct was carried to the point of extreme purity, although requested by all did not sit upon the royal throne. 370

With a view to getting the infant son of king Uccala consecrated as king, he strenuously searched for persons being desirous of entrusting him to their lap. 371

The people who know the truth about some of these persons feel amused to-day, for, I know, they do not consider them fit to go even begging for alms. 372

Salhaṇa and others were the three sons of Mallarāja by the queen Śvetā, of whom the middle one had already died. 373

Śankharāja had searched for the two surviving ones, the eldest and the youngest, Salhaṇa and Loṭhaṇa, to murder them but they had fled, through terror, to the Navamaṭha. 374

Salhaṇa (1111 A.C.)

The shameless Tantrins, cavaliers and councillors who had deserted the defeated conspirators again formed a combination having made common cause and brought in Salhaṇa. When Garga saw this and not finding any one worthy of the throne, he had the eldest immediately consecrated king. 375-376

Alas! in the space of four watches, in one day and night, there came three kings who should have been seen in a man's life-time. 377

There were to be found royal pages who had served overnight king Uccala, in the morning Raḍḍa and at mid-day Salhaṇa. 378

Now king Sussala, while in the fortress of Lohara having heard, after the lapse of a day and a half, of the death of his brother became unsettled in his mind. 379

The messenger despatched by Garga threw himself down weeping

on the ground and this made Sussala, whose doubt had been dispelled, break out in lamentation. 380

From the first messenger of Garga he had not learnt the up-to-date news regarding Salhaṇa but only the death of his brother and of the invitation to himself. 381

For Garga, being diffident about the very arduous task of quickly crushing the enemy, had despatched that messenger to invite Sussala when setting out from his house. 382

Having passed that night in lamentation, at the break of dawn, Sussala started on the journey to Kaśmīr although he had not mobilized his forces. 383

Then another emissary of Garga, whom he met *en route*, reported all the news and said, "It is clear you should not come." 384

"Swiftly has treason been killed while in your absence, the younger brother Salhaṇa has been proclaimed king. What is the use of your arrival?" 385

On hearing this message of Garga, the king from wrath became impatient and ridiculing his officers, who were opposed to the advance, he addressed as follows: 386

"With us the kingdom is not an hereditary estate. Even were it so, the next born would be the successor. But the fact is that my elder brother and I conquered it by might and main." 387

"No one presented the crown to the two of us who acquired it ourselves. The procedure by which we formerly wrested it, is it not now available?" 388

Having thus spoken he continued the advance by incessant marches and despatched numerous emissaries to Garga to win him over. 389

He arrived at Kāṣṭhavāṭa while Gargacandra, in support of Salhaṇa's cause, marched and occupied Huṣkapura. 390

At the approach of eventide, the emissaries who had made trips to and fro reported that Garga was hostile although he was prepared for overtures. 391

Nevertheless, the king, at this time being in the midst of the enterprise, despatched his foster brother named Hitāhita to Garga. 392

At this moment, Bhogasena, deluded by fate, presented himself before the king through the intercession of the Khāśakas, natives of Bilvavana. 393

Having sent the cavalier Karṇabhūti to the king, Bhogasena bent his energy to lure him with the message, "I shall vanquish Garga." 394

That he should have waited to avail himself of a suitable opportunity instead of killing the traitor against his brother, nay even temporised with him, was considered by the people as ungentlemanly. 395

Garga, too, remonstrated with him through emissaries with this message and the like, "How can I join you when you harbour that traitor against your brother?" 396

Sussala, however, had delayed thinking that Bhogasena would escape from the road in the dark. At the end of the night he attacked him and killed him with his followers. 397

Karṇabhūti falling in the field of battle in the manner worthy of a knight was resplendent; his step-brother Tejaḥsena was not less distinguished. 398

But Tejaḥsena, by order of the king, was impaled and so was also Marica, the son of Lavarāja, the master of the horse. 399

It was the king's intrepidity which made him capable of an offensive and defensive, but his force was so small that one could not hope even to maintain one's position with it. 400

Sañjapāla, whom the king had sent in advance, when the day was done joined him later on bringing cavalry with him. 401

When these came and his force was to a certain extent strengthened, a general of Garga named Sūrya with a large number of troops arrived at the same time. 402

Seeing that these were hostile, the entourage of the king with difficulty induced him whose mind was duped by his exuberance to don armour and mount his charger. 403

There now fell a shower of arrows from the enemy force, in uninterrupted succession, which made the sky appear as if it were swarming with locusts. 404

As if confessing their treason with their hissing arrows, the irresistible enemy struck down all and sundry in the royal camp with all manner of arms. 405

With his force killed, wounded, or scattered the venture-loving king, having extricated himself single-handed from the midst of the enemy, withdrew in a hurry. 406

Then mounted on his horse, he crossed a roaring river on which

he bridge perpetually swinging up and down was difficult to cross even for birds. 407

Two or three persons, Sañjapāla and others, succeeded in keeping up with him and at various places held up the adversary who were in pursuit; when the valiant man entered the fief of the Khaśas known as Virānaka with thirty or twenty followers, the enemy abandoned the pursuit. 408-409

Although he had only a few men with no food or raiment, it was amazing that he fearlessly attacked and chastised the Khaśas. 410

And, in course of time, having survived disaster on the pass, the crossing of which was difficult owing to heavy falls of snow, once again, through a combination of lucky circumstances, he reached Lohara. 411

At every stride he was in the presence of death but had escaped because there was a reserve in the span of his life; he, nevertheless, continued to concentrate solidly on the conquest of Kaśmīr. 412

Garga, impervious to reason hurled down in anger the poor Hitāhita, bound hand and foot, in the Vitastā from the bridge-head at the frontier. 413

When he was about to be thrown into the waters, a servant of his named Kṣema threw himself in advance; his falling downwards in itself secured for him ascent to a place of honour. 414

When Garga, who had bestowed the crown and destroyed the enemy, joined king Salhaṇa; he acquired an extraordinary sway over him. 415

That king who had neither counsellors nor valour had acquired a kingdom. His mind wandered and he looked upon everything as if it were a revolving illusion. 416

Neither diplomacy nor heroism, neither craftiness nor frankness, neither liberality nor covetousness—he had nothing whatever which could make him distinguished. 417

During his reign, within the very metropolis robbers plundered the people in broad daylight; of other traffic on the highways is a description possible? 418

In the place where a woman, though she was lame, had maintained herself for a long time, he, although a male, had his mind assailed by fear. 419

The woman, whom to-day Salhaṇa enjoyed, was enjoyed the

next day by Loṭhana. In common were shared the enjoyments of sovereignty between the two of them. 420

The entire administration of the king, who had no insight into the character of men and who neglected his duties, was laughed at by those who were conversant with affairs of state. 421

The father-in-law of Loṭhana, Ūjasūha, who was good enough to gossip with the anchorites, was appointed by him to the office of warden of the marches, which demanded relentless daring. 422

During the confidential discussions he, accepting the task of removing the danger from Sussala, stated that on the latter's approach by muttering his own spell, a hundred thousand times he would achieve success! 423

The king, who lacked moral character, upon the instructions of Garga caused Bimba, the Ḍāmara of Nīlāśva, who was hostile to the latter, to be thrown into the Vistastā tied to a slab. 424

Garga, the king-maker, while killing his various enemies, caused to be murdered many Ḍāmaras of Hālāha by giving them poisoned food. 425

The king being a puppet, the life and death of all persons depended upon Garga whether they served in the palace or outside, whether they were petty or mighty. 426

It so happened that, on one occasion when Garga had returned to the presence of the king from Lohara, a sensation prevailed in the entire population in the capital who were panic-stricken. 427

For at that time the rumour had spread that Garga growing angered had come to kill all the dependents of the king by impaling them in boats. 428

Causing miscarriages among pregnant women, the rumour of such a reign of terror kept the entire population for two or three days as if in a state of fever. 429

Then Tilakasiṁha and others audaciously delivered an attack on the residence of Garga, without waiting for a royal command. 430

The locality seethed with excitement and all rushed out carrying arms, but Gargacandra faced them undismayed. 431

Dilhabhaṭṭāraka, Lakkaka and others were observed hovering shamelessly on horse-back in the lanes near Garga's residence. 432

The king did not restrain them; on the contrary, he despatched

Loṭhana to the assailants to instigate them when their energy began to fail. 433

Garga's soldiers having barricaded the road, even Loṭhana did not succeed in investing the house or in burning it down although he set it on fire. 434

An expert bowman named Keśava, who was superintendent of the Loṭhikāmaṭha, by killing Garga's soldiers with his arrows was alone able to harass him. 435

By evening when with the disappearance of daylight the royal servants dispersed, Garga, wounded, on his charger made a sortie with his followers. 436

Unobstructed by fighting he, on his way to Lohara, carried off as his prisoner Ūjasūha, who was sojourning in Tripureśvara in ill-health. 437

"What use is this anchorite"? said he and the following day set him free. And because of hostility to Sussala, he did not root out the king either. 438

From this time onwards, throughout the land at every moment the town-folk were in a panic about the return of Garga and kept their houses bolted and barred. 439

Now, on behalf of the king, who was in distress and longed for reconciliation with Garga, the Mahattama Sahela presented himself at Lohara to act as mediator. 440

He somehow induced Garga to consent to give his daughter in marriage, but his retainers did not support the alliance with the phantom king. 441

Thereafter he made peace with king Sussala, but did not enter into the marriage alliance despite urgent requests made subsequently. 442

While the kingdom was thus disintegrating, the king, having secured them through spies, killed Saḍḍa, Haṁsaratha and Manoratha. 443

He made them experience horrid torture while life was not yet extinct by causing sparks of fire, needle, etc. to be inserted. 444

That the king allowed Mallā, the wife of Bhogasena, who was living in hiding, to go after her husband was kindly done. 445

Although he had observed his incompetence, the king in the mean-

while growing apprehensive caused Dilhabhaṭṭāra to be destroyed by draught of poison. 446

He was neither a scion of royalty, nor was he of impetuous valour, that this wicked king should have extinguished his life by secret execution in that way. 447

Thereupon his sister, who had denounced him for his lack of manliness, by entering the fire followed the course befitting a proud woman. 448

Short though his reign was, it became so intolerable through suffering that it was like a prolonged nightmare seen during a long night. 449

Perceiving the opportune moment, Sussala who mistrusted Garga though there was a binding pact with him, set his face eagerly towards Kaśmīr and despatched Sañjapāla in advance. 450

Lakkaka, to whom king Salha had entrusted the wardenship of the frontier and money, had somehow managed to reach Varāhamūla on his march. 451

Garga, remembering his aggression, fell upon his rear and meeting him plundered his troops as well as Varāhamūla. 452

He fled, while his soldiers being slain embraced with their mortal bodies the earth and with the immortal ones the bevy of celestial maidens. 453

Upon the disappearance of their leader Uppa, Chuḍḍa and others of untarnished reputation and noble lineage fell and by them the earth was ornamented as if by pearls, when the central pearl in the string is missing. 454

Lakkaka, who was relieved from apprehension by the approach of Sañjapāla, being without support, joined the side of the king Sussala. 455

Having said to Salhaṇa, "I shall bring about peace between you and king Sussala", Sahelaka came over to the side of the latter. 456

Every one except the king had now taken shelter under the younger brother of Uccala, whose rise to prosperity the citizens longed for like Cātaka birds the water-giving cloud. 457

Garga's wife, named Chuḍḍā, now appeared before him and having brought with her two virgin daughters presented them for marriage. 458

Of these two, the king himself led to the altar the one named

Rājalakṣmī and the younger one, Guṇalekhā, he received as his daughter-in-law. 459

While Sañjapāla having advanced besieged Salhaṇa with his younger brother, the king Sussala, too, arrived at the lion-gate of the royal palace. 460

As he was looking on, a servant of his enemy hurled down on him a door which missed him; the attempt became as fruitless as the heart's desire of the enemy. 461

While the enemy remained with his troops behind the barred doors in the royal palace, Sussala's force was unnerved by fear of an attack from Garga. 462

Distrusting Garga, although he had given his daughter in marriage, the troops of that ruler suspicious of even the flicker of a straw remained in the field only because it was their duty to hold out. 463

While the daylight was longing for the western horizon and the enemy was in that state of nervousness and the king through family affection was averse to set fire to the enemy within the impregnable palace, Sañjapāla having succeeded in breaking the shutters of a window with boulders, rushed in and after throwing open the gate engaged in a struggle with those in the quadrangle. 464-466

Considering that this course of action, in the midst of the enemy host, of Sañjapāla was like that of a moth, a foot-soldier named Lakkaka immediately followed suit. 467

Lakkaka as a warrior was equal to him and during the passage of the Dards and the desperate heroics of Kāṣṭhavāṭa had been with him like his very reflection; he and Keśava, the Maṭha superintendent, trailed after him just as Sātyaki and Bhīmasena followed Arjuna when he had given an ultimatum to the ruler of the Indus country. 468-469

When they had passed through the hall and had somehow succeeded in opening the gate of the quadrangle, by smashing blows the king, unruffled, made his entry in person. 470

While the conflict between the two forces continued indecisive many men-at-arms met their death in that quadrangle. 471

The minister of Salharāja, a Brahman native of Pataṁgagrāma named Ajjaka, won in the encounter the privilege of delightful enjoyments with the heavenly nymphs. 472

The Kāyastha Rudra, too, who had obtained the office of superin-

tendent of the treasury having sacrificed his body on the battle-field rendered his sovereign's favour fruitful. 473

As at sundown a tree, which is full of the flutter of birds that have been attracted to it, upon the entry of a stone is hushed after the flight of the birds, so did the arena, resounding with arms, become as if depicted in a picture being awed by king Sussala mounted on his charger. 474-475

While he was in the quadrangle and had not yet ascended the lion-throne, there arose the shout of "Victorious is Sussala" and the rattle of the kettle-drums became audible. 476

In the House of Mallarāja, no one had been reduced to such straits; such was the disgrace which then befell Salhaṇa and Loṭhana. 477

Both of them wore armour and were mounted on chargers; Sussala having embraced them said, "You are boys", and artfully made them give up their swords. 478

Sussala (1112-20 A.C.)

Ordering the two of them to be placed under guard in another hall, the king having gained the realm then entered the Hall of Assembly. 479

4188 L.E. (1112 A.C.)

Having enjoyed sovereignty for four months less three days, Salhaṇa was taken prisoner on the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year eighty-eight. 480

When Sussala ascended the lion-throne, the entire population in a moment ceased to be agitated like the sea when the sun is in the vault of the sky. 481

Having kept his sword unsheathed from the ever present apprehension of treason, he was like the king of the animals open-mouthed in the midst of hunters. 482

He systematically hunted and destroyed the families of the traitors against his brother and, bent on this policy, he did not let even their children survive. 483

Having realized the depravity of the people, he bore himself with relentlessness and even out of consideration for state affairs, he did not soften into a lenient mood on any occasion. 484

But in reality he was soft-hearted and he assumed an attitude of

476. This form of acclamation with which we are familiar in the Epics and the Saṁskṛta Drama still survives among the Dogras. The Maharaja and ruling chiefs are welcomed by each individual soldier lustily shouting 'Maharaj Jai!'

apparent cruelty to regulate the people by terrorizing them like a snake in a fresco. 485

He understood the times, was open-handed on the right occasion, daring, original in his ideas, he knew the inwardness of things and was even far-sighted—such as he was there was none other. 486

Although his disposition was the same as his elder brothers, yet as regards merits and demerits it was noticeable that some were stronger, some lacking and others equal to his. 487

Although in his hot temper he resembled the elder, yet his wrath was like the sting of a bee while that of the brother was like the poison of a mad dog. 488

In the matter of court dress, etc. he showed no annoyance; hes however, did not tolerate effrontery on the part of his dependents which might be a breach of etiquette, imperilling class distinction. 489

He did not desire the deaths of honourable men through duelling and similar contests, on the contrary, if through rashness such an event happened, he was overcome with compassion. 490

The harshness of speech of the former king had become unbearable because of its disquieting terror but that of Sussala bordered on intimacy and was not accompanied by blood-shed and other sufferings. 491

Being avid for riches he saw to it that there was an ample production of wealth, whereas his liberality, owing to exigency of circumstances, time and the like factors was but moderate. 492

Owing to his love for new structures and for owning large numbers of horses, the artisans as well as horse dealers from the plains shed their poverty. 493

When dire calamities arose, the king showered his riches desirous of overcoming and putting an end to them and there was nothing that he would not part with. 494

The festival of Indradvādaśī, when he bestowed large numbers of costly dresses, was celebrated by this king with splendour such as was not displayed by any other. 495

As formerly king Uccala had been easy of access and fond of his servants, so he, however, was generally difficult of approach by his serving-folk. 496

Than Uccala none was more passionately fond of riding on horseback, but no one was renowned for skill in it like the king Sussala. 497

No sooner did famine raise its head than Uccala suppressed it, in the reign of king Sussala, however, it was not seen even in a dream. 498

What more need be said? He surpassed his elder brother in all virtues save only open-handedness, non-attachment to riches and easy accessibility. 499

He banished, in anger, Sahasramaṅgala whom Garga had intended for the administration of the realm as the guardian of Uccala's son. 500

While he stayed in Bhadrāvakāśa, his son named Prāsa carried on intrigues with the Ḍāmaras by bribes of gold. 501

At this juncture Garga, too, displayed antagonism by refusing to deliver to the uncle, at his request, the infant son of Uccala. 502

Armed troops despatched by the king were destroyed without number by Garga as if they were blades of grass consumed in a forest conflagration. 503

Also, Garga's brother-in-law, Vijaya, a native of Devasarasa, revolted and massacred the royal forces. 504

Although it was only a month and a few days since he had gained the kingdom, the mind of the intrepid king was not perturbed by this revolt. 505

Sureśvarī, the region of Amareśa and the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu were made by Garga to look forward to a slaughter of the royal forces. 506

In the grim battle the two ministers, Śṛṅgāra and Kapila were killed as also the two Tantrins Karṇa and Śūdraka, who were brothers. 507

In the midst of the endless host of brave warriors, who were slain, lay undistinguished even such men of rank and no one had the ability to draw them out. 508

Harṣamitra, the commander-in-chief, son of the king's maternal uncle, suffered a reverse at Vijayeśvara at the hands of Vijaya. 509

On that occasion fell the son of Maṅgalarāja, Tilha, who was of aristocratic birth and the Tantrins prominent among whom was Tibbākara. 510

In the royal army, Sañjapāla proved himself the bravest of the brave; he, who had a very small force, could not be vanquished by Garga with his superior numbers. 511

Having rallied by the despatch of Lakkaka and others his scattered

forces at Vijayakśetra, the resolute king marched against Garga in person. 512

He had a search made on the following day for the bodies of the warriors slain by Garga, who were piled up in large numbers and consigned them to the flames upon innumerable funeral pyres. 513

Thereafter Garga, harassed by the powerful king, gradually turned towards Halāha having set fire to his own residence. 514

Then he took shelter in a hill fort known as Ratnavarṣa; his horses had been captured and he was deserted by his followers and the king, remaining at a distance, had him surrounded. 515

Sañjapāla having pursued him there also besieged him; he surrendered at the feet of the king and handed over the son of Uccala. 516

As the king restrained Mallakoṣṭhaka, the son of Karṇakoṣṭha, in the royal entourage who was hostile to him, Garga soon regained confidence. 517

The king accepted Garga's submission and when upon the destruction of Vijaya and others the revolt had been suppressed he, in due course, re-entered Śrīnagara. 518

Thereafter he proceeded to Lohara where he placed in confinement Salhaṇa and Loṭhana; and receiving the homage of Kalha, Somapāla and other ruling chiefs he gave himself up to revels. 519

Once more entering Kaśmīr he exalted Garga by ever-increasing favours, which surpassed all others, in order to secure his service. 520

While he was the image of the fierce sun of summer, the queen consort and the prince, who delighted all hearts, resembled the deep shade of trees and the sylvan breeze respectively. 521

The two Ḍāmaras, natives of Devasarasa, agnates of Vijaya, the senior Ṭikka and the junior Ṭikka had been marking time. 522

Seeking protection as liegemen the two of them, accompanied by their followers who were raising slogans, stood in front of the king as he made his entry at Lokapuṇya. 523

Towards Vijaya, owing to his relationship to Garga, the sovereign was amiable but abandoning good manners he had the two beaten by the royal ushers. 524

Those two haughty men and their retainers thereupon drew their

522. Velāṁ pracakratuḥ—'were marking time.'

swords and falling upon the king's vastly superior force made a daring attack. 525

A Śvapāka called Abhogadeva struck at the king with his dagger and so did the determined Gajjaka from behind with his sword. 526

The enemy blows miscarried—as there still remained a balance of the king's life—but his charger was killed. 527

While screening the king from the enemy blows, Śṛṅgārasīha, a smart cavalry officer of the family of Bāṇa, was killed on the spot. 528

The soldiers slew the senior Ṭikka, Abhogadeva and others; the junior Ṭikka, however, survived and became the cause of a future insurrection. 529

Gajjaka and others who were concerned in the treason were impaled. Thus was the life of the king endangered from having become partial to Garga. 530

Even by a fall of lightning death is not caused unless one's time is up; but in the case of a living being whose duration has expired even a flower may be fatal. 531

In the midst of the ocean, it is said, pearls do not lose their lustre although often touched by the lambent flames of the submarine fire; the same pearls fade on the breasts of lovely women by the mere glow arising from the exuberance of their youth. 532

Forgetting even past services, the king, intolerant of the ascendency of another, banished from the kingdom Sañjapāla and some others. 533

A relative by marriage of the descendants of Kāka, named Yaśorāja, having been expelled by the king, then joined Sahasramaṅgala. 534

Possessing material resources, he welcomed him and the others banished from their country and having acquired prestige longed to confront the king. 535

His son, Prāsa, desired to enter Kaśmīr by the Kānda route, but when Yaśorāja was wounded by the king's soldiers turned back in alarm. 536

Now when some other subordinates banished by the king had

531. K. is no doubt referring to the story of the death of Indumatī, in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa*, through a garland of flowers which fell on her.

536. Kānda. District between Bhadrāvakāśa (Bhadravār) and Kaśmīr. See VII. 590 and VIII. 1345.

also joined him, Sahasramaṅgala gained proportionately in prestige. 537

While this fresh insurgence was maturing, three hill chiefs, Jāsaṭa of Campā, Vajradhara, ruler of Babbāpura, and rajah Sahajapāla, overlord of Vartula, and the two heirs apparent of the state of Trigarta and of the ruler of Vallāpura, Balha and Ānandarāja respectively, five in all, met somewhere in conference and having made a pact for the journey paid a visit to Kurukṣetra; Bhikṣācara, whom Āsamatī had brought from Naravarman having provided him with gold for the road, arrived there at the same time. 538-541

He, having been warmly welcomed from regard for his relationship and treated with respect by the other chiefs, thereupon proceeded to Vallāpura. 542

Upon his arrival, with his popularity enhanced by those who had left the country prominent among whom was Bimba, the prestige of Sahasramaṅgala dwindled into insignificance. 543

"This one is the grandson of king Harṣa; what have such as they to do with the kingdom?" so saying people deserted Sahasramaṅgala and his partizans and took shelter under him alone. 544

Disregarding feelings of gratitude and misled by family affection, the prince Daryaka, too, banished by the king, went over to him. 545

For he being the son of Kumārapāla, who was the father of Bhikṣācara's maternal uncle, had been brought up formerly by king Sussala as his own son. 546

Then Padmaka, the chief of Vallāpura, persuaded by the heir-apparent and by Jāsaṭa, gave his daughter in marriage to Bhikṣu. 547

Thereupon a local Ṭhakkura, known as Gayāpāla, having canvassed all the chiefs planned to place him on his grandfather's seat. 548

While the king on hearing these tidings was feeling agitated, the powerful Gayāpāla was murdered by treachery by his relatives. 549

Padmaka having marched against them Daryaka, too, in the front rank of the force of Bhikṣācara was killed in the thick of the fighting. 550

Thereupon Bhikṣācara having lost his mainstay was reduced to helplessness like a cloud averted by a draught. 551

When Āsamatī departed this life and the gold of the expedition dwindled, his father-in-law, too, by degrees turned slack in his cordiality. 552

Then for four years, he abided in the house of Jāsaṭa getting barely food and raiment from him with difficulty. 553

Then, the Ṭhakkura Deṅgapāla, dwelling on the banks of the Candrabhāgā having given his daughter named Bappikā in marriage, conducted him to his own place. 554

There, residing in comfort, and for a time free from peril, this scion of royalty outgrew both penury and boyhood. 555

In the meanwhile the dare devil, Prāsa, son of Sahasramaṅgala, through sheer vitality continued to go to and from Kaśmīr and to cause the king annoyance. 556

Eager to incite an insurrection, he was preparing to enter Kaśmīr by the Siddhapatha route,. when he was delivered a prisoner to the king by his own impious servant. 557

During this turmoil the integrity of Sañjapāla became manifest since, although he had been humiliated, he went abroad averting his face from treason. 558

How shall we describe the doings of that valiant man of noble birth in distant lands? It was a wonder, however, that Yaśorāja became renowned abroad for his courage! 559

Then the king removed all the former Mahattamas, Sahela and others, and appointed an official named Gauraka to be premier. 560

He was a relative of a certain anchorite of Vijayeśvara and had won the king's favour while he was at Lohara through devoted services. 561

The king raised him to the rank of prime minister after having gradually removed the former set of officials; Gauraka organised an altogether different system of administration. 562

Having diverted the customary allowances of the dependents of the king from innumerable state departments, he brought about a permanent increase in the royal treasury. 563

The cruel nature of this impious man was not discovered by the people owing to his unctous ways, just as the power of death-dealing poison is not known because of its sweetness. 564

The wealth of misers which he deposited in the clean coffers of the king, like combs of snow from a cloud on a snow-field, was destructive of the previously collected treasure. 565

557. Siddhapatha is now known as the Sidau Pass on the Pir Pantsāl.

For, if the treasury of kings is tainted by the admission of misers hordes, it becomes the prey of burglars or else of the enemy. 566

Through cupidity, the king as was his wont continued to collect funds daily and he transmitted all kinds of treasure to the hill fort of Lohara. 567

Gauraka's subordinates Vaṭṭa, Pañjaka and others deprived the land of its substance as if they were dire scourges. 568

Since the passing of king Uccala, who was like a stone mounted on their heads, the officials had again commenced harassing the people like hunters. 569

Upon the death of Praśastakalaśa, his brother's son, an official named Kanaka had, however, made a commendable use of wealth by founding a permanent beneficence for food distribution whereby famine-stricken people arriving from various distant lands were relieved from their sufferings. 570–571

The vigilant king appointed only those as his officers, whose integrity had been put to the test after the demise of Uccala. 572

Such a one was Tilakasiṁha, who was appointed warden of the frontier and his brother Janaka, the one-eyed, to be chief justice. 573

This warden of the frontier, through the great glory of the king, having overrun the territory of Uraśā accepted tribute from the vanquished ruler. 574

Tilaka, too, of the family of Kāka appointed by the king to be commander-in-chief, made the enemies quake as the storm gust shakes the trees. 575

The enemies were vanquished, through the rising power of the king, even by Sajjaka, a soldier of rustic origin who was a functionary of the Śeḍa office. 576

Through the support of the Kāka family, their esteemed retainer, the sagacious Aṭṭamelaka, too, having secured access to the sovereign attained to the rank of minister. 577

Then it took sometime for Sussala to make appointments of ministers of superior and inferior rank, whose distinctive merit was that they were free from vanity. 578

On the Vitastā strand he now commenced to build after his own

576. Śeḍa = an accounts office.

name and those of his mother-in-law and his wife three lofty shrines. 579

By expending untold wealth, he had the Diddā Vihāra renovated which had been burnt down by an accidental fire. 580

Once when he had journeyed to the township of Aṭṭālikā, the intimates Kalha and others of his entourage incited him to root out Garga. 581

For the son of Garga, named Kalyāṇacandra, full of life having surpassed them in the chase and other sports had made them jealous. 582

Alleging that as a person who had become all powerful it was necessary to tether him, they, by their daily whispering, induced bitterness in the king towards Garga. 583

"The king desires to arrest and throw you in prison at Lohara", being thus warned by a servant and one of the rajahs Garga became alarmed. 584

Thereafter he fled on this occasion with his son to his own estate; and after some days the king, too, started and entered his own territory of Kaśmīr. 585

When mutual distrust had caused a cleavage between the king and Garga, the intriguers who went to and fro superadded to the enmity. 586

Under the influence of a lingering attachment for Vijaya, wife's brother of Garga, the king who had let him go from his entourage was touched by self-reproach. 587

Garga's enemy, who had formerly been incarcerated by the king, the notorious Mallakoṣṭhaka was enlarged at this time from imprisonment. 588

Having got him to form relationships by marriage with the other Ḍāmaras, the king, in a dudgeon, raised him to a position of power. 589

When in due course the royal army eventually advanced to give battle, Garga, as in the past, massacred the troops at Amareśvara. 590

Only Pṛthvīhara, a Ḍāmara of Śamālā, a partizan of the king, achieved glory by his surpassing kinghtly role. 591

While Tilakasiṁha, the warden of the frontier, by his courage in flight after having been routed by Garga in the battle-field made every one laugh! 592

A few of his soldiers, who survived the slaughter and were wounded, were given protection by Gargacandra from compassion but were deprived of their arms, uniforms and the rest of it. 593

When on all sides the bodies of the brave were being consigned to the flames, there was no reckoning of the funeral pyres in the royal army. 594

When the king came up with reinforcements, Garga, whose residence had been burnt, abandoning Lohara marched to the mountain known as Dhuḍāvana. 595

He was continually engaged in skirmishes in those mountain passes with the troops of the king, who was encamped at the foot of the mountain. 596

Night after night, by surprise attacks he harried the royal camp and in the encounters he slew prominent Tantrins such as Trailokyarāja. 597

In the month of Phālguna which was terrible with a heavy fall of snow, the doughty Garga with a limited number of followers did not lose heart though he had the king himself for his foe. 598

The determined Tilaka alone of the family of Kāka, who was the commander-in-chief, was able to get on the run Garga, who had taken up his position on the summit of the mountain. 599

When hard pressed, Garga won sympathy by sending his wife and daughter to appear before the king, who by a favourable reception camouflaged his resentment. 600

The king who had concealed his bitter resentment, after peace had been concluded, marched away from there and helped Mallakoṣṭhaka to ascendant position. 601

Then for two or three months, Garga put up in Lohara with the unendurable rivalry of Mallakoṣṭhaka, whom he regarded as an upstart, while the king's intentions were obscure. 602

In the meanwhile, by secretly promoting dissensions in his force, the king won over to himself his retainers Karṇa and others. 603

He felt humiliated that he should have been treated on a level with the mischievous kinsmen and urged by those retainers, he presented himself before the king with his wife and sons. 604

Thus it happened that on one occasion when the king was about

600. The verse shows that ladies appeared in public before the king.

to bathe and was standing in the bath tub, he taunted Garga who was close by and made him surrender his sword. 605

What other man proud of his personal bravery could trust his courage when even such as he became faint of heart, like a timid fellow, while being insulted! 606

What a difference between that proud position which deposed and installed kings and this attitude of funk resembling that of the common crowd! It may be that in this world a living being is helplessly made to dance in public, at the sole pleasure of Fate, as if pulled by an apparatus with a row of strings. 607

And then, some of the king's favourites, who in battle would not have dared even to set eyes on him, held fast his arms with a rope-knot. 608

Kalyāṇa and others who were inside the sanctuary of the holy Saṁgrāmamaṭha ceased fighting when the king in person entered the courtyard. 609

The son of Garga, Videha, having heard that his father was alive, upon being pacified by the sovereign himself, was induced to surrender his sword with difficulty. 610

Garga, with his wife and sons, was kept in the royal palace itself and was hospitably treated by the king who generously gave the prisoner all comforts worthy of his own kindred. 611

The son of Garga, Catuṣka, though he had escaped by flight from his own residence was observed and delivered to the king by Karṇa whose action was unworthy of his clan. 612

There is no certitude about a king, whose wrath though hidden is deep-seated, nor about a wound the inside of which has not ceased to fester. 613

When the king left the capital for the reception of Maṇidhara, ruler of the Dards, who had come to seek an audience, he had Garga murdered by his retainers. 614

Having suffered incarceration for two or three months, he with his three sons was strangled one night by ropes tied round their necks. 615

Bimba and others had been reduced by him to such a plight; he,

612. It is not clear why Karṇa's action was unworthy. Perhaps because it was a breach of the rule relating to asylum.

too, with his sons was, in turn, thrown by the royal retainers into the waters in the same fashion with stones tied to the neck. 616

In the month of Bhādrapada of the year ninety-four having murdered Garga, the king had hoped for repose but, on the contrary, unforeseen uprisings brought him misery. 617

4194 L. E.
1118 A.C.

By the death of Kalha, the rajah of Kāliñjar, and of Mallā, the mother of the queen consort, he, at this time, became exceedingly sad. 618

Meanwhile Nāgapāla, the womb-brother of Somapāla, when the latter had his elder step-brother named Pratāpapāla assassinated had left his own country and come for asylum to king Sussala, having through fear taken to flight after killing the minister who had been the murderer. 619–620

Growing angered at this, the king rejecting overtures of amity from Somapāla, who was ready to comply by obedience, resolved upon an invasion. 621

Having come to the conclusion after trying all remedies that the king's enmity was incurable, he invited the latter's foe Bhikṣācara. 622

Having learnt that he had brought in his kinsmen, the king was upset and fell into a mighty fury and then he made an attack on Rājapurī, which he entered with lightning speed. 623

Somapāla having taken to flight, he bestowed the principality on Nāgapāla, and stayed there for seven months terrorising his various enemies. 624

The king, who was comparable to Indra, reluctantly showed favour towards Vajradhara and other chiefs because of their submission and opportune presents. 625

Everywhere his forces marched on the banks of the Candrabhāgā and other rivers, but the enemy did not dare even to look them in the face. 626

In advance of the king marched Tilaka, the commander-in-chief, and the Ḍāmara Pṛthvīhara was entrusted with the protection of the route. 627

The pious king, by securing from harm Brahmapurī and the temples of the gods in the enemy territory, obtained the merit of the original benefice. 628

How can the military resources of this king whose affluence was

comparable to Indra's be described! Even the grass for his cavalry was brought to his camp from his own kindgom. 629

At this juncture having gained an opportunity Sujanavardhana, who had succeeded in becoming intimate with the king, roused him to deep anger against Gauraka who was far away. 630

The king, whose mind was prejudiced by calumny, believed that Gauraka, whom he had himself appointed to take charge of the state in order to protect the kingdom, was appropriating the entire revenue. 631

In this connection when he blamed the prefect of the capital Janaka, he lashed into fury his brother Tilakasiṁha. 632

Whereupon the king waxing wroth deprived the latter of office and appointed a native of Parṇotsa named Ānanda, son of Ananta, to be warden of the frontier. 633

The subjects of Somapāla deserved to be praised since they did not, although the king was in such complete occupation of their territory, go over to his side. 634

4195 L.E.
1119 A.C.

Then in the month of Vaiśākha of the year ninety-five he returned to his own kingdom and Nāgapāla, too, having been deprived of the realm followed in his tracks. 635

Thereafter, excited by greed which is the harbinger of dire calamities, he levied fines from the inhabitants and reduced expenditure to the minimum. 636

When having relieved Gauraka from office, the king began to punish the officials who were his subordinates, all the ministers became disaffected. 637

By the sudden reversal in the administrative measures, the king suffered heavy financial loss through the lack of experience of the new ministers. 638

To the citadel of Lohara he despatched gold in the form of bricks; the mass of gold which he transported resembled the mountain of gold. 639

Then in order to chastise the vassals of Garga, he appointed as superintendent of police in Lohara an adviser of Garga, named Gajjaka. 640

Thereupon the retainers of Garga fearing repression took shelter under Mallakoṣṭhaka and the enraged king killed the unsuspecting Gajjaka by treachery. 641

Rebellion broke out in Lohara and the king thereupon arrested an elder stepbrother of Mallakoṣṭhaka named Arjuna, who was in his entourage. 642

Having imprisoned Hasta, son of Saḍḍacandra, who was his agnate as also his brother, the king turned Biddaka into a co-operator. 643

That he should have imprisoned, recollecting former hostility, Sūrya together with his sons and certain strangers, Ānanda and others, was an act which transgressed the limits of circumspection. 644

The king marched in to Lohara, whereupon Mallakoṣṭhaka vanished from there; in his fury he had Arjunakoṣṭha killed by impalement. 645

Having posted troops there, he re-entered the capital when all the Ḍāmaras became hostile to him as a slayer of those who trusted him. 646

Being angry with even Pṛthvīhara, who had rendered services, the commander-in-chief and other counsellors were ordered to make a surprise attack upon him. 647

He, however, somehow slipped away and entered the manor of a relative named Kṣīra, whose residence was in the district of Jayantī. 648

This rebel moved freely inside Avantipura and other towns in broad daylight and none of his enemies dared to harm him. 649

The stirring up of this antagonism through the king's imprudence, proved disastrous to his subjects and was like an invocation to a furious Vetāla. 650

Then Kṣīra who though old was quick-witted, together with Pṛthvīhara, collected eighteen Ḍāmaras in Śamāṅgāsā. 651

The king in alarm left the capital for Vijayeśvara and to defeat them, who had formed an inseverable league, he appointed the commander-in-chief Tilaka. 652

This man of matchless valour broke them by impetuous onslaughts and dispersed them as the east wind does the clouds. 653

At a time when he should have been received with honour having

643. Hita=sympathetic worker, cooperator.

arrived after defeating the Ḍāmaras, the king, on the contrary, refused him an audience which was an insult. 654

When the king re-entered the capital, Tilaka, down-hearted that his honour had been wrecked, remained at home and did not exert himself for the cause of the sovereign. 655

Officers are touched by disaffection and soon desert the sovereign, just as householders leave a house infested with serpents, when they are reduced to the same level as their inferior, their rise along with their equals is hindered, they are placed in the front rank only during hostilities with the enemy, but are kept out during negotiations for peace, and upon the conclusion of the task their wonderful skill in handling affairs is ignored. 656

While he neglected his duty of inspection, the Ḍāmaras everywhere caused the destruction of stores as the clouds of annihilation destroy agriculture. 657

A fearful scandal arose, as the Brahmans, who suffered in the disorders, sacrificed themselves in the flames in every town having observed a solemn fast. 658

Horses and camels perished by epidemic disease and this forbode for the kingdom an impending dire calamity. 659

At this impending misfortune, the populace trembled in alarm just as an avenue of trees is astir with a puff of air at the nearness of the fall of lightning. 660

4196 L. E.
1120 A. C.

Now in the beginning of the year ninety-six, the Ḍāmara horde was ready to swoop down like a glacier at the touch of heat. 661

The insurrection first spread from Devasarasa and it was there that it came to a head, like a painful abcess revealing suppuration. 662

Having got his agnates Ṭikka and others to arrive at a common decision, the powerful Vijaya marched and surrounded the royal army which was in barracks. 663

There in that fight, the commanding officer of the troops in the camp, one Nāgavaṭṭa, notwithstanding that he was the son of a Kāyastha, withstood for a long time his furious attack. 664

It was then that being implored by the king, the commander in-

660. Apparently the trees referred to are Poplars.

664. Here the word Kāyastha shows that Nāgavaṭṭa was originally a civilian and not a military man.

chief, whose ardour was damped by the recollection of his master's base-mindedness, was induced to set out for the campaign. 665

In the campaign against Vijaya, who was firmly rooted, his very life as well as the glory of victory were equally in doubt more than once. 666

When Mallakoṣṭhaka, too, obtained an ascendency in the interior of Lohara, the king marched out in the month of Vaiśākha to the village of Thalyoraka. 667

There his troops, being scared during the night by the enemy, came to lose their morale like persons on their death-bed by horrid dreams. 668

The chosen one among the all powerful, when a rebel, aided solely by his own arms had dislodged even the king Harṣa—he who had many times conquered by his valour this land and of the number of whose exploits there could be no count any more than that of Paraśurāma—he, owing to the power of the Divine Spirit, found his military strength circumscribed in that place and his army being routed was deserted all of a sudden by the goddess of victory. 669-671

After his flight from there Pṛthvīhara, who had taken up a position at Hāḍigrāma, suddenly advanced against the brave Sajjaka and caused a rout. 672

In close pursuit of Sajjaka who had taken to flight, this brutal though brave man burnt Nāgamaṭha in the precincts of Śrīnagara and retired. 673

Thereafter he and other savage Ḍāmaras everywhere began to lift from the grazing grounds the horses of the king and of the royal partisans. 674

The hot-tempered king then became relentless and relied on a course of vile conduct befitting those who have fallen on evil days. 675

Thus having killed the Ḍāmara who was with him as a hostage for Pṛthvīhara and placing lotus roots on his back, as if he were a dish dressed for dinner, the king had him sent at night. 676

676. Lotus roots is a favourite dish of the Kaśmīrī Brahmans. In the plains of India the dried roots from the homeland are imported as a delicacy. Seeds of the lotus (Nelumbium speciosum) are also eaten. Sir E. Tenant writes: "In China and some parts of India the black seeds of these plants, which are not unlike little Acorns in shape, are served at table in place of Almonds, which they are said to resemble, but with a superior delicacy of flavour. I tasted the seeds in Ceylon and found them delicately flavoured, not unlike the kernel of the Pine cone of the Apennines."

In the same fashion he sent to Biddaka his brother Hamba and waxing wroth he sent to the others likewise their brothers and sons. 677

The mother of one Jayyaka of the village of Siphinnāgrāma was sent to him, after her ears and nose had been amputated. 678

With his sons Sūryaka was impaled in the capital; many other persons, whether they deserved death or not, were deprived of life by him who had been overborne by passion. 679

Then as he seethed with rage like the god of destruction, he frightened everybody and the officials of the inner as well as of the outer court became disaffected. 680

The same unstatesmanlike course whereby king Harṣa had lost, he adopted during his own administration although he had declaimed against it. 681

The bystander, who being himself faultless has never in practice committed an error, would alone be qualified to criticize the errors of those who are on active service in war, of those who are amateurs of the subtle art of poetic composition, of those who cling to the hazard of the die, or of those who sportively bear the yoke of kingship. 682

With vigorous efforts the king, even in those circumstances, strove assiduously and compelled Mallakoṣṭha and others to relax their offensive to a certain extent. 683

Consequently Vijaya, in course of time, invited the grandson of king Harṣa, Bhikṣācara, by the route of Viṣalāṭā. 684

As he was about to enter Devasarasa, he was routed from there by the commander-in-chief and in his flight he fell down the verge of a precipice to the earth. 685

He was identified and slain and the victor sent his head to the sovereign as the fruit from the tree of victory. 686

Even with this very surprising achievement, the king was not pleased and did not praise it nor did he confer any honour. 687

In derison the king sent him the message, "The commander-in-chief called 'Precipice' killed that man; in the circumstances where is the reason for your bravado?" 688

When Tilaka realized in full measure that the king was an ungrateful person, disaffection welled up in him and he became interested in treason. 689

He might have escaped condemnation on the part of the righteous

if he had resorted only to a policy of unconcern. But that plan of treachery on his part has made his name unmentionable. 690

Let those who love diplomacy recommend for different occasions either subserviency or, when expedient, the discharge of duty; on the other hand, the righteous who have a high sense of honour work for the good of others even at the cost of their lives. For this those who are grateful appreciate them by eulogies. 691

Raiment set on flames by contact with fire, the skin bitten by a serpent, a secret plan revealed to the enemy, a dilapidated dwelling which may fall at any moment, a king who does not appreciate services and a pal who turns away in adversity—by failing to abandon these even a brave man will fall short of happiness and miss glory just when he is about to rise. 692

Yet they, who rejecting this justifiable course turn traitors towards the sovereign in anger, who else if not these can be mentioned in the forefront of sinners? 693

In giving birth parents confer the sole act of favour but the sovereign on all occasions. They who are guilty of lese-majesty are greater sinners than parricides. 694

After Vijaya had been killed while yet others survived, whose power it was necessary to destroy, knowledgeable persons perceived that nobody felt secure in his inmost heart. 695

The course of the insurrection, which for a while receded and anon delivered assaults, was felt by all to be like an infuriated ram. 696

Then Mallakoṣṭha who desired to bring back Bhikṣācara despatched his own force to him at Viṣalāṭā. 697

When the commander-in-chief, although disaffected, reported that his arrival was expected, the king restrained him and in his resentment sent the following message. 698

"Leave him alone with unobstructed passage so that I may slay him like a fox which having gone ahead from the midst of the hunt is overtaken by the horses." 699

Although thoroughly conversant with the ways and means for a civil war the king, urged by destiny, became a dupe on this occasion. 700

Having thus got his opportunity through the royal command, the traitor Tilaka allowed the Ḍāmaras facility for the arrival of Bhikṣācara over the mountain passes. 701

Thereafter at every place there spread among the people, whispered from ear to ear, tidings which became the foundation of Bhikṣu's renown and caused apprehension to the king. 702

"He says nothing which is not refined, with one arrow he splinters ten rocks, without fatigue he walks to and fro one hundred Yojanas." Even ripe old men with long beards excited the curiosity of everyone, by praise of this kind and by similar tales of Bhikṣu's greatness. 703-704

As if he was about to become the owner of a half and half share of the kingdom every single individual, although unconnected with the administration, discussed the news about Bhikṣu or sought for it. 705

Old men, superseded state officials who are habitués of the bath houses on the river, the countless soi-disant sons of the king in the royal palace, among the warriors a few, who are by nature malign and anxious to ride the high horse; also the school masters who make the pupils scratch their buttocks with the nails, the superannuated dancing women of the temples of the gods, merchants who would misappropriate safe custody deposits but are ever ready to attend the recital of Scripture, Brahman members of the priests' conclave who are experts in hungerstrikes, the Ḍāmaras from the outskirts of the capital who bear arms but are like tillers of the soil; those persons who regale themselves and others, too, anyhow, with sensational news—these for the most part, in this country, take a delight in the upheavals against the king. 706-710

When the news of the approach of Bhikṣācara began to grow in volume, the people were set aquiver and the king became anxious. 711

Pṛthvīhara, now, with incomparable valour routed the royal army in an encounter by emerging from a mountain ridge, where he had lain in wait concealed by trees. 712

He put to flight three ministers, the two Ānandas, descendants respectively of Ananta and Kāka, who had been wardens of the frontier and also Tilakasiṁha. 713

Vijaya had been killed in Jyeṣṭha, but having suffered this reverse on the bright sixth of Āṣāḍha, the king again became despondent. 714

As the approach of the monsoon is known by the frisky bucking of the heifers, by the ascent to the tree-tops of the serpents, by the transport of their eggs by families of ants, so now the king considering

706. Ucca-aśva-kāṅkṣiṇaḥ='Anxious to ride the high horse.'

through evil portents that disaster was close at hand, set about preparing for adequate measures. 715-16

Then on the bright third day of Āṣāḍha, the shrewd king sent away the prince, the queen consort and the rest of the family to the fortress of Lohara. 717

As he was following them, Loṣṭha and other Brahmans of foreign parts, fell down by the collapse of the bridge and perished in the Vitastā. 718

Depressed by this evil omen, he followed the route up to Huṣkapura and after two or three days re-entered the city. 719

In the absence of the prince and the queen consort, he then seemed to have changed as if he were deserted by valour as well as royal splendour. 720

It was, however, a happy idea which had occurred to him in his misfortune—thanks thereto he was yet to enjoy an all-round prosperity despite the frenzied state of internal affairs. 721

Owing to that prudent step he, to this day through his dynasty, remains in enjoyment of imperial sovereignty, although he had like king Harṣa himself raised a crisis. 722

Now in the month of Śrāvaṇa, the fighting men of Lohara, who had escorted Bhikṣu, made him over to the powerful Ḍāmaras of Maḍavarājya. 723

The latter, however, brought him back to Lohara escorting him with their soldiers, like persons in a wedding party who escort the bridegroom to the house of the father-in-law. 724

Mallakoṣṭha and others having hospitably treated these men of high rank sent them back to their own territory to harry the commander-in-chief. 725

Now, when he was being encircled by the enemy from all sides, the king started to recruit men for the infantry at an unprecedented cost. 726

In that dire calamity, when the king was showering gold all round even artisans and carters took up arms. 727

In the capital, on every road the commanding officers spoiling for a fight exercised the horses which carried protective armour. 728

While Bhikṣu remained at Mayagrāma, the Lohara rebels having

728. Sannāha=armour; horses also carried protective armour.

advanced engaged in battle with the royal forces which were posted at Amareśvara. 729

In the neighbourhood of Hiraṇyapura, having commenced the offensive according to plan, they slew the illustrious Vināyakadeva and other officers of the royal army. 730

In the very commencement of the battle, when the rebels secured a thorough-bred mare which came from the royal camp, they considered that the royal fortune had come over to them. 731

Close to the royal palace in an action on the bank of the stream known as *Kṣiptikā*, Pṛthvīhara caused the destruction of innumerable brave soldiers. 732

Although Tilaka was posted at Vijayeśvara, the Ḍāmaras of Khaḍuvī and Holadā advanced and gave battle on the bank of the Mahāsarit. 733

They laid siege to the city and shouting day and night in some places, they caused fires and in others carried on the plunder of the citizens. 734

What with the regiments marching out with music, the entry of those who were wounded by weapons of war, the crowds bewailing the relatives who were killed, the soldiers fleeing after a rout, the rushing throngs of spectators, the carriers bearing loads of arrows, the transport of armour, horses being dragged along, the perpetual dust raised by the multitude in the processions of the dead—day after day, the metropolitan roads became congested through lack of control. 735-737

Since the enemy attacked early every morning with all their strength, "To-day, surely, the king will have lost"—such was the thought which recurred day after day. Who could have been as resolute as Sussala in counter-attacks? Even the sorry plight of his own country failed to act as a drag on his fortitude. 738-739

He was observed arranging ceaselessly for the bandaging of the wounds, the removal of arrow-heads, and grants of money for the invalids' diet. 740

The expenditure of wealth by the king for the men under arms was measureless, comprising allowances for the campaign, grace payments and donations for medicines. 741

Those who were killed in battle and the wounded who died in their own houses—there were thousands of them men and horses who perished daily. 742

Then massacred by the royal forces which had numerous cavalry, Mallakoṣṭha and other rebels of Lohara had to slow down their arrogant career. 743

By the secret advice of the very courtiers of the inner court who had been bought, the rebles conducted Bhikṣu by a narrow passage to Sureśvarī. 744

They were for the most part archers and in the fighting on the narrow embankment of the lake, being free from the peril of a cavalry charge, they came off successful. 745

Meanwhile the perfidious commander-in-chief, remaining at Vijayeśvara allowed the Ḍāmaras to gain in strength by carrying on the campaign with slackened ardour. 746

"The Lavaṇya clan must not discern my weakness and when I march they must not fall on my rear and cause harassment"—thinking inwardly in this wise, he turned back having set out against the force of Ajjarāja, who had approached Vijayeśvara to make a demonstration of his might. 747–748

Although he had slain two hundred and fifty of Ajjarāja's soldiers, the traitor retreated from Vijayakṣetra and marched towards Śrīnagara. 749

En route nowhere was he followed by the Ḍāmaras who feared him; in their fright they yelped having run up to the crests of the hills and left all the roads open. 750

Having left Maḍavarājya when he entered the city, the king, beset with difficulties, received him with honour whereupon he laughed recollecting the former conduct. 751

Then although like the other ministers he was present in the camp, he did not cut a figure in any way worthy of himself; he stood by as if he were a sight-seer. 752

Then all the Ḍāmaras from Maḍavarājya rushed up and took possession of the Mahāsarit bank. 753

Diplomatic measures such as overtures for negotiations, sowing dissensions and the like to which the king had recourse in the enemy camp became fruitless, having been published broadcast by his confidants. 754

This king had been able to overrun principalities of various ruling princes yet to his defence of the capital, the guerdon of his martial exploits, belongs the place of honour. 755

At Amareśvara the warden of the frontier together with the royal princes had taken up his post and on the outskirt of Rājānavāṭikā were the ministers of the Rājasthāna. 756

They possessed themselves of a large sum in travelling allowances from the king as if they had proceeded to another continent far away but they fought nowhere. 757

All the rebel contingents, in turn, had their victories and reverses; Pṛthvīhara, however, had nothing but success at any time. 758

In the fight shrieking like a Vetāla maddened with liquor, he snapped up mostly the very best among the warriors in the royal army. 759

In one of those fights, however, there became famous the heroism of one Udayana, sprung from the clan of Icchaṭi, who was yet in his teens. 760

Challenging him to a duelling bout, he struck Pṛthvīhara and dragging him by the beard wrested the sword blade from his grasp. 761

While the battle was taking place in the environs of the capital, struck by arrows at random even women, children and others perished. 762

While in this fashion the ghastly slaughter of the people was on the increase, some inexplicable thing happened and the king found himself unable through mental lassitude to stir out of his very apartment. 763

While the king's movements were cut off Somapāla, in the meantime, having got his opportunity plundered Aṭṭālikā and set fire to it. 764

What other opportunity for a courageous display is there for the village jackal to approach the entrance of the lion's den save when the latter is at grips in his encounter with the elephant? 765

By this unparalleled devastation of the two realms, the king was overwhelmed with shame and could not bear to even look at his own image. 766

For him, this was an extraordinary period abounding in all manner of undesirable experiences, unbearable because of every kind of disaster and painful in the extreme. 767

Even in such circumstances the king did not falter. Yet the Brahman anchorites of Rājānavāṭikā commenced a hunger-strike

professedly in his interest but which turned out to be the reverse. 768

They prayed, "Your ministers are bystanders in the struggle, demand from them hostages and send them to the hill of Lohara." 769

"Otherwise if the disorders extend and, as it were, become chronic, the autumn crop which is about to be ready, will be carried off by the enemy and what then will become of us?" 770

The king, as he had been temporising, had not accused the ministers of unconcern; they all felt alarmed when it was thus pointed out by these persons. 771

Then the Brahman knaves, who had not the power even to bend a straw of his, as his suppliants at that time—they reduced the strands of government to a tangled skein. 772

The employees of the departments of state, proud members of the assembly of priests and others who having risen to power had thronged to his side, were like another army of the enemy. 773

In the endeavour to placate them various errors were committed, whereby the country was disturbed, fell into disorders, and extensive looting took place. 774

These impostors, who had never set eyes on a royal assembly and knew naught of affairs of state, spoke to the woe-begone king all manner of bitter things, while he tried to placate them. 775

Worse than the uprising of the Lavaṇyas did this rebellion prove for the king, as a disease of the throat is more agonising than a disease of the foot. 776

By giving bribes of gold to some of the principal intriguers among them he won them over and with difficulty induced them to desist from the fast. 777

Vijaya, a troop leader of Bhikṣu's, belonging to the family of Varṇasoma and other professional soldiers forcibly entered the capital and got killed by the horsemen. 778

As he entered the city with tremendous impetuosity having broken open a passage he, at that time, well-nigh succeeded in upsetting the throne. 779

Among the Lavaṇyas, too, Pṛthvīhara, whose martial ardour had

768-777. An instance of a hunger-strike by the Brahmans for purging the state of corrupt ministers.

somewhat slackened, announced a desire for peace to the king who had been longing for a rift. 780

When he, who was in the forefront of the aspirants for victory, was prepared to negotiate for peace with the king, the soldiers on both sides believed that the insurrection was as good as finished. 781

The king, in order to conduct him to the vicinity of the Nāgamaṭha, thereupon, sent three very confidential ministers whom he attacked and killed by treachery. 782

By their side fell three retainers of Tilakasiṁha, his foster-brother Mammaka, the Brahman Guṅga, also Rāma, the orderly. 783

Gauraka, who had been given as a hostage, was nevertheless killed while meditating on the lord of created beings and the enemy who had abandoned mercy smote his friends who were bewailing him. 784

Upon the news of this outrage becoming known, the whole country felt indignant and in the palace of the king people were loud-mouthed in malediction. 785

The bright fourteenth of Āśvina when this news shocked the kingdom, the king found it hard to pass the day. 786

For the moment, being upset and inwardly thinking that he could find no way, the king asked advice, as to what should be done, of even unworthy persons. 787

While he was in such sore straits there was no one who did not laugh in his sleeves . . . . or who did not rejoice. 788

Then while he bore even this assault of misfortune, his subordinates one after another began to espouse the rebel cause. 789

The step-brother of the commander-in-chief named Bimba joined the rebels and accepted their offer of the command of the frontier. 790

Janakasiṁha, who was constantly sending emissaries in secret, arranged the betrothal of his brother's daughter to Bhikṣu. 791

The troopers were seen, day after day, deserting to Bhikṣācara taking with them their swords, horses, armour and the rest of it. 792

What more? those who were openly in attendance upon the sovereign by day, were observed shamelessly standing in front of Bhikṣu during the night. 793

When the king's authority was thus weakened and people could pass

783. Kaṭaka-vārika=literally a military guard; an orderly. See below 861 and VI. 345.

788. Antar-jahāsa=literally 'laughed inwardly.' There is a slight lacuna in the text.

to and fro openly and without hindrance, an extraordinary terror opened its jaws. 794

Then as the Ḍāmaras began plundering the autumn crops, the entire population bolted in every available direction abandoning their goods and dependents. 795

"If king Sussala were to go away Bhikṣu would replenish this land with gold"—such, in vain, became the people's persistent belief. 796

Had any one witnessed the liberality of this mendicant or what possible source of riches he could have? but the common people who are in the habit of following the lead of others would of course not pause to think of it. 797

The new moon is seen for a little while during which she is herself garbed by the sky; to her the people, in the hope of getting raiment, render obeisance. Fie on selfishness which leads judgment astray regarding what is reasonable and unreasonable. 798

At the victory of the royal partisans, the people felt as if their necks were wrung; at the success of Bhikṣu they gave themselves up to unbridled rejoicings. 799

Then came a time when the royalist and the Ḍāmara parties, through mutual fear of one another, dropped their hostilities on the principle of the parable of the Brahman and the dog. 800

The king from fear of treachery in the palace and the rebels because of the determined stand of the king were preparing for flight, neither of them being aware of the other's plan. 801

Believing that his relatives, too, were traitors, in his distrust the king was not sure, whether in staying behind or in flight lay the safety of his own life. 802

In this big crisis, the men-at-arms who accepted largesses from him who was showering apparel, gold, jewels and the like, did not praise him but on the contrary criticized him. 803

"He is finished, he will not now survive"—hearing such remarks from people who jabbered fearlessly, he chafed like a patient abandoned by his physicians. 804

While at his behest they would attend to matters of immediate

800. The reference is to the parable of the Brahman who was carrying a sheep. Three rogues met him and each separately asked him why he was carrying a dog and the Brahman was perplexed, fell into doubt, and dropped the sheep.

business, the crowd of attendants eyed him with amusement and impudence. 805

It was amazing that he who was a dare-devil should, at this juncture, have become a totally different person—since overcome by nervousness he was unable to step out of his own apartments. 806

While the Ḍāmara hordes were planning to retreat, owing to dissensions in their league just at this time, the king's affairs were reduced to a tangled skein by his own soldiers. 807

They, having blocked the entrances in front of the royal palace with drawn swords, held hunger-strikes at every step clamouring for the allowance for the campaign which had accrued due. 808

The king did not become popular with them for they had desired to humiliate him although he had paid cash; they thought thus—"the king should give still more as he is opulent like the god of wealth." 809

Just as an invalid desirous of proceeding on a holy pilgrimage to die is held up by his creditors so, too, the king was then blocked and compelled to pay up the dues by all those persons who had lost their sense of shame. 810

The unbridled guardians of sacred places, also, who having observed hunger-strikes had made an onset, compelled him to part with treasure by melting gold vessels and the like. 811

Thereafter in the capital, where the young and old were seething with excitement and which was like the surging ocean, he became incapable of restoring quiet. 812

One morning at an early hour when the portals were blocked by some of his own armed forces, he saw that on all sides the city was rising in revolution. 813

Then in order to allay the excitement, he ordered Janaka, the city prefect, to patrol the city and awaited an opportunity to depart. 814

Getting rid of those armed men with difficulty by largesses and courteous behaviour, he sallied from the palace, clad in armour, together with his ladies. 815

Hardly had he mounted his horse and gone out of the courtyard than the harpies inside the royal palace, commenced looting. 816

807. Visūtratām ninye=reduced to a tangled skein. See below 880—Visūtra-vyavahāra.

808. For Hunger-strike of soldiers see Taraṅga VII. 1156-57.

While he was departing having abdicated the throne some of the men-at-arms wept, some raised slogans, while others plundered his retainers. 817

Five or six thousand of the men-at-arms full of shame, resentment and apprehension followed on the road the king who, untramelled, had passed out. 818

In the year ninety-six on the dark sixth Mārgaśīrṣa when only one watch of the day had remained that the king, disheartened by treason, took the road and marched forth with his retainers. 819

4196 L. E.
1120 A. C.

At every step his followers were deserting taking with them horses and other things; at Pratāpapura, which he reached at night, he had few soldiers. 820

When Tilaka who had gone ahead appeared before him, he treated him like a relative and on that occasion, ebullient with grief, he shed tears for a long time. 821

"He might commit treason against me"—thinking in this wise the king, of his own accord, entered his house the next day at Huṣkapura without delay. 822

After taking his bath etc. the king intent on victory planned to enter Kramarājya to muster an army with his influence. 823

Having secretly summoned the rebel Ḍāmaras such as Kalyāṇavāḍa and others to oppose him, Tilaka caused him to falter in his resolution. 824

By this artful dodge he got rid of the king from his house who thereafter passed on winning over by gifts of gold the Ḍāmara freebooters who were opposing his passage. 825

As he was departing Tilaka left him there and then; his brother Ānanda, however, followed him from a kindly feeling for one stretch. 826

Deserted by his servants he continued to march, subduing the robbers on the way by gifts and by his heroism and was preserved because a part of his lifetime had yet remained to him. 827

The lion-claws which, from a distance, form the defensive armour of the forest dense with trees and boulders, in due course, come to pass their time by hanging from the necks of infants. The ivory teeth of tuskers which are their weapon of war get bandied about

818. Viśṛṅkhala=Untramelled, from Śṛṅkhalā=chain.

by the gamblers in the game of dice. An ascendent position is by no means assured to prowess. 828

The virtues of living beings such as valour, liberality, reputation, sagacity are, in this kaleidoscopic existence, transient. 829

Even the Sun undergoes, day after day, those vicissitudes ranging from fierceness to mildness; what stability can there be in the faculties of living beings? 830

Unable to look upon Aṭṭālikā burnt down by the enemy he climbed, while his troops were mute with rage, up the mountain to Lohaṛa. 831

Unable through exceeding shame to see even his own wife, he threw himself on the couch and fretted day and night. 832

He did not come out of the inner apartments which were lit by lamps even by day; he allowed, from a kindly feeling, interviews to the subordinates at the hour of meal. 833

He would not touch any emollients, ride his horses, he would not witness the performance of music and the dance and the like nor take part in delightful conversation. 834

In his disgust recollecting, in turn, the indifference, stupidity, insolence, treachery, etc. displayed by each individual, he related them to the queen. 835

"These persons have followed me by giving up their own country"—thinking in this wise, he who possessed untold wealth, from kindly regard, gave richly to his followers and raised them to power. 836

In Kaśmīr no sooner had he gone than all the ministers assembled with their troops in front of the old royal palace. 837

Their leader was Janakasiṁha, the city prefect, who was highly respected by the ministers, the cavaliers, the nobles, the Tantrins, the citizens and others. 838

He was induced to deliver as hostages his son and nephew for the sake of assurance by Mallakoṣṭha and other friends of Bhikṣu, who continued to go to and fro. 839

829. See verse VIII. last verse.

838. Sammata=thought well of, respected. The term in ancient time was used for the king elected by the people. See Taraṅga VII. 703.

And over the capital, crowded with women, children and others limp with terror, crept night when there was no king and brought dismay to all created beings. 840

Some of the weak were slain, some were plundered while others had their houses burnt down by the enemy in the city which was without a king. 841

Bhikṣācara 1121 A.C.

The following day with his jubilant troops shutting out the entire horizon, on a charger with red lead and pink sandal marks, riding in the centre of a cavalcade of horsemen where the massed drawn swords and pennons made it difficult to see his figure; like a lion engendering fear as well as curiosity among the people; touching the sides of his military uniform were the locks—the exuberance of his youth—which being loose adorned his shoulders like the knotted chain of the goddess of victory; with his face, lit up by the ear-rings, and tender and bright, with the youthful mustache, the pink lower lip, and beautiful with an attractive mark of sandal and which the approaching prosperity had made especially radiant, he won the partizan minds of even his antagonists; the inherent glory residing in the drawn sword was being fanned by his curvetting steed with his lovely mane as with a yak-tail; at every step he held up his charger while he accepted the reverent homage rendered by the grandees; thus did Bhikṣu make his progress into Śrīnagara. 842-848

Remaining at his back, like a nurse in the case of a child, Mallakoṣṭhaka took upon himself the duty of instructing, in all matters, Bhikṣu who lacked confidence. 849

"This man was your father's favourite; you were brought up in the lap of this one; here is one who is the foundation of the throne." Thus he pointed out each individual. 850

The house of Janakasiṁha he entered first to find his bride and thereafter the royal palace to secure the royal fortune. 851

When he restored to the pride of power a dynasty, which for a long time had been ruined, womankind could no more be

840. Arājaka=literally anarchy. *Kauṭilya* describes anarchy as the Mātsyanyāya "the rule of the fish" where the stronger swallows up the weaker. The same idea of the fish is found in the graphic description of anarchy in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 67-31) and the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 67. 16.).

twitted for pinning their faith upon their offspring while in the embryo! 852

After witnessing this extraordinary record of Bhikṣu, one feels that those who are anxious for success do not deserve to be laughed at, if they are alarmed at the very portraits of their enemies. 853

What remained after the removal of the treasure of king Sussala, who possessed riches like the god of wealth, provided for the revels of the new king. 854

The royal fortune, the major portion of which was composed of horses, armour, and swords, was divided among the king, the Ḍāmara plunderers, and the ministers who had abandoned the sense of discipline. 855

In the capital, the Ḍāmara free-booters, who gorged like fiends and were fit only for rustic fare, tasted the pleasures of luxurious food as if they were in paradise. 856

During the levy, the king did not look brilliant surrounded, as he was, by village yokels whose gala attire consisted mainly of long woollen blankets. 857

The manner in which Bhikṣācara had come into existence being unbelievable, the Ḍāmaras made notorious another version that he was an Avatāra. 858

In the affairs of state, which he had not seen handled by others, he went astray at every step like a physician, with medicine, who has never seen how it acts. 859

In due course Janakasiṁha gave him in marriage his brother's daughter; the commander-in-chief, too, having given his daughter in marriage, took service under him. 860

Juṅga, the Kaṭakavārika of the ruler of Rājapurī, appointed to the office of the Pādāgra, looked to his own interest and not to that of his sovereign. 861

With the prime minister Bimba lay the royal power, while Bhikṣācara became merely the recipient of the title of king. 862

In his rule, he allowed himself to be swayed by courtezans and although his was a vulgar way of life, Bimba at that time was the one who, to a certain extent, had insight into the character of honest and dishonest persons. 863

857. Kambala=coarse woollen blanket. See App K.

Jyeṣṭhapāla, the step-brother of Daryaka, grounded in wondrous courage, obtained a place of importance in the king's entourage. 864

And there also came in the advisers of his grandfather such as Bhūtabhiśca and many others besides, who hummed like bees near the lotus of his fortune. 865

With a simpleton for a king, wanton ministers and the arrogant Ḍāmara plunderers, the regime, young as it was, was doomed from the very commencement. 866

Fascinated by the experience of pleasures, Bhikṣu did not look to the affairs of state, but regaled himself with ever new women and rich food. 867

For any successful activity, his enjoyment of pleasures rendered him as unfit as a person blinded by sleep in the rainy season; urged by his retinue to take his place in the Hall of Assembly he, drunk and weary, longed to go to bed. 868

If a supercilious councillor spoke to him with condescending sympathy he did not resent it; on the other hand, the silly fellow felt affection for him, as if he were his father. 869

He was served by men lacking in distinction who had been brought up on the leavings on the platters of courtezans; as if he were an uneducated man, he was urged to acts fit for a market tout by his sycophants. 870

Since his firmness had the semblance of a line drawn in water and his word lacked authority, his favourites neglected in all matters to render obedience. 871

What the ministers said, the same things he said after them; from the king not a word of any kind came as if his interior were hollow. 872

The ministers invited the simple-minded Bhikṣācara to their homes and entertaining him with delicacies, the sycophants swindled him, as if he were a wealthy youth who had lost his father. 873

In Bimba's house the lady, whose buttocks were lovely like the Bimba fruit, would appear before the impassioned king, like a mare before the stallion, and accept from him handfuls of food. 874

864. Āścarya-śaurya-bhūh='grounded in wonderous courage.'

874. Bimba=A fruit to whose lovely red colour the poets generally compare the lips of women. See below 3208. K. makes use of the alliteration. Bimbā was a mistress and not the wife as translated by Sir A. Stein.

Dodging her lord's eyes, she would make him lose self-control by her bewitching smiles and by the exhibition of her breasts, the arm-pit, and side glances. 875

Pṛthvīhara and Mallakoṣṭha, between whom mutual jealousy had sprung up, by their furious quarrels shook the royal palace from time to time. 876

The king, by visits at their houses, induced them to arrange a marriage between their children, but the two being intoxicated with power did not give up their mutual animosity. 877

Then when the king himself married in the family of Pṛthvīhara Mallakoṣṭha, filled with exasperation, openly left him. 878

The one-eyed Janaka, in his perfidy, devoid of any consideration for his relationship, incited to disaffection Ojānanda and other Brahman ministers. 879

The king, who took no sides and whose mind was guided by his servants the majority of whom were traitors and evil-minded persons, found his administration a tangled web and himself became the object of denunciation. 880

While the people were under the Ḍāmara sway, what misfortunes did not arise since even Brahman women suffered outrage by the Śvapākas! 881

Thus, while the country was without a king or rather had a multitude of kings, the even tenor of all business affairs broke down conspicuously 882

The old Dīnnāras went out of currency during Bhikṣu's reign; for a hundred of them, however, eighty of the new ones could be purchased. 883

Now the king, intoxicated with pride, despatched Bimba with an army by way of Rājapurī to Lohara, to make an attack upon Sussala. 884

Supported by Somapāla, he brought up a force of the Turuṣkas under the Sallāra Vismaya who had become friendly as his ally. 885

Every single horseman among the Turuṣkas bragged displaying a lasso—"with this I shall catch and drag Sussala." 886

885. By Turks here K. means the Mahomadans, who had obtained a footing in the Pañjāb. Sallāra may be Sirdar or perhaps the Persian Sālār= general. Vismaya is perhaps a corruption of Ismail. See VIII. 965.

Who indeed would not have believed this combination of Kaśmīrī, Khaśa and Mleccha warriors competent to uproot the world? 887

Bhikṣācara, upon the departure of Bimba felt as if the goad had been put away; was there any dissipation of which this lout did not become the centre? 888

Bimba's voluptuous mistress, by inviting and bringing him to her own house, gratified him with gifts of delicate food and transports of love. 889

He paid no heed, whatsoever, to state affairs in his enjoyment with the mistress of his minister. How should he, whose fall was impending, worry about scandals? 890

Then behaving like a lover among vulgar folk, he felt no shame in eating like a glutton and playing on earthen and copper drums and other instruments. 891

Little by little the king then lost his prestige and his wealth having flowed out even food became, in time, unobtainable. 892

Then the same Sussala, who was formerly denounced as a person so beset with greed, cruelty, etc. now became the object of the people's eulogy. 893

The very subjects, who in their discontent had caused the ruin of his wealth and prestige, now longingly craned their necks in their anxiety for his return. 894

We who have been eye-witnesses are, to this day, filled with amazement as to what had made those subjects angry and what led to their pacification once more! 895

In a moment they become hostile and anon they are prepared for a rapprochement—the common crowd, like animals, do not wait for any kind of logical sequence. 896

Mallakoṣṭha, Janaka and others, by despatching emissaries, induced the king who had abdicated the throne to endeavour to win it again. 897

At this time, the Agrahāra of Akṣosuva was pillaged by Ṭikka's people and the resident Brahmans held a solemn fast directed against the king. 898

When these and the Brahmans of other Agrahāras had assembled in

898. Another instance of a political hunger-strike.

Vijayeśvara, the Rājānavāṭikā fast broke out in the capital at the same time. 899

Thereafter instigated by Ojānanda and other prominent Brahmans, the members of the Temple Purohita Association also held a fast in Gokula. 900

Then was seen an assembly of the members of the conclave of priests such as had never been seen before. The courtyard was packed to the full with the collections of the images of the gods which were installed in palanquins decorated with gleaming white parasols, apparel and yak-tails while the quarters reverberated with the sound of drums, gongs, cymbals and other instruments. 901-902

While the king's emissaries attempted to placate them, they talked insolently and retorted in this wise—"Without the Long Beard there is no salvation for us." 903

By frivolously referring to the king Sussala by the appellation of Long Beard, they meant that he was like a toy mannikin. 904

And this throng of the members of the priestly conclave—what utopion schemes did they not discuss with the citizens, who poured in to watch the hunger-strike day after day? 905

Yet, ever and anon, carried to the pitch of excitement by alarms of sudden attack from the king, the priests as well as the citizens arrogantly prepared to fight. 906

The capital which was entirely under the influence of Janakasiṁha was, in his opinion, prepared for the restoration of king Sussala. 907

The king set out first to prevail upon the Brahmans of the Agrahāras to desist at Vijayeśvara, but there his efforts proved futile. 908

In the midst of the Brahmans, Tilaka advised him to straight away kill all the Ḍāmaras; this, however, he would not accept as uprightness was his sole aim. 909

From the king's own mouth, the Lavaṇya Pṛthvīhara and others having learnt this, they felt confidence in him but began to fear Tilaka. 910

The king, through aversion, desired to imprison the chamberlain named Lakṣmaka, who was Prayāga's sister's son; he, however, ran away to Sussala. 911

911. **Lakṣmaka**, the chamberlain, plays an important role in the time of Sussala's son Jayasiṁha.

Then having entered Śrīnagara and convening all the people, he held a public meeting of the citizens who were discontented without reason. 912

Although he then spoke what was just and proper, the evil-minded citizens caused interruptions in his harangue. There is indeed no specific for those who are infected with sedition. 913

Meanwhile Somapāla, Bimba and the whole lot of the others reached Parṇotsa to wage war against king Sussala, who had taken up his position at Lohara. 914

To his help came the Rajah Padmaratha, ruler of Kāliñjar, born in Kalha's family, recollecting Sussala's friendship with Kalha and his people. 915

Battle of Parṇotsa 1121 A.C.

Then on the bright thirteenth of Vaiśākha, the proud king Sussala met in battle those powerful enemies. 916

Eye-witnesses describe to this day that battle near Parṇotsa and its magnificent first shock, when the insult was cleansed as if in an ordeal of fire. 917

Thenceforward, his personal magnetism having somehow been restored, the king once more looked live, like a forest with the presence of the lord of the beasts. 918

Overflowing with valour he, in a little while, caught the Turuṣkas, who had let fall their lassoes in terror, in the noose of death. 919

In a battle on the bank of the Vitolā, his wrath made a mouthful, like a mighty Vetāla, of the maternal uncle of Somapāla. 920

What more need be said? With his small army he killed, routed and scattered them many, though they were in such wise that they turned hostile among themselves. 921

And the Kaśmīrīs—what, indeed, was their worth? they who fought against one sovereign and being defeated brought disgrace upon the other! 922

When Somapāla together with the Turuṣkas had retreated, the shameless Kaśmīrīs, having deserted Bimba, took shelter with the king Sussala. 923

These people of a wonderful temperament, who but yesterday had bent their bows against the lord of their own race, did not scruple

912. Sabhā= a public meeting.

to unblushingly bow their heads, in public, before him to-day without hesitation. 924

Then accompanied by the citizens as well as the Ḍāmaras, who had approached him, the king after two or three days set out once more headmost for Kaśmīr. 925

Upon the entry of the sovereign, the Rājaputra Kalhaṇa, son of Sahadeva, mobilized the Ḍāmara residents of Kramarājya and marched in advance. 926

He, who had been the first from the royal army to pay homage to Bhikṣu, deserted him and came and joined the king. 927

Others, ministers and Tantrins in league with Janakasiṁha, shameless fellows, were seen coming over to the king. 928

A military man of merit born in the village of Kāṇḍiletra had possessed himself of an estate in the unoccupied region of Bhāṅgila. 929

Bhikṣu proceeded with Pṛthvīhara to vanquish him as he had, at this juncture, allowed passage to people going over to join Sussala. 930

Bhikṣu having succeeded, the desire took hold of him in his anger to slay also Janakasiṁha who was preparing to join Sussala, but he learnt this news. 931

Now Janakasiṁha, being in the capital, rallied all the elements, the citizens, the cavaliers, and the Tantrins to rise in revolt against Bhikṣu. 932

Realizing that the throne was in danger from him, king Bhikṣācara entered Śrīnagara in a hurry escorted by Pṛthvīhara. 933

At the bridge facing the temple of Sadāśiva, the haughty Janakasiṁha now took up the fight with his forces despite the attempt to placate him. 934

Then was seen, for a space, the splendid fighting stuff of the soldiers of Janakasiṁha, who in their overweening confidence had not funked the issue. 935

But Pṛthvīhara accompanied by Alaka, his brother's son, having crossed over by another bridge, annihilated his force. 936

When the Tantrins, the cavaliers and the citizens had dispersed, Janakasiṁha, too, with his relatives fled at night to Lohara. 937

In the morning, when Bhikṣu and Pṛthvīhara were arranging to take up the pursuit, the brazen faced cavaliers and others once again escorted him. 938

And those priests of the conclave and others, having abandoned the

hunger-strike, quickly tucked the images of the gods under their arms in their fright and faded away! 939

The few who remained to guard the empty palanquins, were not molested by Bhikṣu as they stated that they had renounced the hunger-strike. 940

We, who have watched from the beginning those tall proudly curvetting horses but yesterday with Janaka and to-day in Bhikṣu's army, are filled with amazement to this day! 941

Together with the light of king Bhikṣu which lasted for a moment, the brother-in-law, Tilakasiṁha's son, shone with the lustre of his uncle's official powers. 942

After Janakasiṁha had escaped, king Bhikṣu then got the opportunity to destroy the houses and other property of the partisans of his enemy. 943

At this juncture, at Huṣkapura, Tilaka and others had been routed by Sulhaṇa, Simba and the rest who had mustered an unlimited number of soldiers. Sussala escorted by Mallakoṣṭha, Janaka and others, who with their troops had come to receive him, as also by other grandees possessing troops and ample resources, having overrun the country in two or three days and approaching by the Lohara route, made a sudden appearance before the capital unmolested by his opponents. 944–946

Restoration of Sussala (1121–28 A.C.)

Boiling over with rage like Death, his body tanned by the burning sun, Sussala with his face covered by his long beard and knitted brows, his eye-balls rolling in anger and nostrils wide-open, publicly threatened in the streets and the forum of Śrīnagara, there and then, the perfidious soldiers led by the cavaliers, who appeared before him, while he cursed them and the others who had been routed. At the groups of the residents of the capital, who were shouting blessings and showering flowers but who formerly had wronged him, he threw a glance of contempt. Over his shoulders he had just thrown his armour which he wore négligé. His locks, which had slipped from below his helmet, he wore grey with dust and likewise his eye-lashes; his sword was in the scabbard as he rode his curvetting charger in the centre of the serried ranks of his horsemen with drawn swords. With the vault of the sky reverberating with slogans of victory and his troops wild and jubilant with the rattle of his kettle-drums, Sussala made his entry into Śrīnagara. 947–953

4197 L.E.
1121 A.C.

He came back on the third day of the bright half of Jyeṣṭha in the year ninety-seven after six months and twelve days. 954

Without entering the palace, he pursued Bhikṣu who had already fled, and saw him with his Lavaṇyas on the bank of the Kṣiptikā. 955

He had escaped with Pṛthvīhara when his foe had arrived at the river bank but meeting other Lavaṇyas had turned back with them. 956

In the encounter, the king having routed him and captured Siṁha, a relative of Pṛthvīhara, who was wounded by sword strokes, thereafter entered the palace. 957

Bearing the fresh signs of having been enjoyed by the rival, who had just then gone out, the palace engendered in that proud man a feeling of disgust, as if it were a harlot. 958

Bhikṣu, having left Kaśmīr with Pṛthvīhara and the others, proceeded to the village of Puṣyāṇanāḍa in the jurisdiction of Somapāla. 959

After his departure, the king having won over all the Ḍāmaras appointed Malla, son of Vaṭṭa, to the district of Kerī and Harṣamitra to be commander-in-chief. 960

Of him who remembered former wrongs disregarding place and time.... 961

Unable to endure even the smell arising from the touch of Bhikṣu, he broke up the lion-throne into pieces from repugnance and gave it away to the servants. 962

The Ḍāmaras unable to surrender their ill-gotten wealth and afraid of the irate king did not desist from their seditious activities. 963

On the other hand, Bhikṣu, residing in the territory of his friend after having been deprived of the throne, had his enthusiasm restored through Somapāla's gifts and honourable welcome. 964

Bimba had gone to Vismaya to seek his assistance; when the latter was captured by his enemies, the brave man fell fighting in battle. 965

961. There is a lacuna in the text.

965. This episode and verses 588, 886 above illustrate the fellowship of arms between the warriors of India and the Turks from across the Frontier. Under Masud, the successor of Mahmud the Ghaznavite, the Turks were unable to retain the conquered territory without the help of the Indians. Ariyaruq's Indian administration was full of irregularities and according to the account given in the *Cambridge History of India* instructions had to be sent to the officials in India from Ghazni. "They were not to undertake, without special permission, expeditions beyond the limits of the Panjab; they were not to drink, play polo, or mix in social intercourse with the Hindu officers at Lahore; and they were

Bhikṣācara in the absence of Bimba took to immoral ways and unashamed he took the latter's sweetheart as his mistress. 966

Thereafter having suddenly descended upon Śūrapura, the powerful Pṛthvīhara despite his small force defeated and chased from the battle-field the son of Vaṭṭa. 967

When the latter had fled he reconducted Bhikṣu and entered the territory of the Ḍāmaras of Maḍavarājya in order to gain them over. 968

Accompanied by the local Ḍāmaras, Maṅkha, Jayya and others, who had been won over, he proceeded to Vijayakṣetra to overpower the commander-in-chief. 969

Defeated by him in battle Harṣamitra, whose soldiers had been massacred, abandoned Vijayeśvara and retreated in alarm to Avanti-pura. 970

to refrain from wounding the susceptibilities of those officers and their troops by inopportune displays of religious bigotry." (Vol. III. p. 29).

Before long, however, there was a revolt in the Panjab instigated by Ahmad Niyaltigin, the treasurer of Mahmud the conqueror. The Muslim nobles of Ghazni, owing to the difficulty of the enterprise and the dislike of the Indian climate, did not venture to offer to crush the rebellion. The Hindu Tilak at the court of Ghazni offered to lead an army to India. The account given in the *Cambridge History of India* is as follows: "Tilak was of humble origin, being the son of a barber, but was handsome, enterprising and accomplished, speaking and writing well both Hindi and Persian. From the service of Abu-l-Hasan he had been promoted to that of Mahmud's minister and eventually to that of Mahmud himself. He had deserved well of Masud, for he had, at considerable personal risk, consistently supported his cause against that of his brother, and had been rewarded, after his accession, with the chief command of the Hindu troops and the rank of a noble of the empire.

When Tilak reached India, he found that the officers and troops who remained loyal to Masud had taken refuge in a fortress near Lahore, where they were besieged by Ahmad. He occupied Lahore, seized several Muslims known to be partisans of Ahmad, and caused their right hands to be struck off. This ruthless measure so terrified the rebellious troops that many of them deserted Ahmad and joined Tilak. Judicious bribery still further thinned the ranks of the rebel army, and when Ahmad was forced to stand and face his pursuers he was defeated, and was deserted by all save a body of three hundred horse. Instead of pursuing him Tilak offered the lately rebellious Jats the royal pardon and a sum of 500,000 dirhams as the price of Ahmad's head. The Jats surrounded the fugitive, slew him, and demanded their reward. Tilak retorted that they had already received it from the plunder of Ahmad's camp, but after some chaffering Ahmad's head and his son, who had been taken alive, were surrendered in consideration of the royal pardon and 100,000 dirhams. Tilak presented his prizes to Masud at Marv and was rewarded by further tokens of his master's favour." (Vol. III. *Turks and Afghans*, pp. 30-31).

The residents of Vijayakṣetra and even the indigenous people of the various townships and villages flocked in terror to the sanctuary of Cakradhara. 971

The sanctuary was packed to the full by them with their women, children, cattle, rice-stores and goods and gear as well as by the royal troops with their horses and accoutrements. 972

Now the hordes of Bhikṣu, who stretched as far as the horizon and who were openly lusting for the wholesale plunder of the people, pursued and besieged them. 973

The enemy failed either to kill or capture them as they were in the courtyard of the temple which was fortified by massive gateways and ramparts of timber. 974

A certain Nirguṭa Ḍāmara, the impious Janakarāja, native of Katisthalī village, who in order to burn alive his personal enemy one Karpūra, foolishly set that place on fire and thus caused the ruthless destruction of innumerable lives. 975-976

On seeing the blazing flames suddenly burst forth there arose at the same time from the multitude of living beings a colossal wail of woe. 977

The horses, terror-stricken as if at the approach of their enemy, the mount of Death, broke loose from the picketing ropes and stampeding, where there was not room for a needle to move, killed the people. 978

The dense masses of smoke, terrifying with leaping flames which resembled night-walking fiends with bushy beards and red hair, shrouded the sky. 979

While the spreading sheets of fire without smoke caused the delusion, as if they were streams of molten gold from an aureate cloud, liquified by intense heat. 980

In the vault of the sky, the lambent flames flickered as if they were red turbans which had slipped from the heads of the celestials escaping from the conflagration. 981

From the splitting of the joints of the massive timber, there grew in volume a crackling noise as if it were the roar of the Gaṅgā in the sky boiling over with the heat. 982

The scintillating sparks which flitted about in the unfathomable sky

978. The mount of Death=Yama is represented as riding a black buffalo.

caused the hallucination that they were the wandering souls of the creatures affrighted by the incendiary fire. 983

The sky reverberated with the piteous cries of distress of the birds hovering over their nestlings and the earth with the piercing shrieks of human beings, who had caught fire. 984

The women shrieked hysterically with eyes closed in terror; as they were embracing their brothers, husbands, fathers, and sons they were consumed by the fire. 985

The few desperate persons who escaped from the midst of the conflagration were killed by the brutal Ḍāmaras instigated by Death. 986

The number of living beings who perished in a short time by the mere radiation of heat, exceeded the total of those who were consumed in the great conflagration itself. 987

Within when all life had become extinct and without when the murderers had become assuaged—simultaneously over that region there fell a hush, save for the crackling sound of the fire with its diminishing flames and the simmering of the mass of dead bodies which were being cooked. 988-989

The trickling mass of dissolved blood, marrow and fat flowed in hundred channels and the putrid smell spread for many Yojanas. 990

Once by the fury of Śuśravas and a second time by the revolt of the Ḍāmara free-booters such ghastly sufferings from incendiarism were inflicted at Cakradhara. 991

Such a massacre en masse resembling a world cataclysm had occurred only during the burning of Tripura, at Khāṇḍava or in that place. 992

Bhikṣu who had perpetrated this terrible outrage on the sacred day, the bright twelfth of Śrāvaṇa, was shunned by royal fortune as well as by favourable luck. 993

The householders with their families having been consumed on that occasion, in myriads of townships and villages dwelling houses fell vacant. 994

A Ḍāmara of Naunagara named Maṅkha searched the corpses and having found what he desired was pleased like a Kāpālika. 995

991. See Taraṅga I. 244-270.

992. The reference is to two stories in the *Mahābhārata*. For the burning of the Nāgas in the Khāṇḍava forest see I. 223 sqq. and for the destruction of Tripura VIII. 34.

995. Kāpālika=a class of mendicants who collect skulls; an attendant at the funeral ground. In VII. 44 a Kāpālika is described as if he were an Aghori. See also verse 1211 below.

Thereafter Bhikṣācara swooped down on Vijayakṣetra and having captured Nāgeśvara put the impious man to death by torture. 996

In his grandfather's land what act of his was free from reproach? Yet this murder of his father's assassin gave satisfaction to all classes. 997

The wife of Harṣamitra, left behind on her husband's flight, was secured by Pṛthvīhara from the interior of the yard of Vijayeśa. 998

Reproaching himself for such a butchery and devastation of his subjects, the king then marched forth to battle. 999

Owing to the enormity of his sin Janakarāja, to suffer torture in hell, soon met with death near Avantipura. 1000

It is amazing that fools do not take into account that the human body, for the sake of which they do acts destructive of their happiness in another world, perishes so easily! 1001

Having appointed Simba to be commander-in-chief, the king thereafter scattered the Ḍāmara horde from Vijayekṣetra as well as other places. 1002

Pṛthvīhara proceeded to Śamālā from Maḍavarājya but Mallakoṣṭha defeated him and compelled him to leave his own domain. 1003

Some corpses were thrown into the Vitastā. A large number, which could not be dragged out, were consigned to the flames in the court-yard of Cakradhara. 1004

Then in Kramarājya, Kalyāṇavāḍa and others were vanquished by Rilhaṇa. Thereafter Ānanda, son of Ananta, became warden of the frontier. 1005

The powerful Pṛthvīhara, as he was carrying away the body of Siṁha who had been impaled, met in battle Janakasiṁha and others on the bank of the Kṣiptikā. 1006

In this land, there is a day in the month of Bhādrapada on which they start on a journey to a sanctuary with the ashes of the dead when all the directions ring with the wailing of women. This was reproduced on all the days during the fighting with Pṛthvīhara, when the interior of Śrīnagara was resonant with the lamentation of the women of the fallen brave. 1007-1008

At this time there returned from abroad the brave Śrīvaka, brother-

997. See Taraṅga VII. verse 1653-1654.
1002. Simba = variation of Siṁha. It is interesting to note that the African word for the lion is Simba (Sk. Siṁha).

in-law of Yaśorāja; he was appointed by the king officer in charge of the Kherī post. 1009

He gave no offence to the Lavaṇyas nor did they do anything hostile towards him; on the contrary, they passed their time in secretly doing friendly acts towards one another. 1010

Once again the king marched in Āśvayuja towards Śamālā but at the village of Manīmuṣa he suffered discomfiture from the enemy. 1011

Bhikṣu, who by constant training in warfare, had acquired efficiency displayed his valour there for the first time as a leader of the bravest of the brave. 1012

Tukka, the Brahman and other prominent men in the army of Sussala, rendered helpless by a sudden torrential rainfall, were slain by Bhikṣu, Pṛthvīhara and the others. 1013

In the two armies in which were to be found many men of courage there was not a knight who could look Bhikṣu in the face when he rode forth to a tournament. 1014

In this war which lasted many years Pṛthvīhara and Bhikṣu had two mares named Kādambarī and Patākā of the chestnut and grey colour respectively. They were very wonderful; while many horses perished neither of them was killed by injuries nor suffered from exhaustion. 1015-1016

He was the one for extricating his troops from a critical position, was indefatigable, he never bragged, bore up with hardships; a brave man the like of Bhikṣācara was not to be found anywhere. 1017

In Sussala's army there was none, during a rout, who could save the soldiers and thus on various occasions many of them were slain. 1018

Some of the soldiers of the Ḍāmara host in their first experience of defeat were preserved by Bhikṣācara as the baby elephants are guarded by the lord of the herd. 1019

Such devotion and willing obedience was never seen in the case of any one else save in Pṛthvīhara, who himself kept a watch at the door of Bhikṣu every night. 1020

1015-1016. K's love of horses makes him immortalize the two mares. Kādambarī is the heroine of Bāṇa's novel; Patākā may mean an ensign or good luck.

From this time onwards the mighty warrior Bhikṣu became the protector in battle, in front as well as in the rear, at all times like Viśve Devaḥ at the Śrāddha. 1021

While he took risk in war with unfaltering steadiness of purpose, he without neglecting propaganda addressed his adherents as follows:— 1022

"This my endeavour is not limited to gaining a kingdom, but I am determined to wipe out the great disgrace which has stuck to the role of my predecessors." 1023

"Those who had been the protectors of the subjects—being, as it were, without protection themselves at the time when they were murdered—realizing that their dynasty was becoming extinct must, no doubt, have placed their ardent hope in the progeny." 1024

"With this thought I strive, suffering hardships, with steadfast determination; being myself sore I inflict torment on my kinsmen day after day." 1025

"Convinced that none can possibly meet with death so long as his time is not up what man, who seeks glory, would turn his face away from a life of adventure?" 1026

"What is the use of proclaiming the difficulties in the way of the task to be achieved and yet why should we not discuss them, since we ourselves are solemnly pledged to be firm in the path laid down by the sages?" 1027

The Ḍāmaras became alarmed at the remarkable valour of Bhikṣu and thereafter they became chary of giving a knock-out blow to his kinsman. 1028

Before their own accession to sovereignty princes of the blood royal become proficient by degrees, while surveying the course of administration of other kings. 1029

Bhikṣu, however, had seen nothing of his father and grandfather. Thus it was that he had fallen into error when formerly he had secured the realm. 1030

Had he acquired it once more who could have dared to suggest his deposition? Even Providence, I ween, would not have ventured to look at him with disrespect. 1031

1021. At the commencement of the Śrāddha or funeral ceremony Mantras to the Viśve Devas are recited as an invocation and also at the end of the ceremony to bid them farewell.

Although he was aware of the duplicity of the Lavaṇyas, he passed the days light-heartedly in the firm hope that he would gain the kingdom when once his adversary had been killed. 1032

This mentality of the Ḍāmara plunderers king Sussala considered to be to his advantage. Anxious for victory he was preparing to make use of either diplomatic action or rigorous measures. 1033

In war he did not preserve his own men remembering their hostility; thus they placed no confidence in him and for this reason victory had eluded him. 1034

Thus it happened that neglected by reason of the various factions in the two opposing camps, the whole country was reduced to an altogether deplorable condition. 1035

Heigh-ho! the trees, whose groves on his account have suffered insult from the flames ignited by the forest hunters bent on his capture, the maddened tusker, in turn, is determined to break down! Happiness does not come to those antagonised by Providence, neither from others, nor even from themselves. 1036

In the course of the contest for the crown, king Sussala defeated the forces of Bhikṣu which had become helpless owing to untimely falls of snow. 1037

To Puṣyāṇanāḍa, once again, Bhikṣu and Pṛthvīhara retired and the other Lavaṇyas having paid up the taxes made their submission. 1038

Simba, too, the bold commander-in-chief, having defeated the Ḍāmaras put an end to disorders and restored quiet in the entire territory of Maḍavarājya. 1039

Even in such cessation of hostilities, the king felt cool satisfaction and now he came out with his former antagonism towards his own partisans. 1040

Mallakoṣṭha, being informed by Ulhaṇa that the king was desirous of killing him, took to flight and the king, in anger, banished him from the realm. 1041

Having imprisoned Ānanda, son of Ananta, he appointed a scion of royalty from the Indus region named Prajji to the charge of the frontier. 1042

He then proceeded to Vijayakṣetra and on return to the capital

1036. "Happiness", said Chamfort, "is not easily won; it is hard to find it in ourselves, and impossible to find it elsewhere."

with Simba he, having arrested this trusted man, threw him into the prison-house. 1043

The king was bent on consuming those who served him; the flame of his resentment fanned by the high winds of recollection licked up the liquid of grace. 1044

In a paroxysm of anger which unsettled his mind, he killed Simba by impaling him with his two younger brothers, Siṁha and Thakkanasiṁha. 1045

He appointed Śrīvaka to the chief command of the army and having imprisoned Janakasiṁha he appointed Sujji, the womb-brother of Prajji, to be minister of justice. 1046

Thenceforth his intimates and counsellers were outsiders, the only natives of his own country being those who had stuck to him while he was at Lohara. 1047

Thus in alarm all of them having deserted him took shelter with the enemy; hardly one in a hundred remained in the palace on the side of the king. 1048

And so even after the rebellion had been quelled he, once again, gave rise to a holocaust which could not be eased by counter measures and which eventually found no mitigation. 1049

Where if one servant is rebuked the others, too, are likely to become apprehensive—in such a case, the ignoring of a fault by a discreet king is certainly to be praised. 1050

Then in the month of Māgha invited by Mallakoṣṭha and others Bhikṣu, Pṛthvīhara and the rest returned by way of Śūrapura. 1051

The king leaving the royal residence set out for Navamaṭha thinking that this region round which the Vitastā has thrown herself as a moat would be inaccessible to the enemy. 1052

4198 L. E.
1122 A. C.

In Caitra of the year ninety-eight, when the Ḍāmaras were about to open hostilities, Mallakoṣṭha advanced and was the first to take up the fighting. 1053

In the capital he was engaged with the cavaliers in a fight, which at the time was witnessed from the top of the palace by the tremulous ladies of the royal household. 1054

Bhikṣu pitched his camp on the bank of the Kṣiptikā 1055

1046. Sujji had been the minister of justice. See verse 1982 below.

1055. There is a lacuna in this verse.

From the gardens, the Ḍāmaras carried off the trees for fuel for their kitchen and the tender Dūrvā grass from the royal stables to feed their horses. 1056

While Pṛthvīhara was engaged in enrolling an army at Vijayakṣetra by mobilizing the Ḍāmara plunderers of Maḍavarājya, the king eager for adventure, having ordered Prajji and others to fight Mallakoṣṭha delivered a sudden attack upon him in the month of Vaiśākha. 1057-1058

He having suddenly fallen upon them, the rebels were slaughtered and fled disheartened and crossing the bridge made life secure with difficulty. 1059

Thus while Prajji was taken up with fighting Mallakoṣṭha, Manujeśvara, the younger brother of Pṛthvīhara having defeated Sujji entered the capital. 1060

But being unable to get to the opposite bank owing to the bridge over the Vitastā having been destroyed, he set fire to houses on the near bank and then retired to the Kṣiptikā. 1061

Thereupon king Sussala became despondent thinking that Śrīnagara had been occupied by the Lavaṇyas and withdrawing his forces from Vijayakṣetra turned back. 1062

The bridge over the Gambhīrā groaning under the load of his own troops, each rushing to be first through fear of the enemy, gave way. 1063

On the dark sixth of Jyeṣṭha countless soldiers of his army perished there in the waters as they had perished at Cakradhara in the flames. 1064 *1122 A. C.*

While the king was allaying the panic of the troops with his raised arm, he fell in to the river owing to the crush in his rear of the fallen and the affrighted. 1065

Repeatedly he went under as those who did not know swimming clung to him and with his limbs cut by the weapons of those who were afloat, he somehow swam across. 1066

The army which had not been able to cross, prominent wherein were the grandees, he left on the further bank and escorted by those who had crossed over and who were a thousandth part of his army he marched on. 1067

1056. Dūrvā is the Dūb (cynodon dactylon) used for our ornamental lawns and pleasure turf.

Though he had left behind his endless force the king, full of dash, having entered the capital led an attack on Mallakoṣṭha and others. 1068

Then the mother of Vijaya, named Sillā, conducted the troops, abandoned by their sovereign, from Vijayeśvara to Devasarasa. 1069

She, however, was attacked by Pṛthvīhara and killed; that fief was given to Ṭikka and the royal force was dispersed. 1070

Even when the whole force had been scattered, the Brahman Kalyāṇarāja, an expert in military manoeuvres, was killed fighting face to face with the enemy. 1071

From the army of Sussala teeming with councillors, Ḍāmaras and the grandees, a crowd of military men were taken prisoners by Pṛthvīhara. 1072

During his pursuit of the routed force up to the Vitastā, he captured the Brahman Ojānanda and others and killed them by impalement. 1073

The counsellors, Janakasiṁha, Śrīvaka and the rest as well as the Rājaputras, having traversed the mountain, took shelter with the Khaśas in Viṣalāṭā. 1074

Thus Pṛthvīhara who had obtained a victory having mustered the Ḍāmaras advanced, hoping to conquer, to the environs of Śrīnagara accompanied by Bhikṣu. 1075

Thereafter, the king being once more besieged in the capital, a battle raged which destroyed as before human beings and horses on all sides. 1076

"The royal palace is accessible without obstruction by this path"—thinking thus Pṛthvīhara, in person, led the people of Maḍavarājya in his army. 1077

The Ḍāmara clan in alliance with the brave Kaśmīrī warriors, cadets of the various feudatory chiefs, proved in every way hard to beat. 1078

The Kaśmīrīs, such as Śobhaka and others of the family of Kāka and other renowned persons like Ratna, distinguished themselves in their thousands on the side of Bhikṣu. 1079

Hearing the clamour of musical instruments arising from his own

1069. Sillā = This is an ancient Iranian name. The verse shows the position of women in medieval Kaśmīr. See below verse 1137.

1071. The fighting qualities of Brahmans are repeatedly referred to; see below 1345 and 2319-2330.

jubilant army Pṛthvīhara from curiosity had the instruments counted. 1080

Apart from the numerous kettle-drums, the over-curious man was able to count twelve hundred drums used by the Śvapākas. 1081

Notwithstanding the loss of his army in that manner, Sussala with twenty or thirty Rājaputras and a small number of his own countrymen continued to resist the enemy. 1082

Udaya and Dhanyaka, two men of aristocratic birth, of the family of Icchaṭi, the ruling chiefs of Campā and Vallāpura, Udaya and Bramhajajjala, Oja, a hetman of the Malhaṇahaṁsa clan and resident of Harihaḍa as also Savyarāja and others from Kṣatrikā-bhiñjikā, Nīla and others sons of Biḍāla, sprung from the line of Bhāvuka, Rāmapāla and the youthful Sahajika, his son, descendants of various noble families as well as others, thrilled with the excitement of fierce fighting, held up, at all points, the enemy engaged upon the siege. 1083-1086

Rilhaṇa, whose treatment by the king was no different from that of a son of his loins, took the lead in the contest; so did also Vijaya and other knights. 1087

The king who himself worked assiduously looked after Sujji and Prajji, who were experts in warfare, as if they were his two arms and he their armour. 1088

The king shared the revenue of the kingdom in common with them and in that big crisis was ably assisted by the two of them to support his burden. 1089

On his side Bhāgika, Śaradbhāsin, Mummuni, Saṅgata, Kalaśa and others proved deft in bringing about the discomfiture of the adversary. 1090

Also Kamaliya, son of Lavarāja of the royal Ṭakka domain, was a leader in that fight on the side of his sovereign. 1091

The charge of this powerful chief with his gleaming standard and yak-tails, the mounted troops could not withstand, as if he were a tusker in rut. 1092

His younger brother Saṅgika and Pṛthvīhara, his brother's son, guarded his flanks as the Pāñcāla people did in the case of Arjuna. 1093

1081. The Untouchables were drummers in ancient times; so they are at the present day.

With the help of such jewels of officers and the horses which he had acquired by expending much gold, the king triumphed although the country had been exasperated with him. 1094

And during the various encounters, the king himself sauntered non-chalantly like a Brahman householder during a festival from room to room. 1095

For, this intelligent king felt a mischance to be a cause for anxiety only at the outset, but as it developed it gave him fortitude. 1096

A danger when it befalls suddenly causes gloom; when one is in the thick of it, there is no such feeling; water does not feel quite so chilly when one is immersed in it as when dropped on the hand. 1097

Whenever the dark mass of the hostile force appeared, there the mobile columns of the king went forth, like the moonlight blanching darkness with lustre. 1098

On one occasion the Ḍāmaras, according to a pre-arranged plan, having crossed the Mahāsarit simultaneously fell upon the city in a combined attack. 1099

The king, whose garrison was divided at the various posts in the limitless city, with his meagre horseguards charged them in person as they broke in. 1100

The Ḍāmara force routed by him could not hold on; it was like heaps of strewn leaves driven by the autumnal wind. 1101

Śryānanda from the Kāka family, Loṣṭa Śāhi, Anala and other distinguished men in the Ḍāmara army were slain by the king's warriors. 1102

The king's satellites badgered and dragged them within view of the relentless monarch and like Caṇḍālas massacred many of them. 1103

Through fright the others on Bhikṣu's side then went up Mount Gopa but being enveloped by their opponents found themselves in the proximity of death. 1104

Thereupon to save them the spirited Bhikṣu urged his horses along a path, where the passage was difficult even for birds. 1105

Pierced in the neck by an arrow, Pṛthvīhara did the ascent with difficulty constantly keeping up with him and so did two or three mighty warriors. 1106

They having held up their opponent's force, as the cliffs on the shore stem the ocean, his men left Mount Gopa and scaled up the other heights. 1107

At this juncture appeared on the left of the royal army Mallakoṣṭha's mobile column whose infantry and cavalry swarmed to the extreme edges of the horizon. 1108

Then all felt, "Now the king will doubtless be killed!" since he was unescorted by his own troops, who were taken up with the pursuit of the enemy. 1109

While king Sussala was unable to bear his sudden charge just then Prajji, with his younger brother, arrived on the scene of action. 1110

On the dark eighth of Āṣāḍha there occurred that mighty melée of cavaliers wherein the din of their own weapons furnished the thunder of applause. 1111

By these two, Mallakoṣṭha, with his son, was overborne in the battle just as the forest conflagration with its accompanying wind is overcome by showers of rain in the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada. 1112

In an age abounding in battles there was no other day like this one which was the very touchstone of valour and chivalry. 1113

As the contingent from Lohara delayed and arrived too late, those who longed for a revolution had failed to join hands. 1114

On that crucial day each sensed the might of the other—Bhikṣu that of the king and the king that of Bhikṣu. 1115

Then having instructed the people from Maḍavarājya to continue the fight there Pṛthvīhara took the offensive having advanced along the bank of the Kṣiptikā. 1116

At this time Yaśorāja, who had returned from abroad, was raised to the post of governor by the king who was preparing to counter-attack his enemies. 1117

Formerly when he had held office at Kherī, the Lavaṇyas had witnessed his exploits; in their encounters they trembled a hundredfold when they saw his face. 1118

The king, who presented him with the saffron emollient, the parasol, horses and marks of distinction, exalted him so that like himself he might be greeted with respect by every one. 1119

1114. Hastamelaka=joining hands. "They touch hands" (Hastau Spṛśataḥ) is an old stage direction in Saṁskṛta plays. Touching hands—a near approach to a hand-shake—is still a common form of greeting in the villages in Kāthiāwād. Clapping of hands which is said to be a European innovation is also an old Indian practice; see below verse 1724.

1119. Saffron emollient was a privilege of royalty. See VI. 120.

The people who in their plight yearned for the removal of the prolonged disorders, pinned their faith on him like an invalid, longing to be restored to health, on a new physician. 1120

To the eldest surviving son of Garga, named Pañcacandra, the king entrusted the task of opposing Mallakoṣṭha. 1121

As a minor he had been under the guardianship of his mother named Chuḍḍā and gaining the support of his father's followers he, by degrees, had come to acquire some prestige. 1122

Some of the Ḍāmaras defeated by the king, with the support of Yaśorāja in the various encounters, had joined his side while the others had dispersed. 1123

Taking Bhikṣu with him Pṛthvīhara retired to his own seat and the king set out for Amareśvara eager to encounter Mallakoṣṭha. 1124

Meanwhile Mallakoṣṭha, having sent bandits by night, caused the unoccupied palace in the vicinity of the temple of Sadāśiva to be set on fire. 1125

Once again Pṛthvīhara delivered a series of attacks and fighting took place on the bank of the Kṣiptikā led by Prajji and Sujji. 1126

Repeatedly setting ablaze the houses in the city, the Lavaṇya well-nigh laid waste the splendid bank of the Vitastā. 1127

The king then with numerous troops overran Lohara, taking part in various actions imperilling his life. 1128

His officers Kandarāja and others, while crossing the Sindhu without a bridge, went to the residence of the Leveller owing to the bursting of the inflated skins in the stream. 1129

To the territory of the Dards, Mallakoṣṭha retired driven out by the king and, with her son, Chuḍḍā acquired ascendancy in Lohara. 1130

Jayyaka, the Lavaṇya, now brought back to the presence of the king from Viṣalāṭā Janaka, Śrīvaka and the rest. 1131

Having passed the summer in the operations in Lohara, upon the advent of autumn the king escorted by Yaśorāja proceeded to Śamāla. 1132

At Manīmuṣa, a Rājaputra named Ḍomba, son of Sajja, was killed in battle when after a rout he was engaged in saving his force from Pṛthvīhara's pressure. 1133

1129. Samavartin = The Leveller, Death.

While repeatedly engaged in fighting in the village of Suvarṇasānūra, Śūrapura and other places the king had, by turn, success and discomfiture. 1134

When Śrīvaka was routed near the holy Kalyāṇapura by Pṛthvīhara and others, Nāgavaṭṭa and the rest found their death in battle. 1135

In the month of Pauṣa, from Suvarṇasānūra Pṛthvīhara despatched Ṭikka, the matricide, to Devasarasa to slay the wife of Garga. 1136

She had triumphed over the malcontents with her own and the royal forces; Ṭikka having made a surprise attack on her killed her in battle. 1137

This impious man committed a second brutal murder of a woman; what difference, however, is there between beasts, Mlecchas, bandits and demons? 1138

While one of the weaker sex, their liege-lady, was being murdered, the people of Lohara, like cattle, took to flight; it was a wonder they took up arms again! 1139

Learning that Maḍavarājya, which had only recently been pacified, was again seething, the king set out for Vijayeśvara. 1140

Their own wanton tongue itself proved to be the harbinger of misfortune to the sons of Mallarāja in their rise to power. 1141

As a rule, in modern times, the character of a servant is like a sieve; the substantial essence having been strained they exhibit the residue of the chaff of defects. 1142

Yaśorāja became disaffected towards the king, on account of his harsh words and obscene language to which since childhood the latter had been accustomed and which were derogatory to his dignity. 1143

This man of low kindred was posted to Avantipura equipped with a large force; having evacuated from there he joined the side of the adversary. 1144

On his deserting to the side of the enemy together with the very best of his troops, the king, in despair, beat a retreat from Vijayakṣetra. 1145

Curse the crown! for the sake of which even such as he desiring to secure his life put up with humiliation, on the road, from those who plundered him being for the most part bandits and Caṇḍālas. 1146

In the month of Māgha, he fled and re-entered the city and his

serving man, named Vaṭṭa, having turned traitor, he began to suspect the very hair on his head. 1147

Thereafter having completely lost faith in the remaining persons of Kaśmīrī birth, the king laid his head in the lap of the party of Prajji. 1148

By his virtues such as valour, open-handedness and diplomatic skill, the fame of former Rājaputras like Rudrapāla was sealed by Prajji. 1149

By him alone, whose reputation was spotless, was raised the honour of the sword and the sciences which was ravaged by the wickedness of the times. 1150

Yaśorāja, on his part, having consorted with Bhikṣu confidentially advised him thus: "the Ḍāmaras who fear your valour are not willing that the throne should be yours; let us once more incite rebellion and with the help of the garrison of the capital we shall ourselves seize the throne or retire abroad." 1151-1152

While they were thus conferring, Mallakoṣṭha having heard that Chuḍḍā had been slain, returned from the city of the Dards and reoccupied his own seat. 1153

4199 L.E. 1123-24 A.C.

Then came the appalling year painful to go through—the notorious number ninety-nine—which universally put an end to living beings. 1154

In the spring, all the Ḍāmaras again approached, as before, by their respective routes and surrounded the king, resident in Śrīnagara. 1155

And the resolute king Sussala, on his part, again began to participate, by day and night, in the excitement of what was the commencement of a series of unending battles. 1156

The Ḍāmaras who were addicted to arson, pillage and warfare had raised a revolt surpassing the former insurrection. 1157

On the route of the Mahāsarit which was unobstructed, Yaśoraja, Bhikṣu, Pṛthvīhara and others took up their stand preparing to make the entry into Śrīnagara. 1158

Then during the campaign when some days had passed in skirmishes, Yaśorāja was killed by the people of his own side who took him for an enemy. 1159

For, while he was executing a turning movement during a combat

1149. Mudrita=literally 'sealed up.'

with a knight of Sussala's army named Vijaya, the son of Kayya, his own lancers seeing the same colour of steed and armour were deceived and in their excitement killed him by spear thrusts. 1160–1161

"He is competent to secure the crown for Bhikṣu and to massacre us thereafter" thus through fear, the Ḍāmaras had him assassinated—such was the rumour. 1162

Just as the unsuspecting liege-lord had been perfidiously deceived by him so likewise he, too, unsuspecting had met a sudden death in the fight. 1163

Then Pṛthvīhara, having got the Ḍāmaras to attack at various points, himself arrived along the bank of the Kṣiptikā and delivered an assault. 1164

On this occasion was displayed the bravery of the soldiers of the garrison who had joined the cause of Bhikṣu casting into the background the gallantry of their own as well as of the enemy army. 1165

With incendiarism, the slaughter of mighty warriors, and other such afflictions each new day at this time heralded unforeseen horrors. 1166

The orb of the day blazed fiercely, the earth trembled frequently and disastrous cyclones blew which brought down trees and boulders. 1167

The columns of dust, swirled by the whirlwind, went so high that they seemed to form pillars to buttress the sky rent by thunderclaps. 1168

Fire in Śrīnagara 1123 A. C.

Thus it happened that during a fierce battle which was raging on the bright twelfth day of Jyeṣṭha, the Ḍāmaras set a dwelling house in Kāṣṭhīla on fire. 1169

Or perchance that fire originated in the high winds or was due to lightning—it spread beyond control and all at once set the entire city ablaze. 1170

While the smoke emanating from Mākṣikasvāmin, like charging elephants in battle array, had just become visible from the Great Bridge, it suddenly thereafter reached Indradevī-bhavana Vihāra and then instantaneously the entire city was seen in flames. 1171–1172

Neither the earth nor the directions nor the sky was visible in the dense mass of smoke. The sun became visible and anon disappeared like the leather mouthpiece of the bag-pipe. 1173

The houses in the darkness of the smoke-screen lit up by the flames came into view for a while as if to bid a final farewell. 1174

The Vitastā, with the houses nestling on both banks ablaze, looked like the blade of the sword of Death, wet with blood on both edges. 1175

The tall sheets of fire, which rose and fell touching the interior of the vault of the high dome of the universe, resembled a jungle of golden parasols. 1176

The fire was comparable to the Golden Mountain; the tongues of fire being its high and low peaks and the smoke which it bore on the top created the impression of a mass of clouds. 1177

Those houses, which were visible through the flames, repeatedly led the deluded householders to hope that they might not be burnt down. 1178

The Vitastā, whose waters were heated by the blazing houses which had collapsed, came to realize the suffering caused to the lord of rivers by the agonising heat of the submarine fire. 1179

Together with the birds whose wings were ignited, the tender shoots of the trees in the avenue of the pleasure gardens went flying up in the sky. 1180

With their white stucco the temples, enveloped in the flames, might be mistaken for peaks of the Himālayas embraced by the clouds on the eve of the annihilation of the universe. 1181

The bathing huts and the boat bridges, in large numbers, having been drawn off from fear of the fire, the waterways in the interior of the city also became deserted. 1182

What more need be said? Śrīnagara bereft of its Maṭhas, shrines, houses, shops and the like was turned, in a mere trice, into a forest which has been burnt down. 1183

The colossal statue of Buddha, darkened by smoke and without its dwelling house, was alone visible on high in the city which had been reduced to mounds of earth and it resembled a charred tree. 1184

1173. The Huḍukkā = a kind of bag-pipe is still a favourite instrument on the Frontier and resembles the bag-pipe of the mountaineers of Scotland.

1179. Submarine fire. See below 1559.

Then when the troops rushed to save the burning dwelling-houses, only a hundred soldiers formed the king's guard. 1185

He was unable to go to the other side of the Vitastā as the bridge had been cut down and having found a loop-hole endless number of the enemy surrounded him to kill him. 1186

Contemplating the city which had been burnt down, his own precarious condition and the loss of life among his subjects, the agonised king warmly welcomed the approach of death. 1187

Then, as he was about to set out, others, who suspected that he was fleeing, signalled to Kamaliya who facing him asked in these terms: "Whither away, Sire?" 1188

Turning towards him his smiling countenance, flushed with excitment and bearing a sandal mark, the resolute king, having pulled up his steed, said to him. 1189

"I shall do, this day, that which rajah Bhijja, your proud grandfather, did, for the country's sake, in the battle with Hammīra." 1190

"Even assuming that this person of unknown birth is a kinsman—what our brother or I were capable of achieving, king Harṣa had fully experienced who had been forced to flee." 1191

"Is there indeed any one who having obtained a place in the ranks of proud men would, when the end came, part with his country without having drenched it with the blood from his own limbs like a tiger giving up his skin?" 1192

So saying desiring to pat with both his hands his rearing charger he let go the bridle and sheathed the sword. 1193

Then the son of Lavarāja, restraining the king's charger by the bridle, said, "While the liege-men are present it does not behove kings to enter the front." 1194

Although disabled by a wound, Pṛthvipāla was the one person who, at this critical juncture, left his house and presented himself before the king. 1195

Eulogising his action which was worthy of a cadet of noble family, the king, from loving-kindness, considered the honourable offer of service as a requital for favours received from himself. 1196

Meanwhile the foe had formed themselves into three arrays; on his left showering murderous arrows the warriors were all wickedly arrogant with their cavalry. The king urged his steed forward and

though, through Providence, he was in such a precarious condition, he engaged many thousands of the enemy. 1197-1198

With his small force, the king whose image was reflected in the swords of the enemy's phalanx was brilliant like the omnipresent Kṛṣṇa, when he came as an ally of Arjuna. 1199

Like a hawk on the sparrows, like a lion with the antelopes, single-handed the king Sussala scattered a multitude of his enemies. 1200

Falling upon the infantry, who had blocked up the very space in front of the horses' hoofs, the mounted troops struck them who had impeded the charge of the squadrons. 1201

Illumined by the blazing flames all those bold fighters—those about to be killed as well as the slain—seemed as if they were suffused with the ruddy stream of blood. 1202

After massacring the enemy as he returned, at the close of the day, to the city which the fire had left but from which the splendour had departed, he was dissolved in tears. 1203

Even in such a crisis he had been undefeated yet owing to the destruction of a thing of beauty, he ceased to attach any importance to the hope of victory over the enemy or to care for his life. 1204

Thenceforth who could have, without being moved to tears, looked at him whether he was awake or asleep, on the move or standing still, while he was bathing or feeding or when he marched forth, after his wont, upon being challenged by his enemies? 1205

Famine in Kaśmīr

The fire having burnt down the collected stores of all food-stuffs, of a sudden, a dire famine which became difficult to endure now prevailed throughout the land. 1206

In this famine the grandees—whose stores were exhausted during the prolonged state of disorders and whose produce, outside the city, had been carried away by the Ḍāmaras—with their movements stopped, their mansions burnt down and failing to get supplies from the royal household in the straitened circumstances of the king, soon perished. 1207-1208

The houses which had survived the conflagration, the people suffering from starvation, who were demanding food, set on fire from day to day. 1209

1199. Kṛṣṇa=Avatāra of Viṣṇu meaning all pervading' (SK. Visş=to pervade).

The bridges over the waterways, which were stinking with dead bodies swollen by soaking in water, were traversed in those days by the people holding their noses. 1210

The earth, whitened all round by the fragments of fleshless human skeletons and skulls, appeared to conform to the practice of a Kāpālika. 1211

Tortured by hunger and scarcely able to move, the people with their tall bodies, tanned by the rays of the fierce sun, resembled the charred pillars. 1212

Then as days went by, during the incessant fighting, an entirely incorrect rumour spread that Pṛthvīhara, who had somewhere been wounded by an arrow, had expired. 1213

Disabled by a serious injury, the king had been screened from sight by his people; on hearing this news he was delighted and vigorously kept up the fight. 1214

The siren of victory continued to lure him like a tenacious harlot by displaying feigned ardour but did not, however, satisfy the desire of the wistful king. 1215

Providence with single-minded perversity, having as a bluff shown favour, heightens the succeeding misery. The sky, after revealing the dazzling blaze of lightning which overwhelms the iridescent medicinal herbs, enfolds the mountain in a dense blinding darkness. 1216

At this time his beloved wife, the queen-consort Madanamañjarī, died. Having suffered hardships for a long time, the king at last was looking forward to the happy day of her arrival as if to the reward of a penance, with inward longing. In her character affection was inlaid with indulgence, gentle words with dignity, generosity with tact which she fostered like her offspring. 1217-1219

Realizing that the life of the people deprived of amusements had become a weary pilgrimage, he saw not the least purpose in his living or ruling. 1220

The queen ravaged by the tidings of her husband's critical position had set out, in her anxiety, on the journey to Kaśmīr when she expired near Phullapura. 1221

Four ladies of the senior rank in her entourage, who never having

1217. This is a charming description of the queen's character.

experienced ungentle words had been unstinted in loyalty, followed the queen in death. 1222-1223

Although not an eyewitness of her demise, a cook named Teja, true to the high tradition of loyalty, came to be especially honoured among the servants. 1224

For, he had been absent and had arrived the next day; having struck his head with a stone found near her funeral pyre he plunged into the river. 1225

The enemies, as it happened, did a kind turn to the king, since they made him forget his sorrow in the excitement of their provocative assaults. 1226

Then being heart-stricken he desired to abdicate the throne and recalled his son, who had outgrown minority, from Mount Lohara. 1227

And by appointing Prajji's nephew, Bhāgika, to be governor he arranged for the defence of the treasury and territory of Lohara. 1228

Having embraced his beloved son, who had arrived at Varāhamūla, the king who had gone forward to receive him became the target of joy and sorrow. 1229

The prince, who had returned to his own country after three years, seeing his father sick at heart was grieved. 1230

He entered the city, which survived as mounds of earth, with his face bent down in sorrow, like a cloud hanging low with rain while passing over a forest consumed by a conflagration. 1231

Coronation of Jayasiṃha

Then on the first day of Āṣāḍha his father had him annointed on the throne and addressed him on the main principles of administration speaking in a voice choking with tears. 1232

"Mettlesome and manful art thou! carry the yoke which thy father and uncle being exhausted proved unable to bear; unto thee, is this burden transferred." 1233

The king made the prince merely the recipient of the imperial insignia but, deluded by destiny, did not transfer power. 1234

No sooner was the prince ceremoniously annointed than the blockade of the city, the drought, the pestilence, burglaries and other afflictions came to an end. 1235

And so, too, the Earth, the noble lady, bore an abundant harvest and in due course in the month of Śrāvaṇa famine conditions died down. 1236

Meantime king Jayasiṁha, who had been destroying the enemy in battle, was accused to his father, by those who whispered evil in his ears, as a traitor. 1237

In anger, without sifting the truth, he despatched the son of Kayya to arrest him but the prince became aware of this beforehand. 1238

In the presence of the proud and indignant prince, who kept smiling, he felt baffled and fulfilled the royal command merely by guarding him. 1239

The prince, who being mentally upset had not partaken of food, set out with him the next day to appear before his father to create confidence. 1240

His father thinking that being warned it would be impossible to impeach him deceitfully placated him through the ministers and induced him to turn back on the way. 1241

But inwardly he resolved, "I shall take him unawares and after arresting him place him in confinement"—thus was his constant thought. 1242

Curse the crown for whose sake sons and fathers, suspecting one another, are nowhere in the world able to sleep peacefully during the night! 1243

When sons, wives, friends and servants are the objects of their suspicion, who knows whom these kings consider worthy of their confidence? 1244

One Utpala was the son of a certain watchman of the grainyard named Sthāṇaka, who lived on the outskirts of a wretched village known as Sahya; in his boyhood he had been brought up as a herd boy with cattle by the sons of the Ḍāmaras. Having taken to the profession of arms he, in course of time, obtained service with Ṭikka; employed as an emissary he, from the first year, came to gain the confidence of the king who was planning to sow dissentions among his enemies. 1245-1247

The king having promised him place of power and gifts instructed him to murder Bhikṣācara and Ṭikka on the fief of Ṭikka. 1248

When he had given an undertaking to that effect, the king honoured him with gifts of great value and also employed him with the title of treasurer. 1249

This man, whose mind wobbled between love of pleasure and fear

of treason towards the liege-lord, was unable to decide whether the enterprise was worth doing or had better be avoided. 1250

Meanwhile his wife gave birth to a child and the king, to further his scheme, sent presents suitable for a confinement as if he were her father. 1251

She being apprehensive as to what may be the reason for this special compliment on his part questioned the husband with importunity and he then related the reason. 1252

"Do not commit treason against your liege-lord for if this deed were done, you yourself might in due course be killed by Sussala considering you to be a traitor. It were lief that he himself be murdered, after winning confidence; for were such assassination to take place the lord, his sons and other members of the family could contribute to your opulence." 1253-1254

Thus having instigated him to reverse the plan, his wife urged him to act with energy after acquainting Ṭikka with the situation. 1255

Then the king, lured by fate, came to rely, as if he were his son, on the traitor who made trips to and fro. 1256

His heart alienated from the son and his trust in the protégé of his enemy! What perversion does not arise in the case of those the fund of whose luck is dwindling! 1257

Fools blinded by the lure of self-interest do not pause to think of encountering mischance as those who hunt for honey do not worry about the sting of the bees. 1258

Then hard pressed by Prajji and the king, Ṭikka was induced by Utpala to make his submission and to deliver his son as a hostage. 1259

Then the king leaving Devasarasa, which had been reduced to subjection, proceeded in the month of Kārtika to the village of Bāsṭraka in the district of Kherī. 1260

And in the various actions in the vicinity of Kalyāṇapura, he put to shame even mighty warriors prominent among whom were Bhikṣu and Koṣṭheśvara. 1261

From the very midst of Bhikṣācara and his men, Sujji captured alive in battle the brave knight Śobhaka sprung from the family of Kāka. 1262

1253. Utpala was a liegeman of Bhikṣācara.

Having first inflicted a defeat on Vijaya, son of Bhavaka, his houses in Kalyāṇapura were burnt down by the king. 1263

When Vaḍosaka was burnt, Bhikṣācara lost his refuge and retiring from this territory he took up his position in the village of Kākaruha in Śamālā. 1264

Vijaya's younger brother, son of Bhavaka, from fear, paid homage to the king, who being enraged had him manacled and thrown into prison. 1265

By posting Rilhaṇa at Śūrapura supported by a large force, the king made even Rājapurī nervous about an attack. 1266

Thus when by a sternly repressive policy he had broken the violent Ḍāmaras, he saw that but little remained to be done to complete the defeat of the enemy. 1267

Bhikṣācara and the Lavaṇyas having come to the end of their resources, began to think of going abroad through fear of their powerful enemy. 1268

For, those who had espoused the cause of Bhikṣu had lost heart owing to misfortune having unaccountably befallen them and although they were alive, they had been reduced, through lack of enthusiasm, to a moribund condition. 1269

Recollecting the knavery of Somapāla and having inwardly resolved that he would turn Rājapurī into a funeral ground after the snow had melted, he then turned back. 1270

When the king had quelled the disorders within the limits of his own territory, one might have thought him capable of invasions up to the foreshore of the ocean. 1271

For indeed with unhappiness, terror, impoverishment, loss of the loved ones and other afflictions, the period of his reign had brought suffering on everyone. 1272

One in hundred of the population had survived destruction in the upheaval and he, too, considered each year during this regime as long as an aeon. 1273

A man, how much can he, by his personal effort, repression or cunning, achieve since the realization of plans depends upon the ways of Providence which are passing strange? 1274

In the ways of the Creator the rule is conspicuous by its absence; since someone whose bulk looms large before him he avoids as if it were darkness, like a lion he turns back to glare at another who has

already passed on while he jumps over, as at leap-frog, a servant who is near by and overthrows a king. 1275

Sussala had scorned Uccala and the other rulers who, in the past, had perished through trustfulness; had always by him a drawn sword; citing the story of Vidūratha and other instances of which he had heard from those learned in ancient lore he had not, whether during sport or in enjoyment with women, the look of unalloyed confidence—that he should have implicitly relied upon Utpala and treated him as if he were a kinsman—what else but destiny could, in such a case, have caused the delusion! 1276–1278

Ṭikka and others said to Utpala, "If either of the two, the king or Sujji, is killed we shall recognise your service equally." 1279

Sujji did not trust him; while he in his anxiety to murder the king kept himself in readiness, on various occasions, yet found no opportunity. 1280

Then when the king grew wroth owing to delay in the promised task Utpala, having brought his own son as a hostage from Devasarasa as well as others such as Vyāghra and Praśastarāja who were desperadoes like himself, said to the king, "With the help of these my purpose will be realized", and, on one occasion, he set out accompanied by three or four hundred of the infantry who were carefully picked for their fitness for a desperate adventure. 1281–1283

While watching his opportunity the assassin was ever by his side; while the king alas! with favourite delicacies and other gifts was delighting his heart. 1284

The king, who passionately loved horses, had sent away from his entourage the chamberlain Lakṣmaka, the son of Kayya, and other prominent persons of confidence to treat the horse named "Emperor of the Mews" who while in the capital had been ill; thus at this time he had but few folk with him. 1285–1286

Śṛṅgāra, the son of Lakṣmaka, having learnt from the reports of persons in his confidence of the doings of Utpala, brought this within hearing of the king. 1287

The mind of the person who is nearing his end imagines an enemy to be his friend, like the animal in the slaughter-house even though he watches the preparations for his slaughter. 1288

1285. Mandurā Cakravartin: 'Emperor of the Mews.'

Neither the curse of the princess of Gandhāra nor the utterance of the wrathful Ṛṣi, nor the omens, nor even his own unearthly vision which had revealed the annihilation of the family enabled Viṣṇu himself to save it. Knowing this well who indeed could alter what is willed to happen? 1289

"That is a lie", retorted the king and pointing at him with his finger he spoke to Utpala and others, who were present before him, in this wise: 1290

"This son of a traitor does not desire that my well-being should result from your loyalty, therefore, Oh Utpala! whether of his own accord or incited by others, he informs me that you are a villain." 1291

Concealing, with smiling faces, their alarm and nervousness they boldly said, "Your Majesty has expressed what we should ourselve have submitted." 1292

When, however, they had gone out, the king, being somewhat alarmed, summoned through the usher two or three steadfast and prominent men-at-arms. 1293

His mind was somehow upset, he remained pensive, sighed, and was tearful and found no diversion in watching the dance, singing, and the like amusements. 1294

He considered even his relatives as if they were men from other lands and persisted in error like an aviator, whose fund of merit having run out, is about to fall from the sky. 1295

Some of the nerveless servants of the royal household being alarmed that the sovereign had been bewitched, through knavery, longed for another and animated patron. 1296

The morsel-grip of the Destroyer has just this power that creatures, despite their awareness, inexorably come under its fascination. 1297

Now Utpala and others, being alarmed, passed two days, with difficulty closing the eyes during the entire intervening period. 1298

On the third day, after the morning bath the king said to them who were for ever secretly biding their opportunity, "You may go home for your food." 1299

1289. The reference is to the well-known stories of the *Mahābhārata*. The Gandhāra princess is the mother of the Kauravas—Duryodhana and others; the angry Ṛṣis are Viśvāmitra and Nārada; the omens referred to are the destruction of the Vṛṣṇis.

Then having finished the daily ceremonial including the worship of the gods he summoned Utpala, at mid-day, through messengers, when he was in the private apartment. 1300

Owing to the stillness prevailing in the royal palace, he, feeling confident of success in his plot, entered the presence of the king under a nervous strain while his attendants were stopped by the usher. 1301

His younger brother, Vyāghra, who was detained at the portal was allowed entry by the king who ordered even the servants, who had remained, to go and wait outside. 1302

To certain of the personal attendants who had tarried he thus spoke hot words of rebuke which proved to be true: "Let him then stay who is a traitor." 1303

He, however, permitted to remain beside him the Tāmbūla-bearer who was advanced in age and the learned Rāhila, who was the minister for peace and war. 1304

Two emissaries of Ṭikka named Arghadeva and Tiṣyavaiśya, who happened to be present on business, were not privy to Utpala's conspiracy. 1305

In those days Utpala had posted for his personal protection, with a force within call, a Ḍāmara of Vaḍossa named Sukharāja, who was in league with Bhikṣu, and had explained to the king that this Ḍāmara after seeing the feet of the sovereign would set out for the successful performance of the task. 1306–1307

While the king was thus situated, he quickly secured the entry of Praśastarāja into his presence by saying, "There is business to be done with him." 1308

Upon entry, observing the ante-chamber free from attendants, he, with a movement which was unnoticed, made fast the door with a bolt. 1309

The king's hair was moist after the bath; feeling chilly he had wrapped his cloak well about him; his dagger which he had removed was lying on a stool. Seeing him thus seated Vyāghra said to Utpala, "No such opportunity may arise, sumbit your prayer to the soverign." 1310–1311

After this cue, he went all agog, in front of the king and under the

1304. See Note VI. 19.

guise of bowing to his feet removed the dagger which was lying on that stool. 1312

He unsheathed it and while the king who saw this with rolling eye could exclaim, "Fie upon it! What treason!" Utpala struck first on the left side with that very weapon and thereafter he was struck on the head by Praśastarāja. 1313-1314

Murder of Sussala 1128 A. C.

Then Vyāghra wounded him in the chest and thereupon he was struck repeatedly by them both; Utpala, however, did not strike a second time. 1315

For by the very first blow which had cut through the region of the ribs and drawn out the entrails and the guts he reckoned that the soul had sped on the journey. 1316

Having run to the window to shout for help Rāhila was wounded in the back by Vyāghra and survived for two or three Nālikās. 1317

The poor old man the Tāmbūla-bearer, Ajjaka, who having let fall the cubebs and other ingredients was attempting to escape was saved, through pity, from his own men by Utpala himself. 1318

While this commotion arose in the interior, the wretch Ṭikka and the other conspirators, who were in the outer hall with drawn swords, commenced plundering. 1319

On the report that Utpala was slain by the king his men who were outside were being cut down by the guard; to hearten them Utpala showed himself at the window with the weapon wet with blood and called out, "I have slain the king; do not spare his troops." 1320-1321

Hearing of this sacrilege the royal retainers fled helter-skelter in terror while the supporters of the traitors in wild glee posted themselves inside the quadrangle. 1322

As they were coming out of the hall, the desperadoes killed a royal page named Nāgaka who was entering through the door with a drawn sword. 1323

A servant of one Trailokya, guardian of the royal bed-chamber, who denounced the treason as also a janitor were murdered by Ṭikka and the others. 1324

The assassins effected their exit by a side-door on seeing Sahajapāla, the ornament of the family of Bhāvuka, rushing to the attack with sword and shield and distinguishing himself in the midst of the disheartened dependents of the king; he at last fell to the ground, wounded, struck down by their followers. 1325-1326

While the corps of the Rājaputras became the recipient of the dark stain of disgrace, he alone succeeded in washing off the degradation with the blood of his own wounds. 1327

A learned Brahman named Noṇa, being in the way, was murdered by the assassins who mistook him for a Rājaputra, as in his appearance he resembled a man from the plains. 1328

Seeing the assassins who were escaping unhurt with their faces set towards the neighbouring village none of the men-at arms attacked them, through sullenness, as if they were delineated in a picture. 1329

Then at last appeared the royal relations, on whom the king had lavished his affection, who with their fat bodies began to pervade the quadrangle deserted by the people. 1330

Commencing from the account of king Harṣa we having sufficiently mentioned and described all manner of cowards have become, like load-carriers, used to the task. Yet we do not venture to record the names of those, who are more wicked than sin, through the mortification of having to associate ourselves with their evil deeds. 1331-1332

Some of the prominent fellows among those miscreants, regarding the ascent from the quadrangle to the royal apartments as an act of great courage, actually saw the murdered sovereign. 1333

The quivering lower lip with the little splash of blood, as if bitten by his teeth in anger seemed to express his soul's exasperation at the end; his two eyes moveless as if in the anxious thought "how came I to be thus betrayed?" had continued in the same rigid state even after life had become extinct; the stream oozing from his gaping wounds had darkened his body and appeared to be the curling smoke of the fire of his inner anger which had been extinguished; his face looked as if it were a painting; the blood from his deep wounds sticking to it like lac had made indistinct the marks of saffron and the sandal emollient; he had fallen on the floor nude, his touseled hair sticking with congealed blood, his hands and feet were stretched out and his neck hung on the shoulders. On seeing him those mean fellows did naught that was seemly but decried him, through bitterness, saying, "Enjoy the fruit of unsociability:" 1334-1339

1330-1332. K. introduces a comic element to relieve the tragic scene.

They then fled to save their lives and were unable to take him away on a horse or a litter to consign him to the funeral fire. 1340

Granted that such an act would have meant delay—nobody consigned him to the logs in the fireplace or even set fire to the building while fire was readily available. 1341

They took to flight one by one mounting the king's horses while the royal guard which escaped was plundered by the Ḍāmaras in the villages. 1342

On the snow covered roads during the flight the son did not save the father, nor the father the son, from perishing or being slain or plundered. 1343

There was not a single man who bore arms who, recalling his honourable status, refused, when assaulted by the enemy on the road, to surrender his arms and livery. 1344

The two Brahmans, Lavarāja and Yaśorāja, who were expert athletes and the rajah of Kānda—those three met their deaths in a knightly manner. 1345

Utpala and others, who were not far off, having watched the fleeing guard then made their entry and having cut off the king's head carried it off with the body. 1346

They proceeded to Devasarasa and made an exhibition of the decapitated king before the villagers, as if he had been a thief who was executed. 1347

Thus treacherously on the day of the new moon in Phālguna was assassinated, he who had passed the fifty-fifth year of his life. 1348

Jayasiṁha (1128-49 A.C.)

To the ears of Siṁhadeva, while seated on the pleasure couch, this tragic news was brought by one Preman, his foster-brother. 1349

Worthy of a man who wears a sword was his demeanour, when he

1341. Comparing the Greek custom of burning the dead with that prevalent among the Hindus *Alberuni* writes: "Galenus says in his commentry to the apophthegms of Hippocrates: 'It is generally known that Asculepius was raised to the angles in a column of fire, the like of which is also related with regard to Dionysos, Heracles, and others who laboured for the benefit of mankind. People say that God did thus with them in order to destroy the mortal and earthly part of them by the fire, and afterwards to attract to himself the immortal part of them, and to raise their souls to heaven.' In a similar way the Hindus express themselves. There is a point in man by which he is what he is. This point becomes free when the mixed elements of the body are dissolved and scattered by combustion." Vol. II. p. 168. See VIII. 1778.

heard the tragic news although he, who was devoted to his father, was, at the time without arms. 1350

He was stunned and became oblivious—after a while, on recovering consciousness, his memory revived and his fortitude having broken down in bouts of distress, he lamented audibly and moaned softly. 1351

"When for my sake you were assiduously making the kingdom free from thorns, why then Oh Mahārāja! did you place yourself in the power of a villain?" 1352

"When at last in order to terminate hostilities you, being unarmed, granted interviews to the enemies, Sire! you raised those dishonourable persons to the level of respectability." 1353

"Your father and brother in heaven, you having avenged their wrongs, have become free from anger; now, however, it is your turn to suffer the bitter gall." 1354

"Pray, for a moment, do not envy the lot of Anaraṇya, Kṛpa, Droṇa, Jamadagni, and the rest, whose wrongs were washed off by members of their families." 1355

"The rancour which you nurse is to be regretted; I shall cleanse it, Sire! I should not be worried if that necessitated an attack on the three worlds." 1356

"It was your wont to greet me with your face, full of tender love, lit up by a smile and with gentle and sweet words—I seem to see it, at this moment, before me." 1357

As he muttered this and similar things while his tribulation remained unnoticed owing to his calm exterior, he saw in front of him his father's intimates cast down and bemused with sorrow and anxiety. 1358

What anger dictated discretion forbade, nevertheless he spoke to them, somewhat as follows, ungentle words of reproach. 1359

"Alas! you, who are men of honour, have failed to achieve what has been accomplished now by those who subsisted on the leavings off his plate." 1360

"Shame on your swords and on yourselves who having been honoured with riches by my father, because of your noble birth, should at the end have failed him!" 1361

Thus while in a few words he was taunting them, two or three

ministers approached and drew his attention to the task before him 1362

Some said that abandoning the kingdom he should set out for Lohara and this, too, quickly as they pointed to the danger from Bhikṣācara at the end of the night. 1363

While others, more resolute, urged the carrying on of the contest for the throne relying upon the support of Pañcacandra, son of Garga, who was posted at Lohara. 1364

For now that Sussala was no more, resistance to Bhikṣu, who was about to enter Śrīnagara as if it were his own house, was not believed by any one to be possible. 1365

The king winced with pain that such ministers as he had, should have thought so little of him and replied as follows: "To-morrow you will see what is to be done." 1366

Having regard to the situation he did not reveal that he suffered at the tragic end of his father; on the other hand, he ordered sentries to be posted at the treasury and other places on guard duty. 1367

The city began to hum with the rising and high pitched voices of the people who hurried hither and thither and exchanged the news with one another. 1368

That night, like the eve of final annihilation swarming with an infuriate host of Vetālas, brought terror to all living creatures. 1369

The king, surrounded by lamps which were motionless in the still air and the ministers who through anxiety did not blink, fell from time to time into a reverie. 1370

"With doors ajar, enveloped in darkness and fierce winds blowing my own father lies murdered in the desolate palace while I am alive like an imbecile!" 1371

"Heigh-ho! until such time as I have washed off such an unendurable stigma, how shall I be able to look in the face men of honour during conversation?" 1372

"From the districts under the control of the enemy how will the army officers come over roads which, being covered with snow, have become impassable?" 1373

While he thus pondered over various matters in deep gloom and anxiety, that uncanny night somehow came to an end. 1374

In the morning, he came out on the four pillared pavilion to reassure

the citizens and despatched horsemen to search for the garrison which had fled. 1375

Thereafter the clouds, embracing the earth, commenced to cover the declivities of the roads with a mass of snow. 1376

When the scouts returned without success and without having heard even the mention of the troops from a distance, the king having deliberated for a while, caused the following order to circulate in the capital with beat of drum. "Whatever has been forcibily taken by any one, to that I hereby relinquish my right; amnesty is granted to those, who have taken shelter with the enemy although they may be guilty." Thereupon the citizens pronounced blessings and there were rejoicings over this everywhere. 1377-1379

By this generous policy at the outset, which was almost diametrically opposed to the course of conduct of the rulers who were his immediate predecessors, he reaped a reward instantly. 1380

He, who possessed even less than a hundred followers, was instantly surrounded by the people who were carried away by emotion. 1381

Lakṣmaka, who had the apt phrase, could deliver speeches, and possessed the knack of winning people with gifts, held the rank of foremost counsellor in the entourage of his master. 1382

While the sagacious king was thus lulling the kingdom into repose with statesmanlike measures, Bhikṣu appeared before the city, when the sun was in the meridian, eager to make his entry. 1383

Swarming with the Ḍāmaras, burglars, cavaliers and freebooters there appeared, with him at that time, a conglomeration of troops such as had never been seen before. 1384

Having heard of the assassination of his enemy as he was marching upon the city eager to seize the throne, he was addressed as king by Ṭilaka, the son of Kāka. 1385

"Even though Sussala who was detested by every one has been killed through Providence, how can it be that the subjects should desert his son who possesses merit?" 1386

"Therefore where is the hurry for just one day, Your Majesty, to make your entry in the city? proceed to Padmapura while we go and bar the passage of the enemy." 1387

"Sujji and the leading brave knights, who have lost their troops

1383. Śayyāṁ nayati=lulling to sleep, putting to bed.

as they are returning, will be either massacred or with their accoutrements and transport be held up there." 1388

"Then, foresooth, you will enter the city within two or three days having laid aside the sword when the residents of the city will have themselves besought your arrival." 1389

But Bhikṣu, Koṣṭheśvara and the others smiling scornfully repudiated him with the retort, "Away with these counsel of old men." 1390

His adherents, however, who believing that the crown had been secured, were in a hurry to beg for letters patent of authority made him delay. 1391

And so it happened that his whole force became immobile owing to heavy falls of snow and he squatted in the environs of Śrīnagara for such a period. 1392

During the interval thus gained Pañcacandra, son of Garga, arrived with his troops in support of the king, who was without an army. 1393

Supported by Rājaputras, who were longing to wash off the mortification due to the desertion of the murdered sovereign, this brave man then marched forth to battle. 1394

They made an unforeseen attack and while the troops of Bhikṣu on seeing them were beginning the fight they saw, on all sides, several of their own men fall and somehow fell into a rout in an instant. The troop leaders and the chiefs such as Bhikṣu and Pṛthvīhara were not able to rally their own army in flight and even they were reduced to an unsoldierly panic such as had never been seen before. 1395-1397

If the royal partisans had but pursued them to a distance then for certain naught would have remained of them in a trice. 1398

When those rebels turned away their faces, at long last, Providence turned a favourable aspect towards the afflicted city through the glory of the new monarch. 1399

Thus was the course of victory and defeat, in the case of the two kings which the people had deemed would be otherwise and which was otherwise ordained by Destiny. 1400

Providence, whose amazingly varied display is beyond the limit of calculation, devastates, in an instant, a man who has a secure foothold and allows some other to wax strong who is already tottering, as do the waters in flood with the sand-banks. 1401

Thus there arrived at the close of the day Sujji, who had extricated himself from numerous perilous situations, worn out like a snake, escaping from a mountain pervaded by a forest conflagration. 1402

He was at Medhācakrapura when he heard of the murder of the king; he held counsel together till late in the night and tarried instead of marching forth. 1403

He had awaited the army chiefs Rilhaṇa and the rest, stationed at Śūrapura and other places, in order to enter Śrīnagara without opposition. 1404

In the dark night as a signal for them he placed, on the roof of his own quarters, flaming torches which were maintained incessantly. 1405

Owing, however, to indiscipline in the infantry which was adrift and straggling, they got lost during the night somewhere and failed to reach his camp. 1406

Early in the morning he marched forth, but the Ḍāmaras who pursued him did not leave him even for an instant continuing to attack on every side. 1407

Placing in the front, for protection, the people, who were travelling with him and who for the most part were the aged, the women and children, just as a herdsman does with cattle, he continued to march. 1408

He was able to save them for a while by turning back and taking up a stand with the horsemen. 1409

On the route, which was impeded by tree clumps and vineyards and harried by the bold enemy, he lost his people at every step. 1410

He, who longed to repay the debt of gratitude to his murdered sovereign and to that sovereign's son who was in a critical situation, could, however, succeed, on this occasion, only in saving himself. 1411

If even those who have a fixed determination to sacrifice their lives have not the choice of the suitable occasion what purpose could they, resembling beasts of prey, serve? 1412

To kill him, as he was approaching, after his discomfiture, the ferocious Ḍāmaras, residents of the district of Khaḍūvī, had posted themselves in the vicinity of Padmapura having barred his passage. 1413

At this juncture, there arrived Śrīvaka marching by that

road with a considerable force having set out from the village of Khcrītalālaśā. 1414

His detachment had no refugees; mistaking him for Sujji, they fell upon and massacred and plundered his soldiers. 1415

In that battle were killed the two cavaliers, Meru and Sajjana and the son of Vaṭṭa, Malla, was wounded who succumbed in a few days. 1416

There was a place there known as Udīpapūrabāla which had, at that time, become impassable owing to the swamps and flowing water after the floods. 1417

As Śrīvaka fighting continually was advancing forward, while the passage of his force was barred outside Padmapura, an arrow, pierced his throat. 1418

Thus disabled by the wound, the Ḍāmaras discovered that he was not Sujji and after being plundered, he was spared from consideration of his former friendly relations. 1419

While they were loading up the stores plundered from the force of Śrīvaka and some of them had already gone off, Sujji passed the road free from mischance. 1420

In the forest, a wandering wayfarer may accidentally upset the mechanical contrivance and the arrow and thereby clear the path for the lord of animals, if the lifespan yet remains to him. 1421

Sujji passed through Padmapura with his soldiery in dead silence and was discovered by the Ḍāmaras when he had come close to the flooded swamps. 1422

Heedless of the pillage by them of the stores, weapons and other equipments of the infantry he, having swum across the swamp with his cavalry, reached ground safe for the passage of horses. 1423

Then as the menace of the enemy ceased, from a distance he, knitting his brows and shaking his forefinger, cursed and threatened the foe. 1424

Taking with him the parasol, which alone the rebels had left behind through fear, he hurriedly entered Śrīnagara and presented himself before the king with tearful eyes. 1425

When he, who was like an elder brother, appeared in front of him

1421. The lord of animals=the lion. Apparently in those days they set a bow and arrow in the trap as they fix a rifle now a days.

the king shed, together with tears warm with sorrow, his anxiety about the enemy offensive. 1426

On this day, the Mahattama Ānanda, son of Ananta, while he was on the march, was killed by the Ḍāmaras at the little village of Locanoḍḍāra. 1427

No one felt for his tragic end because he had levied various kinds of insupportable imposts such as the levy on auspicious occasions and the rest of it. 1428

A vassal of Sujji named Bhāsa, who had fled from Lokapuṇya, arrived at Avantipura exhausted and entered the courtyard of the temple of Avantisvāmin. 1429

In the meanwhile the recruiting officer of the army and he were invested by the relentless Ḍāmaras of Holaḍā. 1430

The general Indurāja, of the family of Kularāja, however, when besieged in Dhyānoḍḍāra by Ṭikka joined the latter as a hoax. 1431

And many other army officers, Piñcadeva and the rest, were held up in Kramarājya having been besieged by the Ḍāmaras. 1432

As on the fall of a tree the nestlings are hurled from the nests on it, in like manner were the royalists slain and wounded in various places. 1433

Without foot-wear, with feet frozen in the snow and naked bodies, worn out by starvation, many sank lifeless on the road. 1434

At this time, on the road leading to the city were visible none but persons whose bodies were wrapped in straw. 1435

Grass as the gala costume was adopted even by Citraratha and others, who before long were destined to become powerful ministers of state. 1436

Even on the second day, the shower of snow from the clouds interrupting the very flight of birds did not cease for an instant. 1437

At this time Dhanya, from the camp of Bhikṣu who was at Vanagrāma, leaving behind his soldiers joined Siṁhadeva. 1438

Hearing that the king was receiving with honour the followers of Bhikṣu, all his soldiers turned eager faces towards Śrīnagara. 1439

Upon the waning of the power of their kinsman, four queens

1436. The verse refers to economic distress after the revolutionary wars and scarcity of clothing.

having found an opportunity then came forth to follow in death the king Sussala. 1440

Through fear of enemy attack and the hoar-frost, the people were subdued and were unable to conduct them to the crematorium which was situated at a distance. 1441

They, therefore, hurriedly consigned the bodies of the ladies to the fire in the neighbourhood of Skanda Bhavana, not far from the royal residence. 1442

The queen Devalekhā, who was born in Campā, the loveliness of whose lineaments was the culmination of the Creator's art, entered the fire with her sister Taralalekhā. 1443

Jajjalā, radiant with virtues, from Vallāpura as also the daughter of Gagga, Rājalakṣmī disappeared from ken in the flames. 1444

Believing that the hindrance to the throne for their own master would last until the melting of the snow, the Ḍāmaras gave to the new king the appellation of the Snow-King. 1445

Then the head of Sussala was brought before Bhikṣu and as he gazed at it he seemed to be consuming it with his eye-glances which flashed with the fire of his deep-seated hatred. 1446

Koṣṭheśvara, Jyeṣṭhapāla and others were anxious to do the final honours, but they were prevented by him who through hatred had harboured intolerance without cessation. 1447

To Śrīnagara he was keen on marching, when the snow-fall should cease, in his anxiety for an offensive; realizing, however, from the indifference of his followers that they were being drawn towards the adversary, he made this speech: 1448

"Methought I could take the crown by main force so long as Pṛthvīhara was alive; were he, however, killed I should be lord of the realm upon the death of the kinsman. But what now has happened, through Fate, is otherwise; and, on the contrary, the very hope of the crown has faded although the enemy has been assassinated." 1449–1450

"Yet after all what good is the crown were it useful for procuring merely the pleasures of life; what, however, is worthy of a man of ambition who else has attained in the same measure as I have?" 1451

"The head of him, who formerly felled to the ground the heads of my forefathers, is rolling this day at my lion-gate." 1452

"He who for ten months destroyed the peace of mind of my prede-

cessors has, in turn, been made to suffer all manner of torment by me for ten years." 1453

"Thus having by the due discharge of my duty becalmed my mental anguish, I propose to render fruitful by living peacefully the remainder of my life." 1454

Thus having spoken among other things, he approached Ṭikka who bowed to him and he gave him, from affection, a gold jar, parasol and other presents. 1455

By his assurance, he was again seized by the demon of the rising hope of the throne and shivering in the cold he returned and remained inwardly pensive. 1456

While they were planning something novel and extremely indecent for it, the body of the murdered sovereign was guarded by the Lavaṇyas who had posted sentries. One Sajjaka from the Śrīnagara garrison, although he had sided with the adversary, thought thus to himself, from a sense of gratitude, "Why should the body of the sovereign, after death, be reduced to such a plight?" Professing curiosity to see it he secured access and after overcoming the guards by fighting he consigned the body to the flames. 1457-1459

"That since the year ninety-four having been possessed by demons who had lured him into delusions Sussala had become the cause of the destruction of the subjects"—such was the legend originating in the oracle of a man under the inspiration of the gods, and his death, which had been foretold, had created faith in it. In accordance with a statement from the same infallible source, he who had cut off the head and carried it about was found dead while asleep as predicted. 1460-1462

Now Bhikṣu, in whom the sense of decency was dead, behaving like a contemptible fellow sent his enemy's head to Rājapurī to gain notoriety for ferocity. 1463

There the daughter of Uccala, the ruler's consort, Saubhāgyalekhā, having attempted through her own retainers to have them killed who had carried her uncle's head, Rājapurī was thrown into a turmoil and eventually the head was brought before Somapāla, her husband, who was in camp at a distance. 1464-1465

That wretched Khaśa chief's mind was controlled by others and his condition was deplorable owing to drunkenness and liquor; and with his preoccupations of a country yokel he was like a beast; his council-

lors, who were unfettered, considered from high and low points of view, what should be done in this matter, and each expressed his opinion, seemly and unseemly, as befitted him. 1466-1467

Nāgapāla, however, who having secured a reconciliation with his brother was now in his entourage, could not bear the insult to the head of his benefactor which was all that had remained of him. 1468

Those, too, who being far-sighted, apprehending that in the long run there might be punishment from Kaśmīr, said, "Your Highness should honour in every respect this head of the suzerain." 1469

A reversal of destiny could be made if and when jackals could be seen merrily lording it over a lion! 1470

Thus at Gopālapura, with logs of the black aloe and sandal wood the last honours were rendered by his enemies through the purifying fire. 1471

As he had gained and lost more than once the sovereign status and had also his various disappointments and triumphs on the battle-field, as he had suffered numerous prolonged periods of stress as well as disasters, so in keeping with it were seen occurrences at his death which were passing strange. 1472

In what other case, as in his, has it happened that the rite of cremation of the head took place in one realm while of the rest of the limbs in another? 1473

Now Ṭikka and others marching upon Śrīnagara by the Avantipura route, tarried there in order to massacre Bhāsa and the rest who had already been besieged. 1474

Despite even the maximum efforts of assaults, incendiary fires, hurling of boulders and making breaches, they did not succeed in overpowering the latter. 1475

Being slain by those, who had taken up their position in the courtyard of the temple under cover of its mighty ramparts of stone, they found themselves unable either to hold on or to retreat. 1476

While they were thus held up, the sagacious king utilized the interval and gained over to himself, by bounteous gifts, the Ḍāmaras of Khaḍūvī. 1477

Having secured hostages from them, he hastened to despatch Sujji, together with Pañcacandra and the others, for the relief of Bhāsa and his people. 1478

Hardly had he approached Avantipura, when on seeing his advanced

troops under Kayya's son and others, Ṭikka and his people fell into a panic. 1479

Bhāsa and the rest made a sortie from the temple and having massacred the adherents of the fleeing enemy joined Sujji. 1480

After gaining the victory, the commander-in-chief entered the capital when Indurāja, who had deserted Ṭikka, came over with his retainers. 1481

The king nominated Citraratha, Śrīvaka, Bhāsa and others to be in charge of offices of state such as Pādāgra, the frontier and Kherī. 1482

Although Sujji did not give up the powers he had hitherto, he had to watch the countenance of the chamberlain, what need is there to speak of the plight of the other ministers? 1483

The Chamberlain was held in respect by the endless Ḍāmara factions and having been engaged in intrigues to sow dissensions among them, had, forsooth, become worthy of consideration by the king. 1484

There was not a single person in the hostile camp who at his instigation did not join the king or at least did not become eager to render allegiance. 1485

The shrewd king kept out of view activities which had the semblance of royal power and, without obtaining his opinion, did not even partake of food. 1486

Thus having secured within Śrīnagara itself the wherewithal to stretch his legs, Jayasiṁha awaited the advent of fruit to the diplomatic tree which had sprung new shoots. 1487

Now Bhikṣu, having mustered all the Ḍāmaras at Vijayeśvara, marched in the hope of capturing the capital at the fag-end of winter. 1488

The Ḍāmaras, seeing the unity among the factions of their own army such as had never been witnessed before and believing that the realm had as good as passed into the hands of Bhikṣu, now took alarm. 1489

"He has sized every one of us individually for his ability, courage, supporters, unfriends and the rest of it, from the intimacy of domesticity; when he secures the realm will he not wake up to attack us?"

1483. See VII. 209 n.

with this thought they took counsel together and planning to offer the throne to Somapāla, they secretly despatched emissaries and he, in-turn, sent his envoy. 1490-1491

Owing to the defects of his personal appearance and character, Somapāla was like a brute beast and so they imagined that they would run riot with sovereign powers without interruption. 1492

This plot, more sacrilegious than sin, of the league of marauders, whom the lust for pleasures had stripped of decency, did not, through Providence, materialise in this country. 1493

He who was unfit even to be a house-carl to be on the throne! Leaving aside the disgrace of it—was it possible that this country could have been protected by such as he, even for a while? 1494

The man of straw safeguards the rice crops by frightening the flocks of sparrows; were he appointed to protect the trees in the forest what could he with his face, scorched by fire, achieve there against the destructive wild elephants? 1495

Then Somapāla's envoy, who under the pretext of offering complimentary felicitations had continued to remain in close proximity to Bhikṣu, secretly prepared the Ḍāmaras to hand over hostages. 1496

Now in the month of Vaiśākha, Sujji, having made preparations with all possible speed, emerged from the city and arrived on the bank of the Gambhīrā. 1497

This offensive of his was worthy of praise, since undertaking to fight such a confederation of valiant men, he had singly marched forth. 1498

In view of how daring ventures do eventuate, it would not be strange if, by the will of Providence, a hundredthousand should be vanquished by one individual or that one individual should be overcome by a hundredthousand. 1499

Unable to cross to the further side of the unbridged river, he watched the enemy on the opposite bank who were showering arrows. 1500

Two or three nights he and they remained on either bank of that river with the passage barred; fully equipped they keenly watched one another for any loop-hole. 1501

Then he had a bridge built with boats brought from Avantipura and Sujji himself, having boarded a raft with his horse, crossed over. 1502

As soon as they espied him afloat accompanied by a few soldiers, the enemy host, like an avenue of trees tremulous with a gust of wind, became astir. 1503

All this was seen in a trice—that he had ascended the bank, that the bridge had been constructed, the soldiers had crossed over and the enemy put to flight. 1504

Neither swordsman, nor horseman, nor again a spearman or bowman—none from the routed army was able to turn back and face them. 1505

As owing to the slackening of his girth the saddle of his steed had become loose, Koṣṭheśvara's horsemen had tarried on the way for a moment. 1506

They, too, having fixed the saddle, as Sujji was in pursuit in their rear, swiftly disappeared from view like the swirling circle of dust in a whirlwind. 1507

Massacred, plundered and scattered the standard-bearing companies of the opponents came together in Dhyānoḍḍāra and other villages in a battered condition. 1508

Having crossed the bridge over the Vitastā in front of Vijayeśa, Bhāsa also, who had gone ahead, compelled the marauders to take to flight. 1509

Thus when the commander-in-chief appeared the following day having spent the night at Vijayakṣetra, the rebels had fled abandoning Dhyānoḍḍāra. 1510

There having halted for a few days, he set his face towards Devasarasa when he was joined by the agnates of Ṭikka who approached him having deserted through dissensions. 1511

Jayarāja and Yaśorāja, sons of Bhojaka, the two principal men

1503. K. is no doubt referring to the famous Poplar avenues of Kaśmīr. The Poplar was not known in Europe in the days of Pliny. The Italian Poplar (P. fastigiata) is said to have been imported first from Kaśmīr to Lombardy from where it spread to other parts of Europe and was introduced in England about 1750. The Latin name of the Poplar is Populus (Sk. Pippalas). K. does not mention another well-known tree, the Chenar (Platanus Orientalis). It is akin to the plane tree of the West (P. Occidentalis) which is slightly different from the Chenar. The Chenar, a native of Greece and of the Valleys of Kaśmīr and Farghana in Central Asia, was the favourite shade-tree of the Greeks and Romans who introduced it into S.West Europe. The shady avenues of the Plane trees of Marseilles greet the tourist to the ancient Roman town.

among them, he, upon his entry into Devasara, established on the fief of Ṭikka. 1512

Their league broke up as they fled closely pursued by Sujji; Bhikṣu and others to Śūrapura, Koṣṭheśvara and the rest to their own territory. 1513

The envoy of Somapāla, fleeing from the great peril, thus swore at his master, "Where have I been sent by that son of a serving woman?" 1514

He deemed that the longing on the part of his master for such an exalted rank which was attainable by mighty endeavour and strain, was like the overwhelming desire of a jackal for a lioness. 1515

Thus the kingdom lost for a long time through his sovereign's blunders, Sujji, in a few days, pacified and restored to the son of his liegelord. 1516

Even the steadfast Ḍāmaras of Śamālā and other places as well as the townsmen who had been siding with Bhikṣu, the king began to approach with offers of bribe. 1517

"Having put to the test the power of this king we shall then act as might be proper"—thus they held counsel together and offered him battle by a combined attack. 1518

At Dāmodara was fought that grim action which swallowed up the brave enmasse and where the host of warriors, like actors in a dance, were visible in a screen of dust. 1519

Sahajapāla, by saving his wounded father who had fallen into the power of Koṣṭheśvara, won applause for himself and his subjects. 1520

The efforts, on that occasion, of the king and of Bhikṣācara were without a difference—Bhikṣu had, however, deemed his own defeat on that day inconceivable. 1521

From that time onwards the soldier who was present at dawn was not seen at eventide, nor was he who was present to-day seen on the morrow in Bhikṣu's force. 1522

Thus while the townsmen and the Ḍāmaras deserting from the enemy were flocking to the side of the king and were being received with suitable largesses and welcome, in Manujeśvara and Koṣṭha, who were yearning for emoluments and luxuries, there arose an extraordinary desire to vie with one another in being first to go over to the side of the king. 1523-1524

When he learnt this, Bhikṣu, taking with him his personal staff, moved out from Kākaruha in the month of Āṣāḍha and set his face towards other lands. 1525

He was followed by the leading Ḍāmaras, who from a lingering affection for him endeavoured to placate him at the time, but he having become sullen they failed to stop him. 1526

Koṣṭheśvara, who was beyond the pale of morals, being the son gotten in whoredom, entertained a desire for Bhikṣācara's wife who was exceedingly beautiful. 1527

The lion's mane, the crest-jewel of the cobra, the flame of the sacrificial fire or the young lady of Bhikṣācara, while their life was not extinct, who would dare to touch? 1528

Somapāla had concluded a treaty with Sussala's son and refused to give him asylum in his territory when he begged for it. 1529

Worried on all sides by the attempts to deprive him of life on the part of Somapāla, Bhikṣācara proceeded to Sulharī which was at the far end on the border in the inaccessible region of his dominion. 1530

Even the immortal gods have no pity in Trigarta, morals in Campā, liberality in the Madra country and friendship in Dārvābhisāra. 1531

His counsellors thus advised, "You being far away, the king will, mayhap, harass the Ḍāmaras and, in consequence, they themselves will beseech you and, in time, proclaim you king. Let us therefore proceed straightway to the territory of Naravarman to enlist support." This advice though seemly he did not accept. 1532-1533

"Come and abide with us in our residence with a small retinue"—this invitation of his father-in-law he having now accepted, his retainers departed from his side. 1534

In Śrīnagara, at this time, owing to the equippages of the arriving Ḍāmaras glittering in splendour, it seemed as if it was the season for processions of bridegrooms which abound when there is the auspicious conjunction of the constellations. 1535

Seeing that with charger, parasol and horsemen each one of them

1531. Trigarta=Kāṅgrā. Campā=The hill state of Chamba. Dārvābhisāra=hilly country between the Jhelam and the Cinab.

Madradeśa=ancient name of country between the rivers Beas and the Jhelam.

1535. Marriages are still celebrated only during the times which are held to be astrologically auspicious.

surpassed the king, the people realized the steadfast courage of king Sussala. 1536

Enshrining a light heart, with his charming figure, youthfulness, and gorgeous apparel, it was Koṣṭheśvara above all, who became the cynosure of the eyes of the women. 1537

The unrest in the land having ceased, the sound of the drums of the various groups of the Lavaṇyas who were entering day and night assumed the character of festive music. 1538

Even Kṣīra and the rest and all even from Maḍavarājya, who with their sea of troops were awe-inspiring, were brought by Lakṣmaka to present themselves before the sovereign. 1539

Admission inside the portals of the residence of the chamberlain conferred a great honour upon even the king's dependants. 1540

Owing to the Lavaṇyas having ravaged the country-side, this period of rising expenditure proved for the king insupportable like a famine, though he was rich like the Giver of Wealth. 1541

From among the Ḍāmaras, the king made a selection and having fixed their salaries augmented the number of the inner court and reduced that of the outer court. 1542

The kinsmen of the traitors against his father, Tiṣyavaiśya, Arghadeva, and the rest, were made to suffer death by the king befitting the crime of lése-majesté. 1543

Within four months of the day of the demise of his father, he brought the realm under his own sway and undisputed authority. 1544

At no great distance was the enemy firmly rooted and capable of supporting every burden, while the councillors and grandees of the inner and outer courts were in league with the adversary. 1545

And Śrīnagara was without dwelling-houses, the citizens bereft of resources and the kingdom swarmed with innumerable Ḍāmaras who emulated the king. 1546

There was not one old man to counsel and advise at the royal court; unlawful activities abounded among the serving-folk, and treasonable conduct was their sole intent. 1547

1545-1555. In these verses K. has drawn a picture of Kaśmīr at the accession of Jayasiṁha and in persuading the reader to take a favourable view of the character and administration of the king, who was his contemporary, his language reveals his judgment as an accurate observer.

Such were the resources of the king at the commencement of his reign which should be borne in mind, in order to get an insight into the series of succeeding events, by the discriminate. 1548

Here an opportunity having occured a reference to the cluster of his virtues may, in passing, be made although later on they will be mentioned very frequently. 1549

When weighed apart from facts which precede and succeed them, incidents just like a parable will not be understood and it will not be possible to appreciate the merits of men of high calibre. 1550

As we are judging the merits, such as they actually are, of the king who is our contemporary, we shall acquit ourselves by recording a finding free from bias. 1551

For, in fully knowing the character of any man of determination, no person is really an expert; in the case of the king whose self possession is so super-human how then is this possible? 1552

The wife who is a mate, the friend who is alike in prosperity and adversity, the poet with his masterpiece and the king beloved by the entire population, he is not competent to appreciate in this world whose power of discrimination is clouded by his own vile conduct. 1553

Or perhaps how could a consensus of opinion be arrived at in the conclusion when every one has strangely fixed notions about merits and demerits? 1554

There, of course, are in his case, too, traits of character which are obscure and which the common people, not knowing that they have been mellowing to perfection, have deemed as faults. 1555

During flashes of lightning which are dazzling to the eyes some varieties of plants blossom while others spring up during the prolonged thunderings which are harsh to the ears. There is no activity of the water-giving cloud from which is absent some forms of benefit to another; the unsophisticated people, however, do not ascribe to it any good point other than showering rain. 1556

As they listen to the recital of his qualities which are within the purview of their own experience, the people will come to give credence to the deeds of former kings. 1557

Even without moving from his place, he with the knitting of his eyebrows sets the ruling chiefs aquiver like the mountains at the shaking of the tail by the guardian elephant of the quarters. 1558

The ruling chiefs secretly endure the mental worry arising from fear of him, while their numerous armies bemoan as the seas joined by the moaning streams suffer the submarine fire. 1559

The moon of the glory of former kings has ceased to shed lustre in the world, being eclipsed by the brilliance of this sun among kings. 1560

Whoever looks at him finds that the sovereign is facing him, just as one ever finds facing oneself the faultlessly modelled image of the Supreme Ruler. 1561

Constant in his favours, whatever he grants he never resumes, yet the fright he has given to his enemies he does take away upon their making submission. 1562

When he draws the sword, no one can face him save his own reflection and no one else dare retort except the echo when he thunders. 1563

His speech, not too sharp in anger yet stimulating when inclined to favour, is like a short sword with a single sharp edge. 1564

This king of noble birth is ever displaying fadeless wealth and strong are those who have taken shelter under him like the shoots of the Wishing-tree. 1565

The king's greatness and power of control over the ministers are difficult to gauge; the people have realized it and they obey the latter in every way. 1566

Now having waxed strong, the Chamberlain did not tolerate the ministers just as the stem of the medicinal tree known as Eṣā does not permit the upward growth of neighbouring trees. 1567

While he uprooted every one with ease, as if they were grass, the sparkling Janakasiṁha alone proved impossible to dislodge. 1568

Having been intimate with the king since he was nonage and acquainted with all affairs of state, he, whose sons had grown to man's estate, could not be mishandled in any way. 1569

Lakṣmaka desired to remove discord through matrimonial alliance whereupon Janakasiṁha's son named Chuḍḍa, in his impudence, having slighted him he felt humiliated. 1570

1561. Īśvara. (Sk. Īś=to rule, Vara=Supreme) is a name of Śiva. The Mahommadan Kaśmīrīs use the term in the form of Parmesar (Sk. Parameśvara) which has not yet been replaced by the Arabic Allah.

On the lookout to pick holes at all times he, in his rancour, strove by whispering evil to make the king hostile towards Janakasiṁha and his two sons. 1571

For the two of them, who were of the same age as the king, had become, at the time when he secured the crown, presumptuous owing to the fast friendship of their mothers and had afforded an opportunity to Lakṣmaka since they, unmindful of the proper occasion, behaved like royalty in the matter of their steeds, the correct trinkets, baths, meals and the rest of it inside the very palace of the king. 1572-1573

With those, who have been brought up with him, it is not meet for the sovereign, after attaining exalted rank, ever to be on equal footing; after attaining their height for the clusters of lotuses to be jumped over by a multitude of frogs would be a great mockery. 1574

Having secured this mural background for the designs of their frescoes in the form of gross slander, Janakasiṁha's enemies made the king prejudiced against the whole of his set as well. 1575

Now the grateful king, in order to honour the victorious commander-in-chief, proceeded in the month of Śrāvaṇa to Vijayeśvara. 1576

At this juncture Utpala, who was returning, met his death in a mountain defile at the hands of Piñjadeva, the warden of the watch-station of Śūrapura. 1577

From Puṣyāṇanāḍa he was returning to create unrest, when he was intercepted by the warden of the watch-station who kept a watch even on pebbles. 1578

Felled to the ground with a vital wound in the knee from an arrow, he yet slew a soldier of the opponent who had approached him. 1579

When the king returned after honouring the commander-in-chief, the warden of the watch-station placed the enemy's head at the gateway of the king who was at Avantipura. 1580

1578. At the "gates" of Kaśmīr, the government of the day kept a close watch and strictly regulated, by a system of passports, the exit and entrance into Kaśmīr. Referring to this close watch *Alberuni* writes about the Kaśmīrīs: "They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people." Vol. I. p. 206.

That general with a firm jaw and tight fist was a sledge-hammer for the skulls of the rebels; he pulled out the dart of the king's deep-seated rancour and sorrow. 1581

When in the very first campaign he crushed the enemy, he came to be counted by the people as one of those destroyers of thorns who leave none behind. 1582

Upon his entry into the city some guilty persons slunk away, while a few like Janakasiṁha found themselves lodged in the prison-house. 1583

Some who had fled led them to distrust the king; Koṣṭheśvara and others then turned hostile. 1584

Then in Kārtika, his Majesty the king who was energetic set out for Śamālā and there in various places harried the enemy host who fought with ferocity. 1585

Where king Sussala and his people had their military prestige broken that Hāḍigrāma was burnt down by Sujji of surpassing valour. 1586

Harried by the king Koṣṭhaka and his party then invited Bhikṣācara who, avid for the crown, once again came up. 1587

In one day he having traversed fifteen yojanas arrived at a hamlet in the uplands known as Śilikā-koṭṭa. 1588

The hardships arising from hunger, thirst, fatigue, peril from the enemy, or missing of the way that proud prince, driven by the will to victory, counted as nothing. 1589

The enterprise of the ambitious bears an unfortunate aspect where Providence is adverse, just as the streamer of a flag on a chariot which is moving against the wind turns its face the other way. 1590

The very commencement itself is sufficient for the achievement of success in the case of a certain person, while another even after the utmost striving finds his efforts fruitless. It was the churning mountain who in a little while brought out ambrosia from the ocean, not the son of Himālaya who since a long time had abided in friendship with it. 1591

Fallen from its place of origin the river creates an altogether mistaken

1581. Mudgara=Sledge-hammer; it may also mean the club used by the Kaśmīrī peasant to break clods of earth in the rice-fields.

1590. This recalls a well-known verse of Kālidāsa. Duṣyanta compares his 'heart' which is straining to go back to his beloved Śakuntalā, while his body is moving forward, to the flag on the chariot moving against the wind.

impression that it is flowing the other way, when it is rolled back by the compelling breakers on the seashore. There is no rising up for those whom Providence has brought down. 1592

While he, with grim determination, was making mighty efforts, just then at the dawn of his power a snag was created by adverse Providence. 1593

Thus, unaware of his arrival, the younger brother of Pṛthvīhara having suffered defeat at this very time had cut the finger and surrendered to the king. 1594

Koṣṭheśvara and he upon hearing of Bhikṣācara's arrival then approached him, but stood by unfit for action like two snakes restrained by spells. 1595

When the two of them had made him rest after the fatigue of the march, he departed by the route of the watch-station of Kārkoṭa and proceeded to Sulharī. 1596

There his tree-like arms itched with overweening confidence and he was seething with the perpetual desire for the invasion of Kaśmīr. 1597

While, like the waters of a flood, he was on the look out for a loophole the king, on his part, upon his return to the city, was planning countermeasures. 1598

The Chamberlain, who had not his like among the ministers, unable to support the overbearing hauteur of Sujji, became engrossed in hatching intrigues. 1599

Now the younger brother of Dhanya, who since his immersion in the waters of the Gaṅgā had purified his body, acquired the confident support of his proud sovereign. 1600

His elders, who were intimate with the king and had long been held in respect, finding themselves without offices of authority, had brooded over this and had been mentally worried. 1601

While, owing to the exigency of state affairs, the king had thrown the burden on his father's ministers, these shallow-minded persons proved unable to bide their time. 1602

The Chamberlain, who without ostentation had been striving to oust Sujji, gladly accepted them, although no friends of his, as being useful for his daring venture. 1603

1594. See Taraṅga V. 150 and verses 1738, 2270, 2308 and 3300 below.

Thus, when some months had passed by, the king, as luck would have it, suddenly fell ill suffering from a skin disease. 1604

His recovery having become doubtful, owing to the complications of boils, swelling, diarrhoea, feeble digestion and the like, the country fell into tribulation. 1605

While the monarch, the sole upholder of the dynasty, was in such straits, the powerful foe and his partisans, the Ḍāmaras, considered that the administration was already doomed. 1606

Pondering over what action would be beneficial for the future as well as in the existing circumstances Sujji, planning to declare king, Parmāṇḍi, the only son of her Majesty Guṇalekhā, a boy in the neighbourhood of five years, held counsel with the latter's maternal uncle, the son of Garga. 1607-1608

"While you are reduced to such a plight the traitor Sujji, with his son, is now artfully plotting, night and day, with Pañcacandra and the others"—thus spoke to the king the Chamberlain, who had found a loop-hole, as also Dhanya and his people who were instigated by him and the king thus came to believe this to be true. 1609-1610

As if they were a creator of yore, the weather-wise by descriptions of the inner principle of wondrous phenomena engender curiosity; like children are kings in general; their intellect is guided by the short-witted and they lack control and strength of mind. 1611

By the practice of cohabitation at the anus or with women in their place of copulation, he who has been reduced to impotence by his born bondsmen, adepts in deceit, who like possessing demons have a complete hold over his mind, how can any good come from a king who has no freedom of action? 1612

Without any occasion the sycophant, laughing, enters the presence of the ruler of the land; the latter with eyes wide open asks, "What is it? what is it?" of the foul-minded fellow, with affection; he, scratching his hair, says something which descends upon the lives and honour of the respectable, dragging everything before it like the thunderbolt of Indra. 1613

He passes in and out at his pleasure, whispering something mysterious in the ears of his liege-lord, looking at the world with the eyes of contempt he appreciates slaps on the face in anger or kindness, and such other treatment as a personal favour—the king's favourite is difficult to endure. 1614

Hence the universal disaster which results from the lack of insight into the character of their servants on the part of kings; fie on it! owing to the misdeeds of their subjects, even to this day, there is no end to this. 1615-1616

Sujji, as was his wont, arriving to enquire after the health of the sovereign and seeing that guards had been posted winced with pain at the lack of trust. 1617

Perceiving that in the heart of the king loving-kindness had been replaced by contumacy, as is right by left in the reflection of a mirror, he became listless. 1618

When through vexation he grew slack in his trips to and fro to the royal palace, the villains completely deprived the king of the affection which he had entertained for him. 1619

A servant of Sujji, the knave Citraratha, son of a Brahman member of the assembly, ruined the welfare of the king by counsel which stirred up opposition. 1620

When the king became convalescent Sujji was seen showering riches in the royal palace in felicitation; he left the palace in the hope of being asked to return and at last went home. 1621

The king did not placate him; "How shall we attack this man who possesses a large force of cavalry"—thus, on the contrary, did he set himself to think of ways and means. 1622

"If Sujji were deprived of office he would be deserted by his dependants who would have nothing to hope for"—thinking in this wise, he made him immediately hand over charge of the offices of state to others. 1623

The king bestowed the garland of the office of minister of justice on Dhanya, on Udaya that of the chief command of the army, and the office of Kherī on Rilhaṇa. 1624

Deprived of authority and faced with the manifest hostility of the king, Sujji, thereafter, with the few followers remaining to him, lived in a state of apprehension. 1625

Then this proud man feeling humiliated turned his mind to a pilgrimage to the Gaṅgā and left the city taking with him the ashes of king Sussala. 1626

In his eager longing he had hoped that he would be requested to stay while passing by the royal palace; as he went out neither by the king's swornmen, nor by the king was he pressed to stay. 1627

To proclaim his pride in the banishment of Sujji, the Chamberlain appointed as an escort, for safeguarding Sujji's treasure and other property, his own son. 1628

"Lakṣmaka gives me his son as protector to show that punishment and favour depend upon him"—musing in this wise he was wrung with pain. 1629

The son of Lakṣmaka returned from the frontier and the faithful Sujji proceeded by stages to Parṇotsa and sent down Bhāgika to the plains from Mount Lohara. 1630

He was made to hand over charge of that stronghold also to the milk-brother of the king named Preman, who had been sent out by the Chamberlain. 1631

Having pulled out the dart of the king's distrust by the surrender of Lohara, he passed the insufferable hot season at Rājapurī. 1632

Lakṣmaka, through his ability to cause the rise and fall of an assemblage of ministers as if they were balls and through his control of the Ḍāmaras, attained extraordinary prestige. 1633

Impelled by the desire to set up a counter champion to Sujji, he appointed to the wardenship of the frontier Rājamaṅgala, who was a manful cadet of a ruling family. 1634

He in his exceeding jealousy thus believed: "This courageous man, who comes from none other than Sujji's country, fostered on my riches, will eclipse his fame." 1635

With a sword-bearer for his sole helpmate, hungry, unhappy and an object of ridicule Sujji had been made to tramp the roads by Lakṣmaka by bestowing his office on others. 1636

To appoint the incapables to the post of the capables, who would not be able to do that? To invest them with the merits of the latter is not possible even for the elements. 1637

On his own body which deserves to be annointed with sandal, Śiva is pleased to throw up at will the ashes of a funeral pyre which is unmeet; but even he—at whose sweet will are wrought the dawn and downfall of the three worlds—is not apparently skilled to associate with them the perfume of sandal. 1638

1632. The Kaśmīrīs, accustomed to the temperate climate of their alpine country, have always detested the heat of the plains. Kalhaṇa praises with justification the lovely climate and the charm of the summer of Kaśmīr I. 41, II. 138. See also 1865 and 1908 below.

Rājamaṅgala having proved not experienced enough to hold himself out as a competitor of Sujji, Lakṣmaka despatched emissaries to bring back Sañjapāla from abroad. 1639

There being a lack of virile men in the country, the king, from important reasons of state, took Koṣṭheśvara in his very intimate circle, although he hated him. 1640

Having been conciliated the king favoured him with various gifts of grace and bounty; and he, living in security in Śrīnagara, in turn, fell ill with the skin disease. 1641

While the king imposed upon himself in this fashion a multitude of restrictions for reasons of state, Somapāla and other intriguers induced Sujji to turn hostile. 1642

Plighting his word that he could successfully effect the conquest of Kaśmīr with only a cane, Sujji, who had been insulted, undertook to place Somapāla on the throne. 1643

He, in turn, promised him his sister's daughter and his own. Meanwhile the prudent king made use of diplomatic negotiation and bounties. 1644

Those two, being light-hearted having failed to complete the espousal of the two princesses at once, allowed an interval of time to their enemies. 1645

Acting on the diplomatic pressure of Jayasiṁha and also because of the portents which he had observed, Somapāla now grew lukewarm in his regard for Sujji. 1646

Having arrived in person the Chamberlain, on this occasion, invited the ruler of Rājapurī to the zone between the frontiers to settle the marriage of the princesses. 1647

Somapāla received as his bride the princess royal, named Ambikāputrikā, the king's daughter by the queen consort Kalhanikā. 1648

1641. I am indebted to Vaidyarāj Pandit Rāmacandra, my fellow-prisoner in the District Jail at Bareilly, for the following references to the diseases of Lūtā, Daṇḍakālasaka (VII. 1443) and Tṛṣṇā mentioned by Kalhaṇa.

Lūtā=see *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* part I. chapter 31, verses 45-61.

Daṇḍakālasaka=*Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, Sūtrasthāna, chapter V. verses 6-13.

Tṛṣṇā=*Caraka Saṃhitā*; Cikitsā, chapter 22, verses 1-16.

The Vaidyarāja was also good enough to supply several references to verses recommending the cooking of rice and meat together—an ancient Aryan dish better known in the west by its Turkish name Pilaf. See e.g. *Caraka*, Sūtra portion, chapter VI. verse 32.

When he had departed after the wedding was over, the shrewed Chamberlain escorted Nāgalekhā, Somapāla's sister's daughter, as bride for the king. 1649

Thus the two realms having been bound by alliance, Sujji found that there was no room for him and he set out at the end of winter with his face towards the river of the three-fold course. 1650

In Jālaṁdhara, Jyeṣṭhapāla met him whose peace of mind had been devastated by the deep humiliation and he won him over to the cause of Bhikṣu. 1651

"When you and Bhikṣācara are united in command of the army, neither Viṣṇu nor Indra would be capable of resistance." 1652

"The king who insulted you who had given the throne to him, and that chief who humiliated you while you were in his territory—we shall take vengeance on them both." 1653

Thus urged by him Sujji became impatient to proceed to see Bhikṣu who was abiding with Deṅgapāla, but was restrained by Bhāgika who spoke hotly as follows: "This thy act is not seemly while thou hast yet to place the ashes of thy liege-lord in the waters of the Gaṅgā." 1654-1655

He resolved having bathed in the celestial river to repair to them; then swearing an oath by libation, he set out for the fulfilment of the immediate task. 1656

On the other hand the king, who had laid the entire burden in the hands of the Chamberlain, considered the realm to be insecure owing to the policy of non-aggression. 1657

For, the Chamberlain, by making peace with whomsoever was in revolt, continued to stand by the side of the king, day after day, looking patronizingly upon him. 1658

The commander-in-chief, Udaya, slew the arrogant Prakaṭa, son of Kāliya, by stratagem 1659

Then all those Lavaṇyas, who were seething with discontent and who were beyond the pale of restraint, Lakṣmaka got the commander-in-chief, in a measure, to pacify them. 1660

While Bhikṣācara was thus resolving—"till such time as Sujji returns from his bath in the Gaṅgā how shall I get tangled the affairs of Kaśmīr"—just then he learnt of the cleavage between the Ḍāmaras

1659. There is a lacuna in the text.

and the king and having got this opportunity he entered Viṣalāṭā upon the approach of winter. 1661-1662

But to his entry inside the kingdom, the Chamberlain, who had checked the Ḍāmaras, as well as the season of snow proved to be obstacles. 1663

Ṭikka, whose sole intent was hatred towards the foe, since he had committed treason against his father, invited Bhikṣācara and in this he was supported by all the Ḍāmaras. 1664

While biding the arrival of Sujji which was to result in the acquisition of the throne, he stayed on in the stronghold named Bāṇaśālā belonging to Ṭikka's son-in-law Bhāgika, the overlord of the Khaśas; although it was at a low altitude he, deeming himself safe, led the entire world of Ḍāmaras to defection. 1665-1666

Creating jubilation among friends and panic among the opponents in advance, Sujji now returned from the Gaṅgā having had his dip. 1667

King Jayasiṁha thus reflected: "If Sujji who has formerly been insulted were to unite with Bhikṣācara the peril from him would be as great for us as for this chief Somapāla." And accordingly requested the latter to endeavour to win over Sujji. And Somapāla affrighted and distraught resorted to stratagem. 1668-1669

Sujji reached Jālaṁdhara in the morning and before he could proceed to Bhikṣācara in the evening Somapāla's emissary met him. 1670

Urged by Jyeṣṭhapāla and dissuaded by Bhāgika, he desisted by reason of the word of Somapāla from espousing the cause of the adversary. 1671

"Your debt incurred in other lands, the sovereign will redeem and a request from my mouth having been sent, he will himself offer you office." Thus spoke Somapāla, through the mouth of the emissary, day after day, and banishing his zeal for the Pretender, he set forth with his face towards Somapāla's territory. 1672-1673

Udaya, the commander-in-chief, having crossed the defile in Vaiśākha opened the campaign against Bhikṣu who was supported by the Khaśas. 1674

At first the force of the commander-in-chief was small; when later their numbers swelled, Bhikṣu was hemmed in and he entered the citadel. 1675

Now the king who had marched to Vijayaksetra, by the despatch of

various contingents, kept on reinforcing the camp of the generalissimo. 1676

[The royal troops discharged stones from catapults, showered arrows and various other missiles, and those in the fortress defended themselves by rolling down boulders.] 1677

While the boulders were falling as well as the arrows stamped with Bhikṣu's name, the royal army though widely deployed failed to storm the garrison. 1678

When just a month and some days had gone by, Dhanya, having opened a tunnel under the fortress, captured the store of tank water. 1679

The garrison, which could not be overcome by might and main, mindful of the eagerness of the king to employ diplomacy and impelled by a desire to harass his opponent, began to display their greed for riches. 1680

Thereupon the king despatched the Chamberlain, accompanied by the Ḍāmaras, the grandees, councillors and the Rājaputras, for the successful conclusion of the task. 1681

Koṣṭheśvara, Trillaka and the others, in the hope that they might be able to ransom Bhikṣu, who was in a critical situation, trailed after him. 1682

Watching, from the tops of the mountain pass, the fort situate at a meager altitude and viewing his own endless regiments, the Chamberlain felt it was as good as taken. 1683

The troops, who were already there as well as those who had escorted the Chamberlain, delivered, on the following day, an attack with the full strength of the army intending to carry the fortress by storm. 1684

Albeit in such large numbers, they were so completely repulsed by the downpour of boulders that they were forced to the conclusion that this was not to be achieved by valour. 1685

The round heads, streaming with blood as they fell from the trunks of the warriors struck by rockets, resembled honeycombs, thrown from tree-tops, from which bees are emerging. 1686

Koṣṭheśvara somehow displayed, on this occasion, folly which

1677. This verse was omitted in the first edition of this book owing no doubt to an oversight; it is being given here in the rendering of Dr. Kalikumar Datta Sartri who has seen this edition through the press.

caused the ruin of himself as well as of Bhikṣu and of the other Lavaṇyas. 1687

For, just to secure notoriety that in that place there was none so brave as he, he had fought impetuously which led to loss of Bhikṣu's life. 1688

Bhikṣācara in the grip of the perfidious Khaśas maintained his courage arguing to himself: "Koṣṭheśvara and I are inseparable and the rest of the Ḍāmaras are under his influence—this army which looks so vast will in the end turn to our advantage." But it was to happen otherwise. 1689-1690

The Khaśas, however, came to this conclusion: "If the foundation of Bhikṣācara's confidence is this very Koṣṭheśvara who is an enemy, what faith can be placed in the others who are there?" 1691

The astute Lakṣmaka, on the other hand, under the compelling force of the task, undertook to restore to his own estate Ṭikka who had been a traitor against the king's father. 1692

The ruler of the Khaśas he won over by the cession of prosperous villages, gold and other gifts, and induced him to tighten his belt for treachery against Bhikṣu. 1693

Ānanda, the wife's brother of the Khaśa ruler, who made trips to and fro, conducted Ṭikka before the Chamberlain and had him reinstated. 1694

Watching the entente of the Chamberlain with Ṭikka, the Dāmaras, Koṣṭheśvara and others, realized that Bhikṣu would doubtless be killed. 1695

In their tribulation they sent emissaries with much money to the Khaśa for the ransom of Bhikṣācara undertaking further payments. 1696

The Khaśa, however, argued: "If Bhikṣu were released by us on accepting the bribe he will deem his life to have been saved by Koṣṭheśvara and the others. In his anger, on acquiring the realm he, or mayhap, Deṅgapāla, who is deeply committed, might slay me. I should therefore strive and keep on the safe side with Jayasiṁha." Reflecting in this wise he replied to them that Bhikṣu should, while in the toilet, remove a plank in that room and escape from there and they, too, should inform him accordingly. 1697-1699

1693. Ābaddha Kakṣya=girding up the loins.

"He has run away like a dog with his body smeared with ordure by way of the latrine"—thinking that such would be his infamy among the people the proud prince did not depart. 1700

Koṣṭheśvara, whose dealings were underhand and who with intent to excite unrest among the troops had been throwing about denunciations, was placated early in the day by the Chamberlain, who understood the need of the hour. 1701

The Khaśa and his people having delivered hostages, preparations were set on foot from the dawn of day by the Chamberlain and his lieutenants for the assassination of Bhikṣu. 1702

The king, too, questioning for news the messengers who were coming and going every moment at Vijayakṣetra, was in tribulation. 1703

"He who in spite of ten years of efforts of reckless adventure in so many encounters was not overcome by the old king—of that Bhikṣācara this whelp of a boy king and these baby partisans of his believe that they could compass the death; alas! what a combination!" 1704-1705

"In a moment the Khaśas will swoop down and laughing carry away the treasure; and these troops being routed will doubtless flee and they will all, in turn, be plundered by the enemy." 1706

"This Koṣṭhaka is already estranged, Trillaka is his own kinsman and even these, belonging to the inner court of the king, have grown fat on the leavings from Bhikṣācara's platter." 1707

"What newcomer has arrived here who can achieve any good for the king? these stores that have come are, in truth, for the very benefit of the other." 1708

While thus the talk went round among the folk in camp, at the same time the fort was surrounded by the ministers' contingents carrying drawn swords. 1709

"A single individual who has long been harried is sought to be killed; to achieve this, fie on their doings! all these shameless persons have formed a perimeter with all the men-at-arms." 1710

They alone were thus articulate while with their glittering weapons resembling the gleaming breakers and the warrior's lightning-glances the fish, the army like the ocean was silent. 1711

1710. Parikara = Perimeter. In these days the perimeter is often of live electric wire.

"Will he perchance fly away through the sky, or clear the army in one bound like an antelope, or will he strike down all and sundry simultaneously like the fatal cloud-burst when Bhikṣu of wondrous valour at last buckles his sword!—thus did the folk, bewildered and amazed, continue to bemuse exceedingly. 1712-1713

Thus far the ministers had succeeded. Now arose a contretemps. Its removal as well as the fulfilment of the objective were due to the manifold glory of the king. 1714

While the army with upraised eyes was awaiting the sortie of Bhikṣācara, from the fort with a drawn dagger a man came out. 1715

Weeping women surrounded him whom a few men in the rear with fluttering nether garments of saffron colour on their bodies were scolding. 1716

"Here is Bhikṣu on the run who had been a captive in there." So spoke the breathless people. Then they heard that it was Ṭikka who had come out. 1717

For he who had been perfidious towards Bhikṣu had feared that he might be killed by him or by the king's men in the scrimmage and had therefore got away. 1718

To assure the people that he was no traitor, he had drawn the dagger to strike at the stomach but was prevented by his own followers. 1719

With his followers he passed through the royal army which allowed him passage and sat down on the edge of a mountain stream which was not far off. 1720

With breath restored through draughts of water obtained after a long time and having come out of danger, he, urged by the other Ḍāmaras, started to make use of his wiles. 1721

"With the lengthening sun-beams the day is advanced; let Bhikṣu be safeguarded awhile; during the night the Ḍāmaras will raise the siege." Because of this prediction by him the assassins sent by the ministers attempted to climb up with the hostages but were held up by the Khaśas who rolled down boulders. 1722-1723

Thereupon the soldiers loud-mouthed with cheers, with shouts and clapping of their hands jeered the civilian ministers whose hearts were in a flutter. 1724

1724. The military thoroughly enjoyed the discomfiture of the politicians and the civilians!

"The king's enemies when in a critical condition have been allowed to go free to endeavour to gain the throne for the adversary. What purpose indeed has been achieved by the ministers by giving away money?" 1725

Then as the success of the royal cause, like the sun, yet lingered, Lakṣmaka thus asked the hostage, the wife's brother of the Khaśas, "How is this?" 1726

"Even by a water-fetching serving-maid," he replied, "a plan may possibly be hampered but how am I to oppose by arguments the Khaśas when I am not present among them?" 1727

He despatched that hostage, Ānanda telling him to go and put an end to the perversity of the Khaśas and was laughed at by the other ministers. 1728

The king who was very far-sighted had deemed an attack possible from the residence of Deṅgapāla by the route of Viṣalāṭa. 1729

Hence the wife's brother of the commandant of the fort who was an important person had already been won over early with presents, for this purpose, when the king was laying out his far-reaching meshes. 1730

During the stage of confusion, the Chamberlain remained without misgivings knowing that he could, like a trained bird when set free, be secured. 1731

Lakṣmaka said to the advisers, "The risk I take is no matter for laughter if this device miscarries; for in the event of the entire purpose being wrecked what would it avail us even to have killed that wife's brother of the Khaśa?" 1732

Through the unfaltering strength of the royal good fortune, the Khaśa's brother-in-law, having controlled the lot of them, summoned the assassins and the rest from the top of the bastion. 1733

And as the assassins started to ascend the hill, the soul of the Ḍāmaras struggled in their throats, the wits of the ministers were lost in misgivings, and the transports of love of the celestial maidens reached their culmination. 1734

Those vassals of prince Bhikṣu who had been desirous of following him in death and who were known for the leather straps with which they girded up their loins, for advertising themselves everywhere, during the struggle, through arrows marked with their own names as was the case with their liege-lord, for those lips red with Tāmbūla,

for the sedulous care of the toilet of their hair and beards—in their case all that was interrupted, when the prince's death became inevitable and they quickly sought an asylum in the tents of Koṣṭheśvara and the rest. 1735-1737

Then one by one his own soldiers cunningly sent by Lakṣmaka came up and Ṭikka seeing himself enveloped severed his finger through terror. 1738

The Khaśas, who at this time had suspected that he might take to flight, had placed him under guard and he had not fed through mental worry during those days. 1739

The brave Bhikṣācara, impatient at the delay of the assassins and eager for the struggle, waited diverting his mind the while with the game of dice. 1740

When the band of assassins reached the courtyard of the mansion he, as he was about to rise to challenge them, completed the game which had been all but finished. 1741

As if he were a lover at play with his sweetheart getting up to welcome a friend on his arrival, his mind betrayed no excitement. 1742

"To what end would much slaughter be even on this day"—with this thought he lay aside the bow and stepped out with his sabre. 1743

His dark locks of hair were thinned by prolonged anxieties, the hem of his military uniform fluttered like a gay pennon as if it were his waving ensign; with the lustre of his mother of pearl pendants which danced against the cheeks, and the beauty of the sandal emollient which gleamed like his proud smile he appeared at the finale of an amazing career to have overcome defeat by kicking it with his feet; his sword, eyes and the lower garments scintillated like fire brands, with the saffron coloured nether garments and the quivering corners of his pale under lip which in front was firmly set, he was comparable to an intrepid lion with a bushy mane clinging to his shoulder; with quick, graceful and firm strides which characterised his movements and which harmonized gracefully with the manifold play of eye, will and feet he was of noblesse the correct deportment personified, an ornament to self-assurance, the endless and unceasing pride of those for whom honour is fortune. Thus did all the people who had turned their faces

1735. Here we have a description of the young officers in the Pretender's forces.

towards him behold Bhikṣu, unmindful of his impending fall, stepping forth to face his enemies. 1744–1750

The dauntless Kumāriya, scion of royalty, the grandson of Madhu as well as the brother of Jyeṣṭhapāla, Raktika, came out and walked behind him. 1751

Gārgika, the liegeman of Bhikṣu, single-handed checked the assailants as they attempted an entry through terraces, high and low of all sorts. 1752

Fleeing from the arrows discharged from his bow, they appeared like elephants escaping fròm hailstones driven by the east wind. 1753

This man who had held up the adversary was at last rendered *hors de combat*, when the villainous Khaśas by throwing stones bruised his limbs and smashed his bow. 1754

Upon his withdrawal all those soldiers entering through high and low passages came up within range of Bhikṣu and the others. 1755

A tall soldier with his javelin swiftly fell upon Bhikṣu's sole weapon-bearer standing by whose steadfastness was scarcely noticed at the moment. 1756

As he was about to make the thrust with the javelin, Bhikṣu who loved his liegeman ran up and having parried the blow violently seized him by the hair. 1757

As he struck him with the sword and as his life was ebbing away, Kumāriya and Raktika again smote him while he was about to fall. 1758

After this man was killed the three of them fought with the soldiers of their opponent who wearing armour and carrying various arms came in a phalanx. 1759

But the opponents having been terrorised by their swords, they were left alone as are trees when the pythons in their hollows have scared away the swarms of bees. 1760

The assailants having failed to kill them with their swords, javelins, and like weapons withdrew and thereafter rained, from afar, showers of arrows. 1761

While Bhikṣācara, lion-like, was breaking through the cage of arrows, from the terrace heavy showers of stones were then poured by the Khaśas. 1762

As he was retreating the terrible shower of stones battered his body and an arrow penetrated his side and smashed his liver. 1763

After taking three steps he, of a sudden, collapsed making the earth tremble—at the same time removing the tremor of his enemy which since a long time had been on the increase. 1764

Kumāriya, too, by an arrow which pierced the region of the groin, fell lifeless on the tracks of his liege-lord. 1765

While Raktika also pierced by an arrow in a vital part was paralyzed and, while yet alive, sank on the ground as if he were lifeless. 1766

Bhikṣu being slain in the company of men of high lineage was brilliant like a mountain, with trees in flower, struck by lightning. 1767

Among such a large circle of royal personages was this descendant of king Harṣa—Bhikṣu obtained not disgrace but the highest place of honour. 1768

Providence ever unfriendly towards him was even at the end unfalteringly courted by him and, in truth, acknowledged its own defeat. 1769

What was he poor fellow as compared with former kings who had vast resources? They were, however, nothing compared to him judged by the brave deeds done at the end. 1770

Bloated with vain glory, the hostile soldiers assailed Kumāriya who, albeit in that plight and so grievously wounded, fought with his dagger. 1771

Disabled in this wise by injuries, he yet sparkled and was determined to fight, and his enemies who realized his manfulness having spread out slew him with many thrusts. 1772

"He is dead! Enough, you blockheads, with your blows!" the hostile soldiers though jeered at by the Khaśas in this wise struck many times at the dead Bhikṣu. 1773

Raktika in the agony of his grievous wound, unable to wield his weapon, was slain, as he lay well-nigh lifeless, by some villainous soldiers. 1774

4206 L.E.
1130 A.C.

Having lived to the age of thirty years and nine months in the year six on the tenth day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha this king was killed. 1775

Those, for whom he had been a halter during the prolonged disorders and the very cause of their complete ruination, eventually praised him marvelling at his valour. 1776

The tremor of the eyes, the quiver of the brows and the smile on his lips did not fade for several Nālikās as if the head were alive. 1777

One part of him sought in the heaven the company of the Apsarās while the body, the other part on earth, entered the fire, knowing the earth and water to be cold. 1778

Then the ministers presented before the king, who was at Vijaya-kṣetra, the heads of those three on the following day. 1779

When Lakṣmī, ambrosia, the jewel, the elephant, the steed, the moon, and other treasures were brought to light, the amazing character of the ocean was observed, so is this king also. In a variety of ways he reveals his character which is a wonder of the world; no one can size him or fathom his depth. 1780-1781

He did not feel puffed up thus: "he whom even my father could not overcome has been slain" nor even exult in this wise: "this thorn in the side of kings has finally been removed." Being guileless in his nature and generous he did not grow angered at the sight of Bhikṣu's head "this fellow had caused my father's head to be carried about." On the contrary he thought to himself "one should admire the elemental personality of this man, not the perversion caused by hatred, just as one looks for clearness in the crystal and not for the heat radiated from the sun." 1782-1784

"Alas! from Utkarṣa up to this no king, in this country, had departed this life by death in his own time." 1785

"Even those who formerly basked in the favour of this king now look, as if unconcerned, at his condition when his head is his only remnant." 1786

Inwardly musing in this wise the monarch, with uncommon goodness, ordered that the last honours worthy of such a foe might be rendered forthwith. 1787

And during the night when sleep deserted him, pondering over the dawn and the setting of Bhikṣācara he, time and again, fell into a reverie over the kaleidoscopic nature of cosmic existence. 1788

While the folk believed that, in this country even for a thousand years verily there would be no upheavals again caused by the royal kindred. 1789

1785. K. puts his own reflections on the fate of rulers, dictators and autocrats in the mouth of the king.

1788. Vaicitrya=Kaleidoscopic. (Sk. Citra=picture).

Providence having set fire to the scanty turf creates an extensive stretch of green sward; having exhibited a day of concentrated heat it produces a shower of rain. In view of the touch of surprising variety in its acts no reliance is possible, as if there were a rule of law, in the case of Providence whose decrees are uncertain. 1790

Just when the hero having discharged his duty is about to fix his thought on repose, Providence lays upon him the burden of other heavy responsibilities. 1791

While the foot of the first rider who has tired him out by urging him for a long time is not yet wholly out of the other stirrup, another rider mounts on the sore back of the saddle-horse just as he is sensing the luxurious rest from the easing off of the load. 1792

In like manner when the realm was rendered free from enemies for a single night, a carrier of despatches, dumb with grief, presented himself before the king. 1793

Questioned by the bewildered councillors he reported: "On the very day when the king's enemy Bhikṣācara who had been causing disruption was given a quietus, out of the two brothers Salhaṇa and Loṭhana, step-brothers of king Sussala, formerly imprisoned by him in the Lohara fort, the elder having died the younger, Loṭhana, has been annointed king by the officers of the fort, during the night, by force." 1794–1796

He further stated that Loṭhana had come out of prison with his son and brothers' sons, five of them, full of arrogance, coveting the realm and claiming that he was master of the treasury. 1797

The very guardians of the quarters closely watched reflecting in this wise—"the mind of this king has just been relaxed by the quelling of long-continued disorders when he is being crushed by this evil news which is like the sudden fall of lightning; very likely he, now wrung with pain, might swoon, weep aloud or fall down with arms outstretched or having been completely unstrung fall into slumber or just stare with moveless eyes." 1798–1800

For indeed no one else had been overborne by such a mischance, insupportable in every way, among the other kings of a bygone age. 1801

The lost dominion had been regained by his father by main force which he, in turn, had rendered a secure heritage by the destruction of the foe. 1802

Both, the fortress as well as the treasure were lost! In a country which delighted in insurrection, where even a nameless orphan, the only surviving rival kinsman, had been able to bring about disruption destructive of prosperity and honour for many a year, single-handed, without riches and bereft of kindred—there had arisen, in place of the single enemy just slain six opponents possessing friends, a fortress and riches while the subjects of this realm were riven by dissention and the treasury was empty. 1803-1805

The king having passed through such a test for a high-souled person Rāmacandra himself could compare, I trow, unfavourably with him in fortitude. 1806

For the father, recollecting the same composure formerly maintained by Rāmacandra at the time of the conferment of imperial sovereignty as at his banishment, had recounted his noble qualities in this fashion:— 1807

"Neither when invited to be annointed king nor when dismissed to the wilderness did I notice in him even the slightest change of demeanour." 1808

In the lovely sylvan glades Daśaratha had asked him to bide awhile in the company of his wife and younger brother promising to restore him to fortune. 1809

Although both of them had experienced at one and the same time such conflicting currents of joy and sorrow, owing, however, to the dissimilarities of their respective lots there is a great difference between them. 1810

Providence, assuredly, had cut off the various resources of the well-equipped king in order to demonstrate that his might was independent of material resources. 1811

The king's very wondrous achievements which are about to be recounted—who would have esteemed them so high if abundant means had been available? 1812

Then the despatch carrier, questioned in detail by the king, whose fortitude was deep like the ocean, in order to learn the rest of the happenings, related the tidings of the stronghold. 1813

"After the departure of Bhāgika on handing over charge of the fortress, the governor Preman, with his wits under the intoxication of prosperity, had become neglectful of measures for watch and ward." 1814

"He, solely intent on personal adornments, on eating and drinking and dalliance with women, had been behaving himself in an undignified manner and by his arrogant and stern conduct had antagonised the subordinates." 1815

"When prevented by Your Majesty, from clemency for the kinsmen, from gouging out the eyes and other torture he took no adequate action for watch and ward over the prisoners." 1816

"An intriguing official named Udayana whose aims were deep, Māñika the chamberlain, and the son of Bhīmākara, Indākara, the traitors, meanwhile plotted together on various occasions the assassination of the minister Preman, whose power was firmly rooted." 1817-1818

"He, whom they had from lack of opportunity failed to kill, happened to descend from the fort, through stress of business, to Aṭṭālikā. 1819

"Having first conspired with the wife of the king-designate, they fabricated secret parchments to carry conviction with the entire population of the fortress that such was the ordinance despatched from Kaśmīr by the king, when the course of his life was nigh ebbing away. Having then interviewed Loṭhana and freed him from shackles they took him out of the citadel at night and annointed him king in front of the shrine of Viṣṇu Siṁharājasvāmin." 1820-1822

"A certain wife of king Sussala, named Śāradā, an insignificant person who lived there was utilized for giving sanction." 1823

"With the steel implements furnished by her, they wrenched off the bolts and carried away from the treasury to their fill treasure, jewels and other valuables." 1824

"This very serious and bold act was carried out by seven persons including servants and the Caṇḍālas were induced to abandon resistance through bribery." 1825

"When with the rattle of the kettle-drums and blare of trumpets and other instruments, the residents of the fort were disturbed from

1823. This verse shows the political importance of the Ranis of Kaśmīr. A forgotten Rani was made use of for the purpose of obtaining her sanction to legalise rebel activity. In verse 1820 supra the rebels had "First conspired with the wife of the king-designate" which also shows the active participation of the ladies of the ruling class in political work. See verses 1968 and 3118-3119 infra and VII. 535.

sleep they thus beheld Loṭhana decked out in trinkets as beseemed a king." 1826

"Clad in apparel of such splendour as had never been seen before, he filled the people with amazement with this cavalcade of king and his ministers brilliant with illuminations." 1827

"They had apprehended that the two Ṭhakkuras, Carman and Pāsika might bring up from their land, supported by troops, the little son of Preman who was biding with them. This momentary dread of a hostile attack eventually wore out together with the rest of the night which was pale in the embrace of the moonbeams." 1828-1829

"At dawn Preman, hot and furious upon hearing the evil tidings—heated further by the rays of the fierce sun, hastened to arrest them." 1830

"The rebel soldiers who had made a sally, I saw turning him back as he reached the foot of the main street. I then hurried to present myself before the sovereign." 1831

Having hearkened to this report the king hurriedly despatched Lulla, a councillor of Lohara, and Udaya, the warden of the frontier, son of Ānandavardhana. 1832

For these two, he knew, being born in the territory of the fortress, would be competent to seize it by a close watch on the scarcity of grain, provision and other loop-holes. 1833

On entering the city he saw the head of Bhikṣu being exploited by soldiers who were soliciting for grace money; he rebuked them and had it burnt. 1834

When this grandson was being consigned to the flames in the land which was his grandfather's the people, the majority of whom were women, bewailed him and by royal command they were not interfered with. 1835

In very trying weather, when with the growing power of summer the sun had become fierce, the king, albeit unsure of success, despatched Rilhaṇa to Lohara. 1836

He was brilliant with such qualities as valour, devotion to the sovereign, and disregard for riches and therefore the king anxious for success figured that the campaign might not be in vain. 1837

Whether deluded by what is doomed to happen or urged by un-

1831. Pratoli=main street of a fort.

scrupulous ministers, the king was manifestly engaged on an unwise plan, since, bereft of funds, fortress, and councillors, he reckoned that his officers could undertake operations against the foe, who was far from feeble, in weather which was ebullient with heat. 1838-1839

Udaya, the commander-in-chief, remained behind with the king while all the other ministers followed the Chamberlain. 1840

The Chamberlain's army, fully equipped with supplies, was a mixed one composed of the Rājaputras, cavaliers, Ḍāmaras and the ministers and was deployed over a large area. 1841

Having laid siege to the fortress, he fixed his camp at Aṭṭālikā and proceeded to blockade the enemy by all manner of means in every direction. 1842

Lulla and others were posted at Phullapura; nestling in the environs of the stronghold they set the enemy, distracted by alarms, dissensions, and assaults, aquiver. 1843

King Sussala, after imprisoning Loṭhana, had given the latter's daughter named Padmalekhā in wedlock to the chief of Bahusthala; this chief named Śūra came as an ally and his hostile force engaged the troops in skirmishes every moment. 1844-1845

When, however, the royal officers occupied the whole territory, Loṭhana, whose wits wobbled from fear, undertook to pay homage and fine. 1846

"This much has been achieved. Further operations here in the unendurable season would be fruitless; a withdrawal for us is meet and in the circumstances not derogatory. In due course, in lovely weather, with the advent of autumn we shall have increased strength and through a combined attack we shall gloriously conclude the campaign." In this fashion Lakṣmaka sent despatches, day after day, but the king did not fall in with this counsel nor, through knavery, did the other ministers who were by his side. 1847-1849

Udayana, on the other hand, in supreme charge of affairs, having promised much treasure, invited, as an ally of his master, Somapāla. 1850

That man, who, although allied by marriage, was not worthy of the privilege of the same row, with his mind lured by riches, was engaged in treason against the king who was sunk in dire distress. 1851

1850. Udayana, the prime-minister at Lohara seeks the aid of Somapāla, the Khaśa chief of Rājapurī against Kaśmīr.

"If Loṭhana parts with much treasure why need I bother about the relationship? Else I shall say to the other, "I am yours", as a make-believe. Thus with deceit as a string to his bow, Somapāla assented. For the bolstering up of this fraud Sujji, too, was the cause to a certain extent. 1852–1853

For when Sujji had been turned off from his headlong desire to be with Bhikṣācara by the king through the mouth of Somapāla, he had requested the envoy, sent by the king, for the sum which had already been promised and had insisted on the payment of the debt he owed to his creditors; at that time the envoy, knowing that Bhikṣācara was as good as slain, had published a disdainful repudiation thus, "What boots it now that the peril to us has ceased?" And in his insolence had refused to give anything. Then Sujji heard that Bhikṣācara had been slain and realized that he would no longer be needed by the king. For a day he remained in mourning; just then he heard of the peril to the king from the loss of Lohara and the man who was nursing his grievance found himself once more in an overflow of excitement. He said to the royal envoy, "I shall bring about peace with Loṭhana." While he said to Somapāla, "I shall get Loṭhana to give you gold." In such wise he planned to utilize the strength and weakness of all to gain his personal ends. Then he set out with Somapāla followed by a limited number of henchmen, whose departure from the midst of the troops was unnoticed and arrived at Ghoramūlaka. 1854–1861

Or it might be that he, who had tarnished his reputation by pouring on it the evil dust of unseemliness, had, because of the seduction of the pleasures of the palate, destroyed his highly strung upright nature. 1862

He could not do without the soft and unctuous fare of Kaśmīr, which is easy to digest when washed down with sugared water whitened with chunks of ice. 1863

1863. The Kaśmīrīs have been *bons viveurs* and are proud of their cuisine which is justly famous. "Snigdha" suggests the use of oil to which the Kaśmīrī *chef de cuisine* still adheres in preference to the melted butter (ghee) used in the Pañjāb. The Kaśmīrī Brahman is a lover of meat and fish and in ancient times grape wine was in common use. The *Nilamata Purāṇa* mentions the use of wine by Brahmans for ceremonial purposes. (see verses 523–533 and Taraṅga VI. 10). The *Arthaśāstra* contains regulations for a system of excise licenses, special duties being levied on imported liquors, including wines from Kapiśā (Kabul). "Liquor shops shall consist of many comfortable rooms furnished with cots and seats. The drink houses shall possess such comforts as the changing seasons require, always having garlands of flowers, scents and perfume." Book II Chapter 25.

Unable to eat, while abroad, the dry foods such as the porridge
of husky barley, he thus attempted through all manner of means to
re-enter Kaśmīr. 1864

The Kaśmīrīs, grilling in the heat and seeing no end to the campaign,
on hearing of his sudden arrival fell into tribulation. 1865

Those who were in the Chamberlain's milieu enjoying fried meats
and drinking light wine, delightfully cooled and perfumed, with
flowers said, "Soon shall we bring in Sujji dragging him by his beard
in battle"—in such wise, with all sorts of boasts they declared their
self-assurance. 1866-1867

Despite their great efforts they were unable to overcome Sujji,
who had but a limited number of Kaśmīrīs, Khaśas and the men of
the Indus region. 1868

"To my brother's son, Jayasiṁha, chief among self-respecting rulers,
it were lief to make payment of tribute." Thus Somapāla was disdain-
fully told by Loṭhana from whom a large sum had been demanded
and the former then began to display a little sympathy with the royal
cause. 1869-1870

"While I am preparing to assist the forces of my father-in-law who
are occupied in fighting the enemy, how is it that you, my dependent,
are ever on the look out for a loop-hole to attack them?" Thus was
Sujji trounced by Somapāla but he, as beseemed his self-assurance,
skipping over every one, carried on his preparations to attack the
royal army. 1871-1872

Lakṣmaka, greatly affrighted by the shivering fit and fever which
come on in late Āṣāḍha, now raised his camp and melted away during
the night. 1873

Having hurriedly sent on messengers to report to their master that
the camp had disappeared, some of the soldiers, who were eager for a
massacre, hastened to Sujji. 1874

On one side the royal army and on the other the enemy simul-
taneously marched by the route, which had perilous precipices. 1875

1866-1867. Fried meats continue to be the pièce de résistance of Kaśmīrī banquets even at the present day. These verses are translated literally. The original text is as follows—Bhuñjānair bhṛṣṭa māṁsāni pibadbhiḥ puṣpagandhi ca/ Pratīhārāgrato hāri mārdvīkaṁ laghu śītalam //

1873. This is an accurate description of Malarial Fever. See below verse 1905-1906 and 2045. Lakṣmaka apparently had suffered from malaria. He eventually dies of it; see verse 2002 below.

The troops, desirous of retreating to their own territory by the pass of Kālenaka which was nearby, avoiding the route via Śārambara which was in the possession of the enemy, entered the village of Vanikāvāsa without mishap accompanied by people of high and low degree. 1876–1877

The camp followers, too, found shelter in the adjoining hamlets and, having fed and drunk their fill, passed half the night suspecting no danger. 1878

Then Sujji, having swiftly approached, ordered his kettle-drums to be beaten to announce his sudden attack to his enemies and to cause a panic. 1879

Thereupon before the night was ended, the troops whose officers were demoralised hurriedly took to flight by the different mountain paths. 1880

At break of day, the ministers were relieved of their fancy costumes by the plunderers, just as the rocks after an earthquake are made to pour out the various molten metals by the spasm of the earth. 1881

None took up arms in defence of the army that was being plundered; at the time each looked to his own self and to none else. 1882

Some of them in blood-red nether garments, who by sheer jumps were getting away across the uplands, acquired in their progress the nimbleness of red-buttocked monkeys. 1883

While others, whose pale bodies were exposed through loss of clothes, appeared, in their movements, like bits of the yellow orpiment tossed about by the wind. 1884

And those of them, whose figures were not quite slim, had the wind up and trumpeted on those cliffs, strewn with darts, looking like baby elephants in a bamboo forest. 1885

What boots it to mention names? Not one minister was there in the lot who had discarded fortitude, who did not take to flight like the lower animals. 1886

1883. Like the soldiers of Napoleon, the ranks in the Kaśmīrī army apparently wore red trousers.

1884. The olive complexion of the Kaśmīrī is referred to here. It is a custom which still prevails for men and women to leave aside the 'phiran' and sleep nude both in summer and winter. Some of the soldiers who fled in their panic were thus without clothes, see also VII. 411. For orpiment see verse 2825 below.

1885. Śvāsottha = literally 'to get the wind up' which is also military slang in English.

Mounted on the shoulders of his servants, in his attempt to escape, the stupefied Chamberlain was then espied from afar by some enemy soldiers.

1887
Being undressed his round armlets scintillated in the sunbeams; he was recognised and they gave chase sprinting with all the strength of their being.

1888
As he was dropped from the shoulder by the servant, who was hit by a stone, he stood still, was injured by a stone and captured by them who came at a great pace.

1889
His body was thin like that of a newly captured Śārikā bird pining away in sorrow; with tearful eyes he blinked at the enemy looking like a flying fox and he thought to himself thus: "Now that I am taken prisoner, Sujji, I ween, will inflict even greater hardships upon me who had struck at his honour and wealth." Having placed him on their shoulders, leaving nothing to him of his cloak and trinkets, he was carried before Sujji by them with boisterous jeers and jokes.

1890-1892
Sujji who possessed refinement screened his face with a kerchief and saying, "We respect him like a Bṛhad Rāja" proferred him his own raiment.

1893
Having provided him with clothing and mounted him on a horse he, again soothing him with gentle words, restored him to serenity. 1894

Surrounded by the Khaśas with the looted horses, swords and treasure the illustrious Sujji having taken him along, went up before Somapāla.

1895
Fortune, transient like the rapid flashes of lightning at play in the quadrangle of the sky and ever on the tracks of the cloud of destiny, for whom has it ever been stable?

1896
Those personages like Somapāla and others who while in his presence bowing down humbly had fed in a manner befitting his servants with a view to win his favour and had even personally massaged his limbs with the cream of saffron—standing before them he, now reduced to a similar plight, was seen by the folks during five or six months.

1897-1898
Lulla, too, with the face darkened by the growth of greyish white

1893. Bṛhadrāja=a title in Kaśmīr. See verse, 2217 below. Sujji hides his face so as not to humiliate Lakṣmaka in his disgrace and state of nudity.

hair, captured by the enemy in the interior of the forest, being dumb in his sadness looked like a Langur. 1899

Somapāla, having taken charge of Lakṣmaka handed over to him by Sujji, imagining that Kaśmīr had been conquered, returned to his own state. 1900

He was approached on behalf of Loṭhana by the brave Mañjika and others who, promising abundant riches, begged for the delivery of the Chamberlain. 1901

For who among the Ḍāmara birds, nestling under the wings of the Chamberlain's tutorship, did not consider at this time that the land of Kaśmīr was theirs for the taking? 1902

Although tempted Somapāla, who aspired to seize the throne dependent on the Chamberlain and to confiscate the large treasure of the king, did not do that. 1903

When the ministers who had suffered humiliation arrived in Śrīnagara, the king, despite the loss of the Chamberlain, did not lose firmness. 1904

The cream of the army, with whose help Bhikṣācara had formerly waged civil war and by whom Sussala, when the realm had risen in exasperation, had been maintained in his status, had been mobilized by the king; ten thousand of these soldiers now perished suffering from shivering and fever. 1905–1906

Nowhere in the land, even for a while, did the loud lamentations of relatives or the funeral music cease by day and night. 1907

A terrific heat wave brought all current business to a standstill and at this period, stricken with lassitude, it seemed as if the kingdom were lost. 1908

On the other hand with the arrival of persons from various lands who flocked there including even the Kaśmīrīs, the royal gateway at Lohara began to wax in prosperity. 1909

As in the parable of the crow and the palm-tree Loṭhana, who had secured the remarkable good fortune to be king by accident was, in his magnificence, unstinted like the Lord of Wealth. 1910

1909. Rāja-dvāram. Gateway here means administration; the term is reminiscent of '*la sublime porte*' of old Turkey.

1910. Nyāya=parable or popular maxim. One of them is as follows:—just when the crow sat on the branch of the palm-tree it gave way! In other words an accident. See below 2930 sqq.

His nephews, sons, serving-folk and others who, during his life of misery and personal hardships, had adhered to him were now ranged with him in enjoyments of luxury. 1911

The wealthy Loṭhana did not, it was observed, shower favours on the undeserving nor was he close-fisted towards the deserving; owing to his mellow age his administration lacked energy. 1912

Shadow is itself unrestrained in its path while sunshine, as an incident of its very nature, is pursued a hundredfold by nuance. Thus is sorrow from happiness a thing apart; the scope of happiness, however, is hampered by the aches and hurts of endless sorrows. 1913

Within a month more or less since the rise to such power, the son of Loṭhana, Dilha—his only child—died. 1914

Mourning for her only son, her heart struck by the dart of sorrow, Mallā, the wife of Loṭhana, then attained final dissolution. 1915

Upon the death of his wife of undivided love in that manner as well as of the son of surpassing virtue, he could see no use whatever for that royal fortune. 1916

It was either an exhibition of the lack of affection which is easily found in royalty or the fascinating power of fortune that he, again, experienced happiness. 1917

The king, though he was in such financial stringency, conscious of the need of the hour had the aged Lakṣmaka ransomed for thirty-six lakhs. 1918

At his arrival, the route was strewn with flowers thrown in showers by the people in felicitation; who did not feel that good fortune had been restored to the king? 1919

In the glory of his good luck, the vestige of his discomfiture was soon forgotten and Lakṣmaka prevailed just as before holding the power to punish and grant favours. 1920

Sujji who, through excessive greed for wealth, had lost all sense of dignity and proportion, openly accepted the office of minister of the ruler Loṭhana. 1921

He gave Loṭhana the daughter of Bhāgika in marriage and together with distrust removed his sorrow connected with the unhappy circumstances of the death of his first wife. 1922

The experienced Sujji, having solicited the ruling prince Padmaratha, brought his daughter Somaladevī to be wedded to Loṭhana. 1923

In this fashion having secured a firm foot-hold for Loṭhana through

alliance with important persons, Sujji repaid the debt of unlimited powers of ministerial office received by him. 1924

And he began to plan an invasion of Kaśmīr, urged by the new king, who was being beseeched in various ways by the Ḍāmaras and others. 1925

Matters having come to this pass, the son of Sussala now made use of diplomatic means to overreach the foe who had made common cause with the rulers on the frontier. 1926

In this enterprise Udaya, the warden of the frontier, of profound intellect and unfaltering integrity, won the admiration of those who can discriminate between what is and is not moral courage. 1927

For while at his post, bereft of every resource, though tempted by the enemy with offers of money, honour, and the rest of it, he remained ever devoted to the sovereign. 1928

Taking up his position at a place called Vanaprastha, not far from Lohara, he broke the enemy force by tirelessly engaging it in skirmishes. 1929

Having seen with half an eye through the intentions of Sujji, Māñika, Indāraka and others entertained a suspicion, whether fanciful or based on fact, of king Loṭhana. 1930

"The king whose wits are in the keeping of Sujji considers us, at his instigation, meet to be slain as plotters"—thus they thought and were alarmed. 1931

Now the clever king Jayasiṁha sent them a message. "We shall make Mallārjuna, the son of king Sussala, born of the queen Sahajā, the ruler at Lohara which will be to your interest; therefore overpower Loṭhana, of a sudden, as you did Preman." 1932–1933

As a hoax was this message sent by the king who was longing to possess himself of that stronghold and they, too, who distrusted him gave a promise in the same way. 1934

Now Loṭhana having learnt that Mallārjuna had started a conspiracy, he ordered his arrest and that of all those nephews who were also conspirators. 1935

He remained in a state of apprehension yet he got Vigraharāja, the son of Sussala by a concubine, to accept the office of chamberlain. 1936

The king, who was versed in diplomacy, after having concluded peace with his uncle as a make-believe, made haste to possess himself of the lost dominion by all manner of means. 1937

Loṭhana, whose rule through the efforts of Sujji had become unshakable, having permitted Śūra to depart, remained in undisturbed possession for some months. 1938

The marriage of Padmaratha's daughter, whom formerly Sujji had brought, not having taken place, her mother, the stately lady Tejalādīnā, to celebrate her wedding, came up on this occasion and the king Loṭhana on hearing this proceeded to Darpitapura attended by the ministers to meet and accord her an honourable reception. Thus Māñika and others secured a loop-hole and escaped from imprisonment and they having formed a league annointed Mallārjuna, ruler of the domain of Lohara. 1939-1941

Having brought in the Ṭhakkuras as before to their aid they prevented the attempted entry of the officials of king Jayasiṁha, who had arrived at the foot of the main street into the castle. 1942

4206 L.E. 1131 A.C. In the year six, on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Phālguna, Loṭhana was deprived of sovereignty just as quickly as he had acquired it. 1943

The lout, stripped of his luck, grieved that the maiden, whom he was to have wedded and the riches which he had not yet spent, had fallen to the share of his adversary for his enjoyment. 1944

Roving about, after losing power, he was able to collect some remnants of the treasure through the support of Sujji from Aṭṭālikā and other districts. 1945

Māñika, after insulting the officials of king Jayasiṁha whom he had previously invited, guided king Mallārjuna to a position of unrivalled power. 1946

This prince was in the heyday of youth and extremely improvident; Tāmbūla was offered by him with pearls in place of the cut areca nut on occasions. 1947

He showered gold in his eagerness for sexual pleasures on bawds and procurers and his immoral wastefulness was condemned by the prescient. 1948

The treasure, which Sussala had piled up by harassing his subjects, was wantonly expended by this prince, for a purpose which was on a par with the mode of its acquisition. 1949

For this evil-minded man, inflamed with pride, had got rid of honest folk and fostered the courtesans, strolling actors, knaves, sycophants, flunkeys, and other riffraff. 1950

The wealth of kings acquired by the persecution of the commonalty goes either to their rivals in love, their enemies, or to the flames. 1951

The riches of king Jayāpīḍa, gotten from the oppression of the subjects, were swallowed up by Utpala and others, the murderers of his grandson. 1952

The treasure of Śaṅkaravarman, the source of which was the persecution of the people, was enjoyed at will by Prabhākara and the rest, the paramours of his wife. 1953

Held in bondage by Cupid, the wives of Paṅgu made over his ill-gotten wealth to Sugandhāditya, their partner in sexual enjoyments. 1954

The enormous riches piled up by king Yaśaskara were frittered away by his wife who, capitulating to Cupid, lay in the embraces of a Caṇḍāla. 1955

Kṣemagupta obtained possession of wealth acquired by former kings; upon his death, he turned out to be the donor of it to Tuṅga and others for they were the lovers of his wife. 1956

Saṁgrāmarāja, whose desire for hoarding was keen, rolled in wealth; it was stolen by Vyaḍḍasūha and others who sipped the honey from the lotus-like mouth of Śrīlekhā. 1957

The handsome fortune, the glory of the universe, of king Ananta, who had ruined his subjects through lack of personal supervision, was at last consumed by fire. 1958

By the son on undeserving persons and by the wife on her paramours was soon squandered the treasure of king Kalaśa, which had its origin in his skill in the evil arts. 1959

Together with his mansions, his wives and sons the property of king Harṣa, whose thirst for hoarding was unquenchable, was consumed by the flames. 1960

Candrāpīḍa, Uccala, Avantivarman and others unflinchingly upheld the law; their justly acquired treasure never found an indecent end. 1961

Thieves, conspirators, chiefs of the borderlands, harlots, satellites and the rest commenced a rich plunder, while the rise of Mallārjuna was yet fresh. 1962

Even after bluffing the enemy, the king had found his objective frustrated; he then, in his annoyance, immediately despatched Citraratha for an attack. 1963

He had been raised to take charge simultaneously of the frontier and the Pādāgra; he set foot in Phullapura surrounded by innumerable grandees. 1964

His followers, though widely deployed, did not venture to overwhelm in battle the forces of Mallārjuna which found support from the fortress. 1965

To cause a rift, his vassal named Saṁvardhana who was thought well of by the king climbed into the castle, he was killed at night by the retainers of Mallārjuna. 1966

Although the fortress could not have been taken even by assault, yet the enemies posted within fell a prey to fear on this occasion when Koṣṭheśvara came up. 1967

Thereupon Mallārjuna promised to pay tribute, concluded peace, and sent his mother to their camp as an act of courtesy. 1968

She, by her dress gorgeously beautiful in disregard of her widowhood, made Koṣṭheśvara and others, whose minds were susceptible, full of passionate desire. 1969

When she returned from there, Mallārjuna feeling assured paid the tribute, which he had undertaken to do, to the warden of the frontier. 1970

Drawn by the lovesome eyes of the king's mother, the youthful Koṣṭha, professing a desire to see it, climbed up to the fortress with a few retainers. 1971

Thereafter, when he had come down, Citraratha, taking him along, came before the sovereign with suitable presents. 1972

The king, however, held counsel with Udaya who was skilful in storming and then once more employed diplomatic means to vanquish the enemy. 1973

With the raising of the siege and the departure of Loṭhana, too, to join Padmaratha, the new ruler, found room to stretch his legs for a while. 1974

He married Somalā, the daughter of Padmaratha, and when his prestige was established, he also married the daughter of Nāgapāla. 1975

Somapāla and other chiefs, who were engaged in secret intrigues, wheedled out of this foolish and vainglorious prince allowances as if they were his vassals. 1976

1974. Pāda-prasārikā=literally opportunity to stretch one's legs; respite.

Many rogues plundered him including even cadets of ruling chiefs by performing as poets, singers, story-tellers, gladiators and strolling actors. 1977

The intellect of the prince since his childhood had not developed to maturity yet he was seen talking glibly; and merely because of his grandiloquence callow persons felt that he had a clever mind. 1978

Like a comet of evil import he, whose appearance was not ungentle, had apart from his radiant visage nothing good to recommend him. 1979

Meanwhile the king made overtures to Sujji, who was desperate in warfare, reflecting that Mallārjuna might approach him. 1980

Then the Chamberlain, in whom was vested the power to banish and recall Sujji, displayed his remarkable strength which had an instantaneous effect. 1981

The delivery of the garland of the chief command of the army and other offices, save the garland of the post of the minister of justice, offered by the king not having proved to the satisfaction of Sujji, Lakṣmaka, by the importunity of Somapāla who had called at his house, tore off, with the left hand, the garland entwined in his own locks and proudly offered it. Sujji's gratification on receipt of this was indicated by his soft eyes filled to the brim as if it were the creeper of his fortune. 1982–1984

In the interest of the sovereign, Rilhaṇa gave up his friendship for Udaya and Dhanya and withdrew his opposition to the recall of Sujji. 1985

The king recalled Sujji and went forward to meet and receive him with honour. By the latter's advice, he banished from the country Dhanya and his men but not from his heart. 1986

The guilty Koṣṭheśvara, whom the king was anxious to destroy through assassins at an opportune moment, having learnt the rumour, fled from his presence. 1987

The king marched to make an attack having won over Manujeśvara whereupon Koṣṭheśvara, paralyzed by dissensions in his own party, escaped abroad. 1988

Loṭhana, on his part, gaining the support of some Ṭhakkuras while

1982. See Taraṅga VII. 1363.

1985. Consent of ministers in the matter of expulsion and re-entry into Kaśmīr was necessary before the king could take action. See below verse 2047.

residing at a place called Bappanīla, attacked Mallārjuna with might and main. 1989

On that occasion was witnessed his manfulness which indeed was inconceivable; though fallen from his estate, he vanquished Mallārjuna, who had a firm foot-hold, every time. 1990

He carried off his horses, looted the forum of Aṭṭālikā and destroyed the roadside watch-stations and other fortified places everywhere. 1991

Invited by a Ḍāmara, named Rājarāja, he thereafter plunged into Kramarājya to wrest the realm of Kaśmīr. 1992

Citraratha becoming aware of this executed that Lavaṇya, who was in his suite, and Loṭhana went back to the soil of Bappanīla. 1993

As he repeatedly made raids, Mallārjuna became incapable of holding even Aṭṭālikā while residing in the fortress. 1994

Prevailing upon the nephew to part with large treasure to the uncle, Koṣṭheśvara, who was ready for a campaign, then had a treaty of peace concluded. 1995

Having made his position secure at Lohara, he then took Loṭhana along and suddenly fell upon the territory of Kaśmīr intent on waging war with the king. 1996

Traversing the mountains, he attacked and occupied the watch-station of Kārkoṭa not having been opposed on the way. Before, however, he could secure a junction with the other Ḍāmaras, the king set out and by forced marches and every endeavour overwhelmed him at the very commencement of the rising. 1997-1998

Meanwhile the Chamberlain, through a sudden illness, found his end. Those whose merits of the past life are few do not live long in good fortune. 1999

Alas! those, whom prosperity has made narrow-minded, do not realize that the attack of Destiny, whose progress is irresistable, is swift, although in their anxiety to keep off misfortune, they abide in their dwellings with all doors barred refusing to take notice of it. 2000

The wife, who was constantly clearing the house of people, was not aware that he, while slumbering peacefully, was being pursued by the Destroyer. 2001

For, he had suffered from fever which had left him and it was

1991. There is a lacuna of two syllables.

thought that he was sleeping after the temperature had gone; that he had died while thus asleep was not discovered at the time. 2002

Now Koṣṭhaka together with Loṭhana having marched forth, no one was the ruler—neither Mallārjuna himself, nor Koṣṭhaka nor that Loṭhana. 2003

Mallārjuna treacherously assassinated Udayana who was with him and Koṣṭhaka, whom the latter had named as his surety, grew angered against Mallārjuna. 2004

Mallārjuna did not pacify the enraged man and he, therefore, mustering his forces rushed, in his fury, together with Loṭhana, to attack Mallārjuna. 2005

Koṣṭhaka, though equipped with only a limited force of cavaliers, Mallakoṣṭha and others, crossed the Paroṣṇī and annihilated Mallārjuna's force which had ceased fighting. 2006

In that battle were massacred the Khaśas, the men from the Indus region and others and Mallārjuna himself came near being killed but was spared from hatred against king Jayasiṁha. 2007

Fallen from the height of honour, he climbed the heights of the citadel and his power being broken made peace, once more, with Koṣṭhaka. 2008

Koṣṭheśvara sent away Loṭhana and maintained friendly relations, but Mallārjuna having failed to pay the sums due by him, that Ḍāmara once again parted company with him. 2009

Arresting the officials, Koṣṭheśvara appropriated the customs dues at the frontier posts and as if he were the king, he had his own name stamped with red lead on the bales of goods. 2010

From time to time there occurred breaches of the amicable settlement between the two of them, as if they were pieces of a glass jar stuck together with lac. 2011

The ruler of Lohara alienated the sympathy of the Lavyaṇya by his wanton speech which ended in nothing and he, in turn, the former by his lawless acts of rivalry. 2012

Then the Ḍāmara delivered an attack..................the military by carrying away from it the valuable accoutrements and the pick of the horses. 2013

2013. There is a lacuna in the latter half of this verse.

Thus the thoughtless Koṣṭhaka, by his perverse activities and harassments, rendered Mallārjuna an easy prey in the future for his enemies 2014

Connected through the gift of the daughter as his father-in-law was Māñika, the chief minister; at this juncture that prince was obsessed with the thought of murdering him. 2015

For Māñika, emboldened in his youthfulness by the swelling tide of love, was in open liaison with Mallārjuna's mother as her paramour. 2016

During the time of repast, the assassins, upon a signal from the prince, dealt him blows while he was feeding and deprived him of life. 2017

Brandishing the sword blade, having donned his military uniform, Mallārjuna wandered about a great deal plundering the latter's troops and performed a variety of heroics. 2018

Alas! even Indākara did not survive among those whom he hated, having been poisoned by that prince who offered in person a poisoned drink. 2019

Providence having cast adrift his enemy, the king Jayasiṁha thereafter made terms with Koṣṭhaka and despatched Sujji for the conquest of Lohara. 2020

When Sujji came up the road to within marching distance of one Yāma, Mallārjuna, who was as much distraught by Koṣṭhaka having carried off his horses as he was by internal dissensions, being unable to offer resistance, collected his treasure and abandoning the fortress fled. Having lost the realm and being plundered on the way by robbers he set his face towards Avanāha and managed to save part of the treasure with difficulty. 2021-2023

4208 L.E.
1132 A.C.

He lost the crown when he was in the neighbourhood of eighteen autumns, in the year eight on the second day of the dark half of Vaiśākha. 2024

He, who was serving ambrosia to the moon-crested Śiva, had his head chopped off in the scrimmage; when the Supreme Ruler could

2021. Yāma=A period of time of three hours; there are eight Yāmas during 24 hours.

2024. Deśyaḥ=neighbourhood of. See Deśīyaḥ verse 2641 below.

do this to one who was doing a good turn to him of what account, in comparison, are others environed by scandal-mongers? 2025

Water nestling in the lotus is pearls, the dulness inherent in the rulers is the capacity for knowledge—that such is somehow the belief is due alas! to some indescribably glamorous power of Lakṣmī which is resplendent in the case of her protégés. 2026

Wondrous offensive means are used in the forests to kill; some kill by smell, some by sight while yet others with the proboscis. But in the palaces of the rulers of men are to be found extraordinary blood-thirsty beings who, indeed, compass death by mere words. 2027

The wicked are not able to decimate the liegeman so long as he is in the presence of the lord; were he to fall out in the rear they would get their opportunity and make him a mere matter of ashes just as the sun-beams cannot burn the tinder while present with the crystal but reduce it to ashes when it is behind the latter. 2028

The commander-in-chief raised Harṣata, the son of Kapila, to the post of governor of the fortress and while he was busy collecting a garrison and restoring calm in the domain, he tarried there for some days; meantime some satellites, naturally wicked-minded, whom jealousy had made hostile, bitterly prejudiced the king, during a favourable moment, against Sujji by whispering evil. 2029-2031

When even this king has been made to dance as if he were a child by the varlets who else, being a king, can act with firmness relying on his own judgment? 2032

Or it may be that the ineptitude acquired in boyhood in a milieu which for the most part is composed of childish persons does not disappear in the case of a king, even in the prime of life like a flaw in the case of a precious stone. 2033

Alas! in the case of kings, a lack of insight into the real character of their servants is sufficient for a bolt from the blue to fall on the inoffensive country. 2034

"If the affairs turn out unsuccessful, Sujji will become a laughing-stock like Lakṣmaka"; with this hope Sujji had been made use of by the king's entourage for the conquest of Lohara. 2035

2025. There is a slight lacuna in the text. The head of the Titan Rāhu was cut off while he was serving ambrosia at the banquet after the churning of the ocean. See App. C.

When, however, he completed the task in a striking manner, the knaves hit him through the art of calumny which like the divine missile of Brahman is unfailing. 2036

Owing to the fact that the king's stately demeanour afforded no clue to his altered feelings and owing to his friendly conversation, the commander-in-chief did not sense his dark prejudice. 2037

And how could Sujji, naturally of a loyal temperament, have had any suspicion or mistrust of him when he had just rendered such valuable services? 2038

The king did not approve of his acts though they were fit and proper as a lover who has become estranged finds no delight in the conversation of his young lady who is beloved no more. 2039

Sujji, too, behaved as he listed through hauteur and self-assurance that he had conquered and restored two lost realms to the king. 2040

His kinsfolk, uncurbed, harassed the citizens by depriving them of their houses and inflicting other injuries and led them to loathe him. 2041

Mindful of his own guilt Koṣṭheśvara did not trust the king, nor the uncle who had revealed his hostility when the king was angry. 2042

Citraratha, who was amassing treasure by the persecution of the subjects and who had entered into an alliance with Sujji, was not in favour with the sovereign. 2043

The king secretly maintained by riches Dhanya and Udaya who had taken up their residence in Rājapurī but did not disclose his friendship from consideration for Sujji. 2044

These two, whose retinue had perished through the fever accompanied by shivering, attached themselves to Mallārjuna, who despite the loss of his sovereignty had abundant riches. 2045

Sañjapāla who through emissaries had formerly been invited by Lakṣamaka, owing to his enmity with Sujji, arrived at Rājpurī at this time. 2046

Sujji and Citraratha having prevented the king from taking action,

2043. Sambandha = matrimonial alliance. Citraratha was the son of a Brahman councillor see verse 1620 above. Sujji, on the other hand, was a scion of a ruling family from what is now called the Frontier Province. VIII. 1042, 1046. The relationship of Citraratha with Sujji is again referred to in Sujji's speech —verses 2093-2095 below.

the order permitting entry was not forthcoming and Mallārjuna approached him through his emissaries. 2047

On his account on the highway a quarrel having arisen with some chieftain, he got a sword cut and had to part with his money. 2048

Even when reduced to this plight, the fact that Mallārjuna had failed to win him over by undertaking to pay him much gold led to his being adored by those versed in affairs of state. 2049

Being secretly summoned by the king who was not able to act independently and by Rilhaṇa from a friendly feeling he soon came away from there. 2050

"If they do not kill me in this place they may kill me out there"—thinking in this wise on the road beset with unfriends the adventurer arrived in the city. 2051

He, whom the rulers of Kanyakubja, Gauḍa and other states had vied with one another to accord a courteous reception, felt mortified at not getting a reception in his own country from the sovereign who was managed by the ministers. And he was watched by the citizens near the royal palace with tears streaming down the eyes. 2052-2053

Then the king ignoring the ministers gave him an audience and did him the honour of even offering the Tāmbūla formally with his own hand. 2054

Though he was impecunious, his reputation alone won him followers among the people and by his comings and goings in the royal residence he made his enemies quake. 2055

Watching the conversation, behaviour, etc. of this man, who had a striking appearance, Sujji, who was a judge of men, felt secretly nervous. 2056

And he concluded: "This devil who has such an amazing energy capable of pulling down unlimited numbers will surely not be content to remain in this country in his existing condition." 2057

He had seen all sorts of brave and proud men in other lands but sizing up Sañjapāla, he reckoned that the latter had given a quietus to the proud ones. 2058

Either because it was willed to happen or through arrogance, Sujji was led into arbitrary conduct and thereafter his various irresponsible acts brought him ill repute. 2059

His own retainers, while he was in Maḍavarājya, robbed a Brahman;

while the latter in his rage was harshly denouncing him, Sujji slew him like a jackal with javelin throws. 2060

In the country, by this nefarious act, he caused discontent among the people and when he returned, the people in Śrīnagara too, came to abhor him for his violent conduct. 2061

Meanwhile Kamaliya and others procured a position of the highest distinction, in their overweening confidence for a kinsman who counted for almost nothing. 2062

"While I exist how can there be another as well who can confer favour!" thinking in this wise, Sujji through conceit appointed some unknown person, no better than a strolling player, to a similar position. 2063

At this time Rihaṇa, too, who had bound himself through matrimonial alliance with Kamaliya and others became, by reason of his prestige, an exceeding eyesore to Sujji. 2064

The difference between them and him had its origin in a tiny seed; through the sprinkling by knaves and back-biters it soon acquired the proportion of a tree which had ramified a hundredfold. 2065

Haughty by temperament, he was inflamed by Ulhaṇa, the son of Sahadeva, with his wicked counsel which pandered to his arrogance concentrating his attention solely on the strife. 2066

"This ungrateful man permits to those who are not our equals the privilege of equality" and thus he inwardly harboured rancour against the king himself. 2067

The king, too, living in fear of Sujji sent out Rihaṇa during councils, intimate talks, and other confidential occasions as if he were an official of the exterior court. 2068

He, however, shrewdly omitted to notice the slight and to observe the emotion of the sovereign and diplomatically laid the strands of courage for his own people and of alarm for his enemies. 2069

Sañjapāla was chokeful of energy and his support was sought by both parties; Rilhaṇa, however, won his friendship through presents. 2070

As they entered, fully armed, the mutual jealousies of these two men sent the royal palace, every moment, into thrills and flutter. 2071

Sujji, in a bellicose mood, in order to insult the adherents of his opponent including the king, caused a disturbance during the court held on the festival of the Mahīmāna. 2072

When with the hand placed on his neck Sujji was announced by the door-keeper, he abused the latter hotly in foul language and made him sprawl on the door-sill. 2073

All remained still as if they were a tableau and while anxious to safeguard the king they strove to compose their turbulance; the king had a seat given to Sujji close to himself and after pacifying him said, whether as a bluff or in earnest "While he exists we have not the slightest peril". 2074-2075

Now the Brahmans, residents in Maḍavarājya, commenced a hunger-strike declaring that they did not approve of Sujji holding office as the commander-in-chief. 2076

On the look out to disconcert the rival, Rilhaṇa, the knowledgable diplomat, brought up during the night Sujji's enemy, Pañcacandra, with his well-equipped force. 2077

Sujji was apprehensive of him who had a large force and of Sañjapāla too; the rest he ignored and his enemy was aware of this. 2078

Then fearing an attack he sallied from his house escorted by his cavaliers and in battle array he kept, in a state of suspense, a vigil on the highway unmolested. 2079

Being in opposition to the sovereign Koṣṭheśvara, too, at this time leagued himself with Sujji in a bond of friendship. 2080

He having killed Manujeśvara who had remained loyal, Koṣṭheśvara who was already hateful had become in still greater measure the object of the king's hatred. 2081

The stand which Sujji had taken up during the night was denounced by his enemies as being founded in treason against the sovereign, though he had done so in self-defence. 2082

The king, who like a deluded person sees a fact which is true as untrue or what is untrue as true, drifts from his purpose and flounders in misfortune. 2083

The iridescent ruby being mistaken for fire is left alone while the *coup d'oeil* of women with dark brown eyes, intended for some one

2072. The Mahīmāna festival is still celebrated in Kaśmīr. Lights in honour of the gods and the Manes are placed on the snow on the bright eighth of Phālguna and a fast is kept.

2073. See Taraṅga. VII. 234-35.

else, one regards as being possibly directed to oneself! The wonder is that in this world in every case that which is real is not perceived to be real nor the unreal to be not reality by the people who are devoid of judgment. 2084

Now the king, seeing no other remedy for the unhappy conditions save in Sujji's death, entrusted to Sañjapāla the task of assassinating that mighty warrior. 2085

That brave man, not being prepared to strike at him treacherously like a craven and longing to kill him after a challenge, watched for an opportunity at all times. 2086

While the two touched on all mutually diplomatic measures against one another the realm, at every moment through rising panic, remained in a flutter. 2087

Apprehending an attack Sujji was wakeful as before at night; the royal palace came to be thronged with vigilant sentries. 2088

When the banishment from the realm of Rilhaṇa was demanded by Sujji, the king on his part not being strong enough to resist gave his consent. 2089

While he was about to depart having taken leave the warden of the frontier, showed to the king the subjects agitated on account of this humiliation and had him artfully reinstated. 2090

After taking counsel with the king, Sañjapāla having sworn an oath by libation with Sujji, who had solicited his friendship, came at night and made a report. 2091

"Your Majesty, this is at present the view, owing to the instigation of Ulhaṇa and others as well as owing to his own arrogance of Sujji who does not desire any rivals." 2092

"If the king were of my opinion who am his loyal servant as well as benefactor I should banish Rilhaṇa, imprison Citraratha, who has great wealth and restore to the king the horses and treasure lost in the operations against Lohara and even slay, given the resources, the miscreant Koṣṭhaka." 2093–2094

"If they are a hindrance to affairs of state personal relationships are not of any moment to me. My attachment is to the Sovereign, in whose service I regard my life as comparable to a wisp of grass." 2095

"And meanwhile as I should make myself responsible to strive for the defeat of pretnders and others, this youthful king with his mind at rest could give himself up to the enjoyments of sovereignty." 2096

"Sujji wishes to pray to the Sovereign that, Ulhaṇa might be made warden of the frontier and that I in order to befriend him might be given the various offices of which Rilhaṇa has held charge." 2097

"At the same time he says to me: "If Ulhaṇa, you, and I are of accord and act in combination does it really matter who occupies the royal throne?" 2098

"If he does not consent to this we, being on the spot, shall import some fresh kinsman, and install him in place of this king." 2099

Then having sighed, the king spoke these words while the rays or his glistening teeth created an impression as if they were ribbons to fetter his speech for fear of publicity. 2100

"What Sujji has said is in fact perfectly true; neither deceit, incompetence, nor ineptitude is indeed conceivable in that proud man." 2101

"That his unchallengeable position of power would be difficult to uproot—if this is the view that is a different matter; let the talk be confined to the plan of his death." 2102

"I regret, however, that the contemplated assassination of this man, who is free from perfidy, whether it had its beginning in anger or was for a just cause has to be carried out in any case." 2103

"For this matter has been deliberated by us in front of the petty-minded and no doubt he would get at it if he should bribe them with money." 2104

"Whether through their merits of past existence which are irresistible or through the stupidity of persons like me, a lot of incapables known to us to be such are sharing in enjoyments with us." 2105

"For taking in their employment callow persons this is the penance kings have to do that having been foolish themselves they have to bear the fruit of the former's folly." 2106

"The ways of royalty are as difficult to follow for the sycophant as are mountain paths for the bull of the market." 2107

"Adverse to straight conduct, habituated to let the tongue wag and sponging on others for food, the wicked are like dogs who rove, loll their tongues and are maintained by others." 2108

"In the result this nefarious deed proposed because of the pestering of the wicked which, yet through fear of them cannot be given up, is going to cause us remorse." 2109

Having thus given vent, the king made preparation to achieve the

assassination of Sujji thereby causing him ever to keep awake and himself came to pass sleepless nights. 2110

"Sujji entertaining a suspicion owing to the leakage of the plot, is also planning to kill you" believing this report of the servants to be true, the king became uneasy. 2111

Then going to their houses in person and asking them to form an alliance by marriage, he brought about the rapprochement of Sujji with Rilhaṇa. 2112

When even after thus creating confidence, he failed to find an opportunity to kill him he fretted, day and night, tossing helplessly on his couch. 2113

When Sañjapāla, who was mourning the loss of a kinsman failed to come from his house, doubting the success of the desperate venture he was still more worried. 2114

The general Kularāja, renowned for his knowledge of military manœuvres, whose brothers, Kalyāṇarāja and others, having fallen in battle on the couch of heroes, had forgotten the gracious treatment of king Sussala, being desirous of repaying with his life their debt, asked the king about the cause of his dejection. 2115-2116

He told him about his irremovable peril from the commander-in-chief whom it had become impossible either to placate or to assassinate. 2117

"What a trifling matter for the king which can be secured merely at the cost of one's life"—he declared and accepted the responsibility for the desperate act. 2118

For two days the commander-in-chief did not come from his mansion and neither death nor fame fell to the lot of Kularāja. 2119

But a confidential servant named Śṛṅgāra reported to the sovereign on the third day that he had seen him on his couch lying unattended by his retinue. 2120

The king's constant serving-folk are ever handy on occasions of splendour, the responsibility for risky jobs has, however, to be undertaken by one who remains at a distance. 2121

In Śiva's hand the bow is fixed at all times to heighten his splendour yet, of yore, it was Mandāra who having arrived at the critical moment had to do duty, in battle, as his bow. 2122

Thereupon the king sent to Sujji, upon the excuse of bearing Tām-

būla, Kularāja in whose blunt courage there was no room for tribulation. 2123

"Death is certain, I shall never come back, so what use is this in this venture"—thus he took no Tāmbūla in the gold casket. 2124

"Other retainers endeavouring in like manner by the sacrifice of their own bodies to end the misery of the king have yet faltered at the final stage." 2125

"Whether he be with his retainers or without, he is doomed to death through me; from now on may your Majesty remain vigilant;" with this declaration he set forth. 2126

In the event of the failure of the venture a possible flight might have been suspected........ 2127

Going on the service of the sovereign he took with him two men-at-arms whose daggers were concealed in their groins. 2128

The door-keeper having announced him as having been sent in person with Tāmbūla by the king, he was admitted into Sujji's presence while the followers were detained. 2129

And he beheld him in the company of a few of his retainers of high and low degree like a lord of the herd, in a hostile neighbourhood, with a very few elephants. 2130

Sujji accepted with due respect the Tāmbūla from the sovereign and having, with a smile, enquired what the king was occupied with and the like after a little while gave him leave for departure. 2131

Kularāja, apprehending the entry of people, hastened to speak to him, as if utilizing a suitable opportunity, thus: "A Kaivarta soldier under me has committed an offence. You might show consideration for me now by restraining your own subordinates who are keen on seizing him". 2132-2133

As if it were an impudent request he, bluntly rejecting it, replied in rigid words to hmi: "I refuse to do it." 2134

While he was going away as if in a rage his retainers spoke soothingly to Sujji: "That man should be treated with due regard", and having detained Kularāja induced him to come back. 2135

Thereupon he said: "Order that my two retainers who are present be allowed entry inside the portal so that they might submit a statement relating to this case." 2136

2127. There is a lacuna in the text in the second half of the verse.

He then willingly had this done and the treacherous Kularāja on seeing them admitted inside and having secured assistance put himself in readiness to strike. 2137

"Go to-day; in the morning I shall attend to your business"—thus Sujji turned his back to them and feeling sleepy he relaxed his body on the sofa. 2138

Moving away a little Kularāja turned back, swiftly drew his dagger, and ran up and struck him on the left side. 2139

As he was saying "fie! treachery" and stretched the hand for his dagger all of them together dealt him strokes. 2140

Before the thought of peril could arise in those who witnessed this it seemed as if the breath had left him since a long time. 2141

Among his dependents who through fear abandoned honour and took to flight, Piñcadeva was the only one who drew his sword on that occasion. 2142

As he smote he was wounded by the three of them who dealt an equal number of counterstrokes and, hard pressed and streaming with blood, he was driven out of that hall. 2143

They remained inside the hall putting up the bolts while the re-tainers of Sujji then prepared to kill them by blocking the doors and windows and surrounding them. 2144

While making a counter-demonstration at the window they lifted the corpse and pushing the cotton-padded couch placed it against the door which was being battered by their assailants. 2145

These showered blows with the sword, arrow, javelin, battle-axe, dagger, stones and the rest of it and confounded them by attempting to get in through the different entrances. 2146

Finding themselves in a tight corner, in order to wither the hopes of those who were attempting to enter, they now severed the head of Sujji and threw it from above into the courtyard. 2147

The ears and the white eyeballs were sanguinary with the flow of blood, both nostrils were closed with the dishevelled hair on the upper lip, the reflected images of the frantic crowd in the slightly dilated pupils conveyed the impression of a flicker of the eyes; the flesh at the neck having been roughly cut at the joints was uneven and clotted and the layers of coagulated fat made it appear as if it were moistened with turmeric; the hair and beard were powdered with dust, only the drop of saffron which was intact on the forehead

determined its identity; having fallen sideways it revealed the breaches in the teeth. On seeing this the servants gave way to loud lamentations and ran helter-skelter. 2148-2152

The king, on the other hand, who after the despatch of the assassins had remained in a state of mental agitation on seeing the people outside, at this time, in a state of ferment concluded that the desperate deed was done. 2153

Whether Sujji was slain or wounded considering it to be equally expedient he ordered the troops to get ready quickly and surround the residence of Sujji. 2154

Hearing the false report among the people that Sujji had been rescued, the king himself then caught the excitement for a battle royal. 2155

The king's lackeys, knowing that Sujji had been slain without doubt, arrested Śivaratha who was residing there and who was hated by all. 2156

This ballad of mine by relating to-day the glorious conduct of Kalaśa, son of Hilla, wife's brother to Sujji's brother participates in his merit. 2157

Bhikṣu and others behaved, when the end came, as was meet for heroes upon being attacked; he, although not in a critical condition, fell not from the standard of noble conduct. 2158

For on hearing the news in the royal residence itself he did not take to flight but proceeded to lay down his life by the side of his murdered lord. 2159

As he was banging at the door with kicks, the murderous soldiers of the king removed him and with difficulty saved him from a perilous situation. 2160

When he who had not been entirely overborne secured admission to another apartment, Kularāja and others obtained a lease of life and proceeded to the king. 2161

Forcing the entrance, he there slew a mighty warrior and was only killed with arrows from a distance by his assailants. 2162

While the country was seething with excitement the king sent Sañjapāla who had arrived and Rilhaṇa, in a hurry, to kill Ulhaṇa. 2163

Suspecting that he having taken to flight must have left the road, Rilhaṇa scoured the country up to the bank of the Kṣiptikā; by the

time he was returning Sañjapāla, who had already arrived having blocked the passage of Ulhaṇa, who was emerging from the gateway of his residence, was engaged in striking down many. Just then Sañjapāla's right arm was severed by the sword of some one and the bones and muscles being cut through it merely hung by the remaining skin.
2164-2166

After his family had been reduced to a state of unimportance, he by his ability had acquired prestige in other lands and in his own once more; just when the moment of fruition was approaching he was maimed in that very arm which was the guarantor of valour; fie on the churlish will of Providence!
2167-2168

If at the time of securing power, he had remained unmaimed as before this world would have judged of his amazing will power by its fruit.
2169

If Rāhu had not suffered the decimation of his body just when he had drunk of ambrosia then, foresooth, this world would have learnt of the ambition of that powerful personality who had been waxing strong since a long time.
2170

Ulhaṇa, in agony from his wounds, watched his old uncle, named Śīla, being slain.
2171

In travail he was about to enter the house, when his usher and favourite retainer Jajjala was killed as well as two soldiers and a Caṇḍāla watchman.
2172

Since he would not come out but sat in the courtyard looking at his infant son, Rilhaṇa had it set on fire.
2173

As he, blinded by the smoke, was being taken away under arrest by prominent persons in the army, at the gateway of his residence he was killed by some commoners though crippled by wounds. 2174

Even after seeing the head of him who had been the cause of the ruin of his ministers and subjects, the king's feeling was not assuaged.
2175

While being put to death with ferocity by the soldiers set on by the king, the retainers of Sujji of high and low degree performed deeds befitting their chivalry.
2176

The younger brother of Sujji, Lakṣmaka had to submit to the

2171. There is a lacuna in this verse.

disgrace of being fettered; after seeing the king he was killed in a yard of the palace by certain unmerciful persons. 2177

His paternal cousin, the virile Saṅgata, had the good fortune, on the arena of the royal quadrangle, to move as if he were an actor and to yield his life nobly. 2178

Mammuni, the insane brother of Saṅgata, had sought shelter in his own house, where he was killed by some miscreants of the Bāṇa family. 2179

The wife's brother of Sujji, who lived a gay life of amours, was a man of high descent; he, Citriya, was also slain while performing deeds worthy of him. 2180

His usher Saṅgika was wounded and died by slow degrees and also other dependents of Sujji came by death in different places. 2181

Two or three, such as Vīrapāla, owed their lives to the speed of their thoroughbred horses and joining the side of Koṣṭheśvara left behind the menace of death. 2182

Śaradiya, the brother of Saṅgata, as he was escaping had his horse stopped by a rising of malcontents near Subhaṭāmaṭha and was taken prisoner. 2183

Sajjala, son of Sujji, Śvetika, his elder brother's son and the son of Ulhaṇa, found themselves in prison. 2184

In this wise, the king and the minister having fallen under the sway of backbiters, occurred this disorder in the year nine on the fifth of the bright half of Āṣāḍha. 2185 *4209 L.E. 1133 A.C.*

Remembering that minister whose bold spirit was undaunted in any operation whatever the king, who has such distinguished officers, even to this day suffers from remorse. 2186

More difficult than the rising of a Vetāla, a jump down a precipice, masticating poison or embracing a viper is, in truth, the service of royalty. 2187

In front of potentates, in whom virtuous conduct has no concern with self-control as before wagons, the reins of which having slipped are beyond control, what person standing trustingly will not be crushed? 2188

The king considered the assassination of Sujji an unworthy act, on the other hand, the subjects deemed it proper and felt that it was the superior might of the sovereign. 2189

The king conferred the chief command of the army on Sañjapāla and on Kularāja he had the post of the city prefect bestowed. 2190

Having left Mallārjuna, Dhanya and Udaya arrived in the city and as before the two once more blossomed as the king's favourites. 2191

Fortune, having cut herself off from relations with others and having passed the stage of vacillation, settled with Citraratha on a firm footing in every respect. 2192

Although in the forefront of those who had amazing wealth, he oppressed the realm by repressive fines, and uncontrolled even by the king, failed to pacify it. 2193

At the village of Gandharvāna, the commandant of the fort having killed Ṭikka sent his head to the king at Pārevišoka. 2194

Then Loṭhanadeva, of a sudden, occupied Hāḍigrāma with a small retinue. He had been repeatedly urged through emissaries by Koṣṭheśvara who, with his innate hatred towards the king, was at the moment infuriated at the latter having acquired prestige. 2195-2196

The king being everywhere closely united with the other Lavanyas, the Lavanya Koṣṭheśvara made peace with him and relating a mighty tissue of lies to Loṭhana got rid of him as he had come. 2197

In the manner of Uccala and others, he had rushed to seize the throne but failing in his determination to achieve it, he had become a laughing-stock of the people. 2198

Thereafter the king was obsessed with the thought of killing Koṣṭhaka by making use of assassins, causing dissention in his troops, and other devices of various kinds. 2199

As if he were an equal combatant, having put out the eyes of the assassin rather than placate the king, growing wroth he planned to wage war against him. 2200

The king, on the other hand, having ordered the officers commanding the army to move from their respective areas, attacked him in person with the troops of all ranks. 2201

Learning that the king had arrived impetuously with a small force, the powerful Koṣṭheśvara approached to surprise him but was foiled by his valour. 2202

Citraratha joined battle and though he had a large force he suffered, through Providence, a reverse from a detachment of his army. 2203

Owing to that rout which, it was said, was the starting point of

his misfortune, his self-assurance thereafter began to dwindle day by day. 2204

Having fought Rilhaṇa and others, the Lavanya with his troops deployed for battle in the evening suddenly attacked the force of the commander-in-chief. 2205

The latter supported by less than a hundred soldiers, when his force melted away, bore the brunt of the furious onslaught of his forces like a mountain the stampede of elephants. 2206

How can that tiger among men be described, who waxes strong in battle till his protective coat of armour fails to be the measure of his height! 2207

When with such a courageous stand he had checked the impetuous onslaught of the foe, Trillaka and other Lavanyas arrived supported by the troops. 2208

Although out of regard for their own clansmen they stood aside in that critical situation they, in a measure, did prove useful to him who had by his own bravery succeeded in repulsing the enemy. 2209

Mobilization in time, maintaining vigilance at night, tactfully handling the troops during opportune times for occupying positions, withdrawals and the various strategic plans, and not yielding terrain which had been won; such were the merits of this ambitious man which, of themselves, compelled the enemy to flee; how shall we praise his offensive against the enemy? 2210–2211

Losing confidence, with treachery among his subordinates and hard pressed by a furious offensive Koṣṭhaka, now eager for flight, made a dive down the mountain. 2212

As the roads were blocked by untimely snow-falls, his opponent in pursuit frustrated his endeavours to secure a passage for his horses. 2213

Smarting under the humiliation he then proceeded to bathe in the Gaṅgā upon being driven out by the king from the realm. 2214

Now Somapāla, worried by his son Bhūpāla and sick of the sufferings of a prolonged civil war, proceeded for asylum to the king. 2215

He having given the two sons of Nāgapāla as hostages the king, who had a tender heart for those who sought refuge with him, promised him freedom from peril. 2216

That this knave had been the cause of the disaster to the Bṛhad Rāja Lakṣmaka, the high-minded king, who was foremost in guile-

lessness and generosity, did not racall in the hour of his misfortune. 2217

To assist him, the king gave him his own army and once more restored him to his dignity by putting an end to the pretensions of his opponents. 2218

After bathing in the celestial river Koṣṭhaka, in the meanwhile, returned and again espousing the cause of Mallārjuna strenuously prepared to stir up a civil war. 2219

On the occasion of a solar eclipse, the prince who had arrived at Kurukṣetra, had encountered the Lavanya and as a measure of expediency had abandoned his former hostility. 2220

Loṭhana, who had previously been invited and had arrived earlier, upon hearing that the Ḍāmara had formed a league with Mallārjuna felt mortified and departed as he had come. 2221

Although he had sworn by libation in the presence of Vijayeśa, the foulminded Somapāla connived at the attempted entry of the king's enemies. 2222

His son, however, in order to conciliate the king, got the various Ṭhakkuras to plunder Koṣṭhaka as he passed through their respective territories. 2223

At this juncture, the Brahmans misliking Citraratha, who had obstinately insisted on an increase of imposts, held a hunger-strike at Avantipura. 2224

They were, through arrogance, spurned by him who held the king of no account; and many made a sacrifice of their bodies in the blazing fire through grief. 2225

When even the pasturage of cows given in charity was resumed by his subordinates, a cowherd, too, full of commiseration entered the fire. 2226

2224. Verses 2224 to 2257 contain an episode which describes in detail the urge and method of terrorist Direct Action. Soon after the defeat of Russia by Japan revolutionary activities were started with the object of putting an end to foreign domination in India and the first young men who laid down their lives for the freedom of the country studied the *Bhagavad Gītā* and derived their inspiration from it. Sir Valentine Chirol describing the early Indian Revolutionary activities comments on the close association of religious and revolutionary beliefs held by the leaders and adds that the *Bhagavad Gītā* was the devotional manual of the revolutionaries. Verse 2256 is a quotation being verse 8 of chapter IV of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

A youth named Vijayarāja, son of the learned Brahman Pṛthvīrāja of eminent family, who being in sore straits was preparing to go abroad with his younger brother, having witnessed this catastrophe at that place, addressed his younger brother dissolved in glistening tears of compassion. 2227-2228

"Look how the helpless subjects are made to perish by the king through the wretch of a minister whom he, from courtesy, supports while they are being ignored!" 2229

"When the king connives at the arbitrary procedure of ministers, who else can then put an end to the hard lot of the down-trodden subjects?" 2230

"Or perhaps the principle of equity is this that, where through mutual rivalry a disturbance has occurred and one who restores order should inflict punishment, some other persons should chastise the one who has restored order for his mode of quelling the disturbance." 2231

"He who is unbridled and the essence of stubbornness should be laid prostrate by strenuous conflicts; such is the case sometimes of steel with rock and of rock with steel sometimes." 2232

"For the sake of a single fault, the king who is radiant with all qualities should not be hated; nothing else but the assassination of Citraratha, it seems to me, is indicated." 2233

"To destroy one vile individual for universal benefit would be pronounced a righteous act; even the Jina slew the dragon who put an end to living beings." 2234

"When the punishment for wicked conduct has been carried out by us, no functionary, fearing a mettlesome man, will venture any more to oppress the subjects." 2235

"If by the sacrifice of this body endless lives could be rendered happy, O brother! is not that the higher bargain?" 2236

When the latter agreeing had said amen and had taken the oath by sacred libation, he approached Citraratha and followed him thereafter in order to kill him. 2237

2227. Udbhaṭa=Pre-eminent; or if it is a proper name here it may refer to the Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa (IV. 495) who was king Jayāpīḍa's Sabhāpati. Udbhaṭa is also mentioned in VII. 482.

2234. For Jina See III. 28n; *Alberuni*, Vol. I. pp. 119, 243.

Even in this age of Kali, said to be marred by the enfeeblement of the sacred Law, the prestige of the earthly gods sheds, to this day, unintermittent lustre. 2238

No one whose merit of a former existence is not wholly exhausted has the hardihood to hurl defiance at the Brahmans, who have the ability to root out the impious and the wicked. 2239

Sujji who had inflamed the twice-born, met his death at the hands of a Brahman and again by a Brahman, Citraratha, who had caused humiliation to the Brahmans, was killed. 2240

The mind of this youth, in fact, was overwrought with the glamour conjured by the Brahmans, since he compassed the assassination of Citraratha by throwing away his own life to no purpose. 2241

For, at the very time the Brahmans had consigned their bodies to the flames, the hatred towards Citraratha had led to a pitched encounter, in which his retainers had been massacred. 2242

Unable either by day or night to get at Citraratha, who was surrounded by numerous troops, the slayer had to pass no end of sleepless nights. 2243

For, Citraratha, when he went about, had the road lined with an endless number of his vassals and remaining in the centre of a crowd of his folk he was visible and passed out of sight at the same time. 2244

On one occasion he was followed swiftly by Vijayarāja, unrelenting and amazing in perseverance, just as he had passed over the staircase in the royal residence. 2245

Then as he tarried in front of a pillar, Vijayarāja of impetuous courage, struck him with his short sword on the head while he was in the very midst of the grandees. 2246

As if he were about to die, he being unnerved lost consciousness and there while his eyes rolled, it happened that the contents of his bowels passed out. 2247

Believing that he had been killed by command of the king, his affrighted retainers, who had flung away morale, deserted him while he was reduced to such a plight. 2248

2238. Bhūdeva. The Brahmans acquired an ascendancy early through their learning. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says: "Verily there are two kinds of gods; for indeed the gods are the gods; and the Brahmans, who have studied and teach sacred lore, are the human gods."

Thinking that life was extinct, the assassin did not strike him again and at the same time forbade his brother, who had come up by another stairway. 2249

He did not flee although all exits were unobstructed; "the king has caused Citraratha to be slain," thus repeatedly he proclaimed in a loud voice. 2250

Whereupon Citraratha's followers, who in his company were prominent in the enjoyment in regal state of fried meats and other luxuries—all those cowards fled in terror. 2251

His elder brother Loṭharatha took to flight and, in his alarm, laying his face upon her breast sought refuge with a dancing girl. 2252

When in that condition Citraratha was taken into the interior, "fear not, who struck you"? with such words he was heartened by the king himself. 2253

When by command of the king a search was being made for the assassin, to the soldiers who were demanding, "Who is the slayer of the warden of the frontier", Vijayarāja disclosed his identity by announcing, "I am the man." 2254

The brave youth performing remarkable feats of valour which out-did his own heroism, after wounding twenty or thirty soldiers, was struck in the leg and killed. 2255

From his arm was recovered a little note on which the motive of this act was thus inscribed: "To safeguard the righteous, for the destruction of evil doers and with a view to reinstate the sacred Law, I come to life in each Yuga." His affirmation, at the last moment, in virtue of this verse has sanctified him. 2256–2257

Thereafter Citraratha, notwithstanding the healing of his wound, became, owing to the perforation of the joints of the forehead, a sufferer from disgust for food, melancholia and insanity. 2258

For five or six months he remained ailing, day after day, laid up with his lean and feeble body on the couch. 2259

In the midst of this turmoil, Koṣṭhaka, intent on an upheaval, having put forward Mallārjuna had occupied a hill fort environed by trees. 2260

As he toured round striving to hook his own partisans, the people who had not forgotten their sufferings feared the repetition of the dual contest for the throne. 2261

As if an untimely cloud had benumbed their limbs with cold, the

people's strength became paralysed by the rapid rise of the enemy's military array. 2262

The king laid siege to that well-wooded stronghold, by investing it for many miles all round and blockaded it through his ministers who occupied the jungle hamlets in its precincts. 2263

When Sañjapāla settled down in a camp with his Yavanas, the enemy simulated the trees which are rigid and moveless in a calm. 2264

Dhanya, too, who was excited by the smell of an enemy, like a lion by that of the elephant, garrisoned with his force the fort Śilikā. 2265

Rilhaṇa, whose troops were posted by the king at Govāsa, ranged the forest and compelled the enemy to hide as do screech-owls from the sun. 2266

By these prompt measures and tactics of the king, Koṣṭheśvara was checked and in his movements was reduced to a cipher during three or four months. 2267

He had suffered hardships in other lands; ignored by the rulers of states on the border he was isolated from his own class and his efforts were baulked by the king's officers; through the inexperience of youth, he had been unable to understand the ways of kings and forgetting his guilt he, who had been cut off from his rank and dignity, longed to make peace with the king. 2268-2269

As he was anxious to remove the resentment of the sovereign, Sañjapāla, whose sole ideal was devoted service, thinking it would be open to censure to deceive him, fulfilled that wish of his. 2270

Though he had been so harassed, Sañjapāla did not chastise the king's enemy as he was anxious to bring about peace; that there was an absence of hatred for the descendants of Pṛthvīhara was not strange. 2271

Sañjapāla sent to the king his enemy; yet even by cutting his own finger he did not succeed in cutting out the wrath of the sovereign. 2272

2264. Yavana. The term was used for the Ionian Greeks (compare Arabic Yunān=Greece) and later for the Hellenised people of Afghanistan. By K.'s time the Turks and Afghans had become Mahomadans,

He tied his turban round the neck, placed a shoe on the head and ate the humble pie, yet he could not bring the king to a favourable mood. 2273

Koṣṭheśvara had refused to acknowledge two or three royal writs, he had disobeyed various royal commands, and had altogether behaved with arrogance as if he were king. 2274

Meanwhile the king learnt that Mallārjuna, who had escaped, had been taken prisoner. In prosperity one success follows on the heels of another for the fortunate. 2275

Not being a good walker Mallārjuna was unable to bear the fatigue of route marches and perched on their shoulders.was carried by his dependents. After getting away from various perilous situations, he had arrived at the village of Sāvarṇika within the jurisdiction of Lohara where he was detained by the Ṭhakkura, Jaggika, who placed him under guard. The king was now informed that, this vassal who had done a good turn had presented himself before him. 2276–2278

Mallārjuna who had been well-nigh imprisoned by the enemy and had somehow escaped from that fort was, however, taken prisoner by him. Who has the power to cross the purpose of Providence? 2279

The Gaṅgā ravished from her celestial course somehow emerged from the belly of one great sage, who had her stored up, to be swallowed up by another when she had done the replenishing of the depth of the ocean; none is strong enough to transgress what is willed to happen. 2280

Jaggika kept a watch on the immediate neighbourhood until the delivery of the prisoner and the very tactful king deputed the warden of the frontier. 2281

Because barring him who was pre-eminently patient, astute and courageous, the king did not consider that any of the other ministers possessed the firmness necessary for a delicate situation. 2282

Udaya, too, after traversing the passes, beset with danger from those who drew allowances from both sides, espied the king's enemy standing at a window. 2283

By resolute conduct, which was not genuine, Mallārjuna made a

2273. Bhuktavelaḥ literally 'eating sand.'

2280. Gaṅgāvataraṇa See III. 530 and App. C.

show of courage externally when he had arrived outside and eulogising him with various phrases at last said: 2284

"You who esteem above everything loyalty to the liege-lord and are foremost among the shrewd have been dragged here by those who are aching for the tempting bribe." 2285

"For want of support from one such as you, who are like a protecting jewel, harm was done, during the early part of my rule to me who am a bad ruler, by many intriguers." 2286

"Kings, who like the sun are only visible with difficulty, ordinarily present no difficulty to the eyes of the general public when they are down in luck, like the sun on a winter's day." 2287

"That king deserves to be honoured who is brilliant at his end in the same way as he was at his rise like the sun with his blood-red disc. Blessed is the life of him, on earth, who at his accession could create a sensation in the women's world in the city as well as make the bevy of Apsarāṣ lovelorn at the moment of his grim death." 2288-2289

"After having secured a status worthy of a nobleman and having accomplished a little of the main objective, I have grown up to find myself baffled in the final success, like a classical poet who has diction and has got some theme but is perplexed about the final dénouement." 2290

"By being true to your word may you now vouchsafe me the peace of my mind by a single boon which would not exceed what is feasible for you." 2291

Thus having spoken he then for assurance sake brought before the warden of the frontier a crystal Liṅga with a pedestal that he might touch it. 2292

Udaya bethought him in this wise "No doubt this proud prince wishes for a boon to fight it out in an open mêlée in a clash of arms with warriors showering javelins, lances and arrows." He touched the Śiva-Liṅga and made himself responsible for the boon as desired and then Mallārjuna thus addressed him again:— 2293-2294

"Without gouging out my sight, without being killed or wounded, I beg that you will take me before the king just as you find me now." 2295

2290. See below 2860 and 3265. K. is constantly comparing the art of the poet to statecraft and the difficult art of government.

Hearing his words reeking with cowardice, they were all stupified with shame and remained with faces inclined to the ground like foliage drenched by a shower of rain. 2296

Then recollecting the last moment of Bhikṣu, they revived and their mental equanimity found a reason to blossom once more. 2297

Mounted in a litter transported by men, as he was being removed by Udaya the shameless man, even when looking at people who were fostered by him, felt no emotion. 2298

While being carried along, he wholly gave himself up, like a beast, to feeding and sleeping, etc. of which en route he was not deprived and was not touched by any disquieting thought whatever. 2299

Seeing him in that plight being brought in by the guards, the people's hearts melted towards him and they did not felicitate the king. 2300

And they said, "Such a lack of sympathy is not worthy of the king, who is older by birth, towards his younger brother who deprived of his father deserves commiseration." 2301

"One can not have one's fill gazing at the figure of this prince, whose eyes are like the dark blue lotus; who could be so hard-hearted as to make it repulsive by torture?" 2302

Thus they, unable to conceive any logical sequence between antecedent and succeeding events, gazed upon him at the time oblivious of his guilt while they upbraided the king, in various ways, on the highway. 2303

What can be the measure of the youthful, the callow, and the like when the state of mind of even great men is not one of concentration on a single purpose at all times? 2304

The audience as they listen to the tale of the gambling, the dragging by the hair of the princess of Pañcāla and the rest of it, their anger against the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra rises higher than against the Pāṇḍavas. 2305

When they hear of the drinking of the blood of the Kurus and of the battering of his skull whose thigh had been broken, the same persons are seen to be furious against the Pāṇḍavas. 2306

To be conversant with both sides of a question, one must be in

2299. "Man", said Confucius, "differs from the animal only by a little; most men throw that little away."

the midst of affairs of state. In a bystander, how should the emotions not be stirred at the various incidents? 2307

Mallārjuna, seated in the litter, moving the citizens to tears and carrying in his lap a clay vessel with his cut finger, reached Śrīnagara in the evening. 2308

4211 *L.E.*
1135 *A.C.*

On the bright fifteenth of Āśvina, in the year eleven, the king lodged him under guard in the interior of Navamaṭha. 2309

As he gave up food in his distress for five or six nights, the king out of pity went to him, who was begging to be allowed to touch his feet. 2310

When the king had promised him the safety for which he had prayed, he spoke of Citraratha and Koṣṭhaka as being two traitors, who had the very same common design and who both deserved to be put to death. 2311

Now the king anxious to throw into imprisonment Koṣṭhaka, who was about to depart for his own domain, sounded five or six of his confidential men including Rilhaṇa. 2312

Finding the lot of them in drooping spirits, the king prepared to handle the affair in person, whereupon Rilhaṇa caught Koṣṭhaka in his arms just as the shark grips the fish. 2313

Deprived of the sword, he remained motionless encaged within the arms of that powerful man like one who is set upon by a ghost when blinded by slumber. 2314

The nephew of Kularāja, the hot-headed Bhiḥkharāja, through fervent love for the sovereign, with the short sword, pierced his neck. 2315

While, however, Pṛthvīpāla of the blood royal was about to strike him on the head with his battle axe, he was forbidden by the indignant king. 2316

The piercing of the neckbone having caused a vital injury and made movement impossible Koṣṭhaka rolled on to the floor and remained drenched in blood. 2317

By men of great strength, prominent among whom was Kamaliya, his womb-brother Catuṣka too, was felled to the ground as a boulder is hurled down by elephants. 2318

Seeing both masters struck down, disabled and taken

prisoners, up rose the Brahman named Mallaka with a drawn sword. 2319

Striking down the royal retainers high and low he was noticed, as he rushed unexpectedly into the scrimmage, by the king himself. 2320

While he was cutting down the various intrepid warriors, who coming from the direction of the king had attacked him, Kularāja rushed with his rapier at this man who was a great expert in fencing. 2321

Kularāja who was skilled in fencing could only hold him up against a wall being unable to kill him as his arm was quick to parry by counterstrokes. 2322

Kularāja found it as difficult to retreat or to maintain himself as to strike him and he continued to make many passes holding him who, unwounded, was at bay. 2323

While Mallaka was resonant with the stamping of his feet and the rapid movements of his arms, his eye was caught at this time by Padmarāja who was rushing at him. 2324

Thus finding a loop-hole Kularāja made a pass at his chest, but after the lunge, as his arm was in the backward motion, Mallaka cut off his thumb. 2325

As Bijjarāja, fast warming up was fencing with sheer effrontery and Mallaka was dealing counterstrokes these two then made rapid thrusts. 2326

Shaking off even these three assailants together, he rushed at the king whom he had sighted flitting towards the door of the four-pillared pavilion. 2327

As the king had become his target, Kularāja, in agitation, immediately gave chase and wounding him in the hip-bone checked his rush. 2328

Then he was surrounded by the whole lot of the combatants and after swiftly dealing death to the faint of heart and courageous alike, he sank on the couch of the heroes where the streaming blood formed his magnificent coverlet. 2329

Under the eyes of his masters, who though reduced to dire straits were yet alive, he performed laudable feats of valour and with his

2319. Verses 2319 to 2330 contain a graphic description, in the style of the 19th century French novelists, of fencing and swordsmanship.

enviable last moments, he alone was numbered among the brave. 2330

Outside, Koṣṭhaka's vassals had faded away; only the Ḍāmara named Janakacandra with resolute courage bore himself so as not to cut a poor figure. 2331

He was unarmed yet snatching a battle-axe from one of the royal retainers, he made many, in the affray, his heralds to appear before Yama. 2332

As he was about to ascend to the solar world, the battle-axe clung to his hand with a longing to sever the carotid vein of the enemy, like that of the lunar light to share in the Suṣumṇā ray. 2333

We have neither seen nor heard the like of what, at this time, the proud and virtuous wife of Koṣṭhaka did upon the imprisonment of her husband. 2334

Rejecting the advice of the relatives that being alive her husband may yet be restored to her, she entered the flames. 2335

Fire, corrupted by the sinful thirst for the embrace of the Lady of Seven Sages, was purified by the feet of this lady when she went to the world of chaste women. 2336

That daughter of Vasanta, brother of Dhanya and Udaya,—the lady with the pride of her pure lineage—would not lend support to the course of conduct of the wives of the Lavanyas. 2337

Let the beautiful wives of the Lavanyas, even in widowhood,

2330. Loyalty to the immediate liege-lord was essentially a feudal idea.

2331. Adaridratām uvāha dhairyeṇa is rendered by a corresponding English idiom.

2333. The moon is said to receive the light of the sun by the ray known as Suṣumṇā. The souls of warriors slain in battle go to the solar world. See verse 3288 below.

2336. The Seven Sages are Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu, and Vasiṣṭha who together form the constellation Ursa Major. Arundhatī is the wife of Vasiṣṭha, one of the Seven Sages. She was one of the ten daughters of the patriarch Kardama by Devahuti. Arundhatī is the ideal of conjugal felicity and wifely devotion. She is invoked by the bridegroom during nuptial ceremonies and receives greater veneration than the Seven Sages.

Agni (fire) being a god now domiciled on earth looks vainly up and casts longing eyes at the chaste Arundhatī, who twinkles below the Ursa Major, in the inaccessible sky!

from desire for wealth share with their loins the feast of love with village officials, householders and others. 2338

Though delirium had brought on melancholia, the proud Koṣṭhaka because of her and his two followers could hold his head high. 2339

Although his wound was healing, Koṣṭhaka for his sins was afflicted with maggots and after many a night in the prison, he fell lifeless. 2340

Then Citraratha, who had withered away until he had become very thin, hearing that the king had been prejudiced by Mallārjuna, became exceedingly ill at ease through alarm. 2341

His one and only wife, the beloved and virtuous Sūryamatī who was the guarantor of his prosperity had ere this become a guest in the next world. 2342

With the body struck down by incurable disease, the house from which his wedded one had departed, the master prejudiced by animosity, he was not the least bit happy. 2343

Thinking that no harm would befall him from the king if he lived, even if guilty, in a sanctuary he, under the pretext of wishing to die, proceeded to Sureśvarī. 2344

Thereupon the rich properties of all kinds which he, who was more opulent than the god of wealth, owned, were confiscated from various places by the king. 2345

His gold embroidered raiment, armour, horses, jewels, accoutrements and other valuables each, in turn, glittered as if in emulation to display their splendour surpassing each other. 2346

The tree of sovereignty, which had withered with the summer heat of the treason at Lohara, was freshened when watered by the mountain stream of his wealth. 2347

Although the disturbances had ceased long ago, because of the hardships usual in a life in the forest, Vijaya had never left the luminous Kalyāṇapura just as Hariścandra would not leave Saubha. In his residence was the royal Lakṣmī personified; kept as a prisoner she

2338. There were different standards of morals in the Middle Ages for women and men and, indeed, the difference survives to our own times. K. condemns immorality among men also. The Ḍāmara ladies apparently agreed with Flaubert; 'Il manque quelque chose a celui qui ne s'est jamais reveillé dans un lit sans nom, qui n' a pas vu dormir sur son oreiller une tête qu'il ne verra plus!'

had lost her sleep, and anxiety had brought on a pallor which made her look as if she were reflecting the gleaming white parasol. Vijaya, the son of Bhava, learning that an assassin had been employed by the king, slew him whose name was Ānanda and was himself killed by him. 2348-2350

In this fashion was passed that incomparable period full of all kinds of adventures by king Jayasiṁha, who was so devoted to the protection of the subjects. 2351

While Citraratha was staying in the sanctuary, his two subordinates, Śṛṅgāra and Janaka, anxious to secure the office of Pādāgra, indulged openly in intrigues. 2352

By tendering a heavy sum to the king Śṛṅgāra won him over, overreached Janaka and secured the enjoyment of his master's emoluments. 2353

The king restored Udaya to the office of the warden of the frontier of which he had been deprived for a long time, just as the season of the clouds replenishes the river up to the banks. 2354

Evil deeds which inevitably have to be atoned having long cut him to the quick Citraratha, too, survived in legend at the end of eight months. 2355

Thanks to the power of familiarity, which in a manner unimaginable conquers prejudice and makes even a ridiculously ugly person appear normal, whereby one holds on to an evil smelling person, too, as a companion, and even accept advice from an absolute lout. 2356

Śṛṅgāra, during the early life of the king who having been a spoilt child had a wayward mind, had formerly won favour by reprehensible pastimes such as gambling and the rest of it. Upon the accession of sovereign power, the king began to send him with Tāmbūla to Citraratha which tiresome work by day and night he accepted; through serving on political missions, he secured an insight into affairs of state and came to be the latter's confidential man. Upon Citraratha's death he, colluding with the servants, disclosed to the king the treasure of Citraratha. At this time the royal court being

2348-2350. Hariścandra, according to legend, is the prince of the city of Śaubha which is suspended in the air.

2355. Kathā-śeṣaḥ=survived as legend; was forgotten.

universally devoid of talent among the grandees and the ministers, Sajjaka's son Śṛṅgāra, secured the office of prime minister. 2357-2360

Habituated to prescribed regulations, he was narrow-minded yet his riches did not go for any evil purpose, since his charities though insignificant were bestowed on deserving persons. 2361

He, who had considered himself passing rich when he could provide his wife with food and raiment, became munificent in his gifts of rice to the Gurus. 2362

For having endowed a silver pedestal by supplying his own silver at Sureśvarī which is extant, he became worthy of communion with the Supreme Being. 2363

At Nandikṣetra by expending a large fortune such as even kings in modern times would be unable to sanction, he made a noble provision for the festival of Āṣāḍha. To this end he was inspired by Caṇpaka and others and, in conformity with the times, he maintained it for five or six years. 2364-2365

He, who was believed to be worthless because of his amorous nature, put through amazing business, on obtaining office, owing to the strength of his master's affection. 2366

The finger-nail of the youthful Pārvatī ever ready in the sport of love, it was often thought, might hurt the snake while serving as a decoration for the neck of Śiva; even he did not break as he stretched himself upon the bow formed by the mountain by command of the enemy of Tripura. How should another not be endued with power on the strength of the master's authority? 2367

Taking shelter under him and under Rilhaṇa and Dhanya, Janaka and one Śṛṅgāra by offering money ousted each other from office. 2368

On one occasion, Śṛṅgāra by imprisoning Janaka with his wife and sons forced him to shed tears as well as the pearls from his trinkets. 2369

And he, on one occasion, harassed and caused him to be dishonoured by depositing bribe money with the stern guards, asking for sexual indulgence. 2370

2367. The snake is Vāsuki. And the mountain refers to Mandāra. See App. C.

2370. A life of pleasure for a person in disgrace was against the old code of honour. See II. 105-106; IV. 437-439, 441 and VI. 135.

When either of them once more obtained an official post, he made the people laugh by rubbing and fidgeting with his ring on the ring-finger with the thumbnail, twisting and pouting his upper lip while talking and half closing his eyes while the region of the forehead became uneven with the insurgence of the lines of his frowning brows. 2371-2372

With his indistinct speech and ungentle words, blinking eyes, shouting overmuch or laughing and clapping of hands the other, too, made himself conspicuous in prosperity. 2373

In fact considering everything during this unmentionable period, when decency has disappeared and men are like straw, Ṣṛṅgāra, I ween, deserves not to be condemned. 2374-2375

The king, who is all comprehending and unshakable in intellect, has by his charitable conduct attained foremost rank among those who are devoted to pious acts. Buddha-like he has conferred obligations on his enemy in distress as the sandal tree cools the scorched body of the man who has caused the conflagration in the forest. To the Gurus, scholars, Brahmans, orphans, and members of joint families he distributes gifts with due marks of distinction. The pure-minded king is a devotee of Vijayeśa and other gods; having had stucco put on the temples, the wealthy king made them vie with Kailāsa and as he has a passion for the restoration of ancient monuments, the repair of shrines, Maṭhas, pleasure gardens, ponds, canals and the like is his constant care. 2376-2380

Yet once having committed odious acts against his colleagues, the stupid go so far as to say that, he has reached the summit of cruelty. 2381

The magnanimous conduct of the celestial river in fostering the universe, supplying the seven seas, gratifying Brahmā, the other gods and the rest of it has been made light of owing to one silly act committed on a certain occasion when she touched the pile of ashes of Sagara's sons. The people have since considered her suitable for the deposit of bones as if she were a burial ground! 2382

At about this time, the wretch of an official the Brahman Śivaratha who was prolific in schemes of intrigues perished by tying a halter to his neck. 2383

2383. This verse shows that K. uses the term Kāyastha to mean a government official; it has no reference to the caste now known as Kāyastha in India.

In this wise by removing thorns of every description, the king, subserving to his innate goodness, rendered the kingdom free from menace. 2384

Kings attain lustre principally by the removal of their opponents, who are impediments like sunbeams released from the clouds. 2385

This jewel of a king developed in time a charming personality, just as the vine growing to maturity attains greater sweetness. 2386

He sedulously encouraged sacrifices at which extensive Dakṣiṇās were given, as well as weddings, pilgrimages and other sacred observance and festivals. 2387

For the ritual ceremonies of those who observed the ways of piety, he gave supplies from his own stores just as the moon supplies her lustre to the herbs of the noble mountains. 2388

During the weddings of the sons, consecrations, and other ceremonies of the residents of the city, he allowed the use of the requisite materials and equipments with unfailing interest. 2389–2390s

Although he is immersed in affairs of state, his fervent devotion like that of a Muni to the worship of Śiva is watched by philosophers with amazement. 2391

From early morn until eventide, no activity on his part is noticed in which experts have not acted as his instructors. 2392

In the blinding darkness due to lack of knowledge, learning had shone at intervals during the periods of Jayāpīḍa and others like the evanescent flashes of lightning in the clouds. 2393

He, however, by disbursing wealth has made the halo of the portrait of his various virtues imperishable, like the lasting iridescence of a jewel. 2394

He made the scholars, together with their families, owners, as long as the planets and the sun and moon should endure, of villages with undivided and fertile fields. 2395

2386. The Vine (vitis vinifera) has grown wild in Kaśmīr since ancient times with the luxuriance of a tropical creeper producing abundance of fruits without pruning or cultivation. Kaśmīr was famous for grapes which were known in India as Kaśmīrā. K. proudly refers to them in I. 42.

The Vine lives to a great age under favourable circumstances. Pliny mentions one 600 years old. Vines 100 year old are accounted young in the vineyards of Italy and there are said to be some in Burgandy upwards of 400 years old. For other references to the Vine see IV. 192 VII. 498.

2395. In charters and grants the words "so long as the sun and moon endure" are used to convey in perpetuity.

For the learned he has constructed houses, the terraces of which are elevated to such heights that, they extend to the heads of the seven sages of the constellations by whom they are viewed as a marvel. 2396

With his prepossessing figure and instructive wisdom as leader of the caravan on the route, the scholars relying on him are assured of a faultless itinerary. 2397

As Āryarāja, when reclining for sleep, was very fond of the musical sound rising from the flowing water with which the Liṅgas were ceremoniously bathed, so he having done away with the flute, the lute and the like, at bed time, finds delight in the thought provoking conversation with men of learning who are free from jealousy. 2389-2399

During the reigns of the illustrious Lalitāditya, Avantivarman and other kings consecrations and other pious work, which had remained incomplete, were at this time carried out. 2400

As for those Maṭhas and temples, which were founded in his own reign, permanent endowments were created by him for all of them. 2401

The Vihāra of Ratnādevī, who was the soil in which her lord's affection had taken deep root, ranked first in eminence among all the foundations. 2402

Then Rilhaṇa, his friend of many virtues, came to be the foremost wayfarer in the long line of all the ministers put together on the road of pious acts. 2403

This pure-minded man was not able to part company from the anchorites, men of letters, and those grown grey in jurisprudence even when he was in his private apartments. 2404

Because of his acts of kindness, principally gifts of blackbuck-skins and of milch cows with calves, as well as through the marriage celebrations of his god-daughters, his was a life replete with piety. 2405

The ritual ceremony of all who maintained the perpetual sacred

2396. The Seven Sages are the Constellation Saptarṣi, the Great Bear. See verse 2336 ante.

2405. Dharma-Kanyā=god-daughter.

fire was rendered free from impediments by this magnanimous man, by furnishing all the materials necessary for sacrifices. 2406

With choice dishes, the sixty-four castes regaled themselves during this sacrificial feast, a marvel of organisation on his part whose mind had no touch of narrow-mindedness. 2407

He embellished the cities of the two Pravarasenas, with splendid bridges and Maṭhas richly endowed with many an Agrhāra. 2408

The temple of Rilhaṇeśvara founded by him in the first city of king Pravara, excited wonder and gained pre-eminence among pious foundations. 2409

A Vihāra in the locality of the Bhaleraka fountain was erected by this meritorious man in honour of his wife Sussalā, who had departed for the other world. It came to be known by the name of her cat, who following her in death instead of forgetting her attachment as is usual among animals, had died. 2410–2411

Indicating jealousy and prejudice towards the husband, she would withdraw to a distance; as if she were human was this pet cat beloved by her. 2412

Since the day when Sussalā set out for the Tīrtha, she moaned for her and refusing the food brought before her, relinquished her life through sorrow. 2413

Diddā among the consorts of kings and Sussalā among the wives of ministers have ascended to the highest peak on the path of religious benefices, through their multifariousness. 2414

Sussalā had rebuilt the noble Vihāra, which had been reduced to a condition when it survived only in name, with a stone temple, residential quarters and other structures. 2415

By the construction of water wheels, wells, hostels for students and like works, all her structures for charitable uses attained completion. 2416

By her Vihāra, which occupied the entire site on which stood the residence of a former royal dynasty, Śrīnagara as a whole was transformed into a vision of loveliness. 2417

Soon after the consecration of the Vihāra, worn out by phthisis she

2406. The worship of the fire is a survival from Vedic times. There are beautiful hymns addressed to Agni in the Ṛg-Veda.

2410. Cats were evidently popular pets. See VII. 279; VII. 139.

2415. See IV. 215.

found her death at Sureśvarī, which heralded her glorious communion with the Supreme Being. 2418

The Maṭhas and Agrahāras, founded by Dhanya in the name of his wife, did not acquire the desired celebrity. Whence can there be fame without merits of the former existence? 2419

Udaya, the commander-in-chief, however, who also like him had founded Agrahāras and Maṭhas, always heard the mention of his own name which was joined with them. 2420

The splendid Maṭha created by Udaya, the warden of the frontier, together with its group of residential quarters for Brahmans added splendour to the bank of the Padmasaras. 2421

His elder brother, the pure-minded judge Śṛṅgāra, too, founded Maṭhas, gardens, bathing pools and the like at Śrīdvāra. 2422

Alaṁkāra, the chief of the High Treasury, by constructing bath-houses, Maṭhas, residential quarters for Brahmans, bridges and the like embellished the land. 2423

This enlightened man was born in a gifted family to heal and ever to serve the ends of peace; renowned as a poet he combined open-handedness with renunciation. 2424

A peerless devotee of Viṣṇu he served the king and in his non-violence offered gifts of gold, food, and raiment; further, on the occasion of the pageant of Varāha he made gifts of cows. 2425

The convent of Śṛṅgāra Bhaṭṭa, in the proximity of the Bhaṭṭāraka convent, being like a well by the side of the surging ocean did not acquire any particular celebrity. 2426

Jaṭṭa the minister for peace and war of the ruler of Dārvābhisāra, who was devoted to works of piety, founded a shrine to him who is manifest in eight forms. 2427

Among trees the oleander alone offering the loving gift of a mass of flowers enjoys a charming privilege; its flowers are blessed by that marvellous Liṅga of Kāma's enemy, which has revealed itself spontaneously. 2428

2421. Padmasaras=The Vular Lake. See IV. 593.

2427. For the eight manifestations of the Creator, including the sun and moon, see the opening verse of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*.

2428. Karavīra=Nerium, Oleander—a native of Kaśmīr and of the Mediterranean region. It was known to Pliny who mentions its rose like flowers. The Greeks described it under three names rhododendron, Nerion, and rhododaphne. The Oleander is a very popular flowering shrub in Indian gardens.

Among all the ministers honoured by the king with rank and dignity, Jalha's younger brother named Bhuṭṭa truly deserved the highest distinction. 2429

The self-originating Śiva on Bālakeśvara reveals himself and receives from him adoration in person, like Jyeṣṭharudra from Vasiṣṭha. 2430

He there founded a town named Bhuṭṭapura, free from impurity, with Vihāras, Maṭhas and splendid dwellings. 2431

In Śrīnagara, too, he consecrated a shrine to Śiva named Bhūteśvara and constructed in Maḍavagrāma a lake, which was a mirror of the grace of religion. 2432

By constructing the Vaikuṇṭha convent and other sacred dwellings, the grounds of her own Vihāra were firmly laid out by Ratnādevī investing her own money to embellish them. 2433

At Ratnāpura—a very flourishing place with many gates—her spotless convent has the charm of a large aviary, where acts of piety represent the sportive swans. 2434

The conqueror of death located by her in edifices whitened by stucco is brilliant; it seems he has created a white isle to cut transience out of human existence. 2435

Sūravarman and other kings, the builders of Gokulas, when she erected her Gokula, were reckoned as if they paid her homage making use of a wisp of grass. 2436

There in the grazing grounds, the cows provided with the glorious waters of the Vitastā roamed at will unobstructed and their bodies were free from sickness. 2437

In that place the statue of Viṣṇu holding up Mount Govardhana is the embodiment of noble bearing and marvellous beauty, which Viśvakarman could not have achieved. 2438

After founding charming convents, she took up her residence at Nandikṣetra and at places like the garden of Jayavana. 2439

In Dārvābhisāra, also, a town was founded by her bearing her own name which enshrined the charm and refinement of royalty and was comparable to the city of Indra. 2440

This queen who was tenderly loved by her servants created various

2436. To keep straw in the mouth as a token of submission was an ancient custom; it is still current on the Afghan border.

benefices in memory of those who had died, chief of whom was her esteemed chamberlain. 2441

Thus when it had been embellished in different places, this best of the kings founded his own Maṭha as the finishing touch of beauty to the land, like the patch on the forehead when all the limbs are adorned with trinkets. 2442

The unostentatious king endowed it with many villages and this prominent place was given publicity by the prescient with the appellation of Siṁhapura. 2443

The daughter's son of the chief of Kārapatha settled in this place Brahmans born in the Indus region as well as Dravid Brahmans who formerly lived in the centre of Siddhacchatra. 2444

Or why praise the construction of convents and such other structures by him who restored to prosperity with its villages and the capital the entire kingdom of Kaśmīr? 2445

This land, which owing to the wickedness of the age had come to resemble a desolate wilderness, he set up once more with wealth, population, and habitations. 2446

Since from the very beginning, the king had pledged himself to donate what was prayed for, convents and temples were, in many instances, founded even by masons and other artisans. 2447

The treasure, apparel, jewellery and other possessions having been shared in company with them by the unselfish king, the citizens could celebrate the various big festivals. 2448

Even when harvests of rice failed owing to such misfortunes as untimely snowfall and inundations, abundance of food did not diminish during this period. 2449

Strange things happened when at night the voices of demons were heard, comets and meteors and other portents were observed; the subjects did not perish nevertheless. 2450

Koṣṭheśvara's younger brother, who had raised a revolt, was transported by the king to the presence of the Destroyer by means of fighting, espionage and repression. 2451

The king, having upset Vikramarāja planted Gulhaṇa as ruler at Vallāpura and other rulers in other principalities. 2452

2444. As late as the 12th century Dravid Brahmans are mentioned as students in Kaśmīr.

Rulers of subjects in Kānyakubja and other places who were in enjoyment of magnificent territorial possessions felt, because of their friendship with this sun among kings, that they had been honoured. 2453

While he was resplendent by his undisputed statecraft, it happened that the Rajah of the Dards Yaśodhara paid the debt to nature. 2454

Although he was a border chief, by rendering great services he had come to know the inner mind of the king; upon his death his descendants having fallen into the power of his ministers, an anxious situation arose. 2455

For Yaśodhara's own minister named Viḍḍasīha, who had won the love of his wife, had cunningly usurped the ruling power during the minority of the son. 2456

While he was gradually gaining control over the land and was aiming at depriving of his rights the boy, who was the ruler merely in name, with a view to seize the territory for himself, another minister named Paryuka, in the meantime, put forward the claim of the second son of Yaśodhara and raised an opposition. 2457-2458

While with Kaśmīr to back him Paryuka was carrying on a struggle for power, the king, whose mind was seized with an ardent desire to assert himself otherwise called folly, superseded Sañjapāla and others who were fit for all onerous tasks and although himself skilled in statecraft, from regard for the proud position of him on whom he had conferred the office of prime minister and other powers, followed the plan of Sajja's son Śṛṅgāra, who was for despatching his own younger and inexperienced brother out of friendliness for Paryuka. 2459-2461

For a campaign in a country without previous experience what a contrast there is between the prestige of illustrious men experienced in state affairs, whose nerves remain unshaken in universal panic, and a person hardly to be differentiated from a boy, or a callow youth with no political sense! 2462-2463

With the help of their own officials who are opposed to the objective, they who are unaware of the real condition of the army, the terrain, the fortifications, the finances and the like, desire to strike at the enemy's proud position. 2464

Merely because of his exalted position, the rulers of states on the border submit to the king's policy. Enemies should be considered as

showing the face of friends to the extent only of the assistance rendered by them. 2465

When it comes to a matter of winning over the allies of the enemies by diplomatic pressure, what a contrast between a man inexperienced in negotiations in state affairs and fools who may be knaves as well? 2466

Immature persons could not seize the government of the Darads which had fallen into internal dissension, as a tree which having fallen through a landslide on the bank can not be carried away by a feeble current of water wherein it is lying. 2467

From Paryuka, who in his critical situation was longing for all kinds of bribes, Śṛṅgāra's brother, slack in his actions, was unable to take even Dugdhaghāta. 2468

When the son of Sajja had retreated as he had come, Viḍḍasīha concluded peace with Paryuka and harboured a grudge against the king of Kaśmīr. 2469

Śṛṅgāra, with whom the premiership had remained no longer than a monkey rests on a tree, at this juncture became friends with death. 2470

Until the death of Lakṣmaka, the powers of the prime minister were confined in a single channel but thereafter they broke up a hundredfold like the waters of a cascade. 2471

Other ministers, too, who by command of the sovereign had enjoyed the privilege of exalted rank caught their death during this period through some fatality. 2472

How shall we praise the sympathetic sovereign, who confirms the infant son of his deceased minister in the rank and dignity of his father? 2473

The servants of the ministers, however, started an amazing course. They unhesitatingly took their master's wealth as one takes one's own wedded wife. 2474

For, after presenting it to the king, they appropriated the estates of their deceased masters while administering them for the benefit of the children. 2475

On the death of the treasury superintendent, named Viśva, the high tradition of the secretaries was maintained by one Sahaja only. 2476

2473. There was no hereditary nobility in India and sons of noblemen rose to the rank of nobles of the court by personal merit and favour of the king.

He, though asked by the king, did not assume the higher powers of the office, but rendered assistance to his master's son named Tiṣṭa in order to instruct him. 2477

Alas! even after the discovery, in their devotion to duty, of a lack of efficiency the officials are promoted by those vested with authority, according to seniority, to higher and higher powers. 2478

The waters of the river of the three-fold course had of yore served for ceremonial ablution from a pitcher for the Creator, it next relieved the weary feet of the foe of the Titans after his fatiguing traverse of the universe; then Śiva found a place for it on his own head. Even for a blockhead, if at any time he has been employed by one ruler, all rulers will perforce have deep respect owing to their habit of following on the trodden path. 2479

The expulsion of Sujji had germinated as the plant of wrong policy; being sprinkled by the follies of Śṛṅgāra it had, in course of time, become ready to fruit. 2480

For two or three years thereafter, the sulky Viḍḍasīha had continued to ceaselessly excite the cupidity of Loṭhana for the throne through his emissaries. 2481

At a safe distance, with his ambition unimpaired he had taken shelter under the ruling chief Śūra and maintained himself together with his kinsfolk by agriculture, trade, and other occupations. The adventurous Loṭhana started intrigues with Alaṁkāracakra and other Ḍāmaras who had formed marriage relationships with the councillors of the Dards. 2482–2483

Just at the outset of his expedition to join those who had the control of the hill forts, his friend, the base Janakabhadra died. 2484

At different places in Karnāḍha and other districts wherever people saw him on tour, the minds of some were inclined towards treason while others were for good faith. 2485

Though he, with abundant endeavour, was in this fashion engaged calmly and cunningly in preparing for an invasion, the king took no notice of him and remained inactive through insouciance. 2486

The subversive propaganda fostered the rebellion with the financial

2479. K. is here making fun of princes who honour people merely because they have been honoured by other rulers.

2482. Apparently princes and their relatives did not consider it *infra dig* in those days to maintain themselves by agriculture and trade!

assistance sent by those who longed for unrest; thereupon Udaya, the warden of the frontier, was despatched by the king. 2487

While he was mobilizing the army in the city of Śankaravarman, he heard that Loṭhana had made a junction with Alamkāracakra. 2488

Furthermore, he received the report that a son of king Sussala, named Vigraharāja, as well as Bhoja, son of Salhaṇa, had arrived with him. 2489

Then in order to crush them at the very outset he, by forced marches, in one day covered the road which would have taken serveral days to traverse. 2490

He had failed to rope in the members of his class by fabricating lies; and reduced to helplessness when Udaya's offensive struck at his movements, that Ḍāmara took to flight. 2491

Thereupon they all took refuge in the fort as Śiraḥśilā which is encircled by the river Kṛṣṇagaṅgā and the streams Madhumati and the Muktāśrī. 2492

The warden of the frontier scoured the country at great length, but could not ascertain for certain whether Alaṁkāracakra had plunged into the forest or was holding out in the fortress. 2493

When, at last, it was confirmed that he had climbed up to the fort, even Providence was not in doubt that the power of the king would be invincible. 2494

During that insurrection all the Ḍāmara thieves shared in the eagerness to rise, like fishes in a pond burst by torrential rain. 2495

Then Trillaka and others who were secretly disloyal once more made use of Loṭhana, a son of Pṛthvīhara, who was an expert in conspiratorial intrigues. 2496

He had been burning down towns, villages and other places and had become inaccessible to his pursuers and although every now and then he was reduced to a critical condition, he was saved by his partisans. 2497

On the horizon flitting everywhere becoming visible and disappearing, he, appointed by fate, seemed to be like the comet Brahmaputra which rises at the end of the Kalpa. 2498

2498. The comet which according to the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā is to appear at the end of the Kalpa in different directions as a sign before the annihilation of the world.

When the weary ministers with a view to temporise pressed for a compromise, the people believed that the entire territory of the Maḍavarājya was lost. 2499

Meanwhile, owing to the lack of effective countermeasures, the enemy continued to gain ascendancy and the king after holding counsel together despatched Dhanya. 2500

When the task was entrusted to his shoulders folks spoke in this wise: "The warden of the frontier will be humiliated and cease to take an interest or even turn antagonistic." 2501

"Bhikṣu was single-handed and so, too, was Mallārjuna—these three together, however, who have formed a league are unfortunately difficult to overcome" Such was the view of all the subjects. 2502

The warden of the frontier, however, who in his dealings was free from jealousy, desiring success for the king even at the cost of his own fame continued to strive for it with all his heart. 2503

He alone who while engaged on his master's mission is never baffled, who does not resort to sulking through resentment, who, when the master is influenced by a coterie, is free from jealousy in the conduct of affairs and intent on gaining the objective; such a minister is not for him, the merit of whose past life is scanty. 2504

Ṣaṣṭhacandra, younger brother of Pañcacandra, whom the king upon the latter's death had placed in his fief, also marched forth for the campaign. 2505

Dvibāhuka and the rest the principal. . . . together with the musicians followed only in the train of Dhanya as well as other royal servants of the outer court. 2506

While Dhanya and the rest posted themselves on the bank of the river which passes by the fort, the warden of the frontier, who was at the watch-station, barred the routes in the rear. 2507

Refraining from reckless assaults, bootless encounters and jealousy of the leader, he acted with fortitude and calmness in withering up the enemy. 2508

On the bank of the Madhumatī Dhanya set up with the help of bands of mechanics and wood-cutters and other workmen rows of houses which vied with those of Śrīnagara. 2509

This capable chief filled the forest glades with habitations and built

2506. The text has a lacuna to three Aksaras.

a camp, which was barricaded by trees and illuminated and richly equipped with all comforts. 2510

In a region where the winter season is severe with deep snows, the very terrain which was the objective of the campaign was, through the glory of the king's good luck, emblazoned with sunshine. 2511

The despatch of stores, which were a wonder of the world, by the king who was anxious for victory was not interrupted even at a time, when owing to civil war the royal authority had shrivelled. 2512

Although the menace was being overcome as soon as ever it had arisen still it was the wailing of the villagers, harried by the transport of loads, which acquired the similitude with the expiatory oblation.
2513

By showing his displeasure against those who had deserted owing to the depression caused by the prolonged campaign and by gratifying with honours those who had been steadfast, the king restored the morale of the army.
2514

Though for three or four months the troops in this fashion held on stoutly, they altogether failed to capture those who had sought shelter in the fortress.
2515

Because, nothing uncomfortable had taken place which might have caused despondency in those arrogant persons, such as a blockade cutting off their exit, food supplies and the like.
2516

Looking forward to making a display, at the end of the snow drifts, of their own power the Ḍāmaras, burgeoning with delight stood by like the hills with the trees in bud.
2517

Cultivation was abandoned by the cultivators and the recital of the Vedas by the Brahmans who, ready to rise in revolt in the villages, everywhere took up the sword.
2518

Awaiting the melting of the snows on their mountain passes the Darads, longing to raid, held themselves with their horsemen in a state of readiness.
2519

The mass of snow seemed to the royal army as if it were shaped like Death's couch of cotton; the troops lived in perpetual dread of snow-fall.
2520

Thus without judging the material and moral resources of his

2513. See V. 172 for forced labour.

opponents, the king had in vain commenced operations and now entertained misgivings about their success. 2521

To deceive those, whose wits are saturated with shrewdness, fate has this sole extraordinary method whereby they become doubtful of their strength and ruin their endeavours by too much deliberation as against even an enemy who is in a quandary. 2522

He, who is afeared of the enemy's host which has an existence only in rumour, imperils his success through his own wits being obscured by disquiet. 2523

"With the help of the bees it might swiftly pierce me or deliver an attack with its leaves or fetter me with filaments" if, in this way, an elephant were to be affrighted by the exaggerated fame of the means of the lotus-plant then his limbs, enormous though they may be, succumbing to fear would turn him away from the risk involved in uprooting it. 2524

For, when Loṭhana and the rest somehow made good their escape from Karṇāha and had joined Alaṁkāracakra, it was felt that the government had been vanquished. 2525

In vain, however, had his colleagues woven a fabric of lies—how should the warden of the frontier else have fallen upon him and delivered an impetuous onslaught? 2526

Lacking the strength for resistance thereafter, he sent away the cadets of the blood royal to the fortress and upon the following day he himself followed them. 2527

The fortress stood on a hill which narrowed down towards the river while possessing an expansive ridge at the back; they gazed at it as if it were a stork absorbed in snapping up the fish. 2528

Seeing it void of resources, like an elephant stable without an elephant, they abandoned the hope of success and terror possessed their hearts. 2529

"From there with arrows and from here with a shower of stones are the assailants to be repulsed; that way for the protection of the stream and from here are the stones for the catapults to be guarded"—while the Ḍāmara, having taken them along, was calmly explaining in this wise, they reckoned that he was seeking solely to protect his own self and was not firmly resolved to wage war. 2530-2531

Then as the offensive of the opposing army began to unfold itself

at Tilagrāma and the freebooter became incapable of resistance, they were all worn out by anxiety. 2532

Loṭhana, on the other hand, whose intellect and sociability had remained undeveloped owing to his isolation, openly reviled the Ḍāmara who was fully occupied with his duties. 2533

But Bhoja saying, "He might descend to treachery against us," checked his infuriate uncle and complimented Alaṁkāracakra with simulated praises. 2534

Towards the unfriendly Loṭhana, the Ḍāmara was unflinchingly deceitful, while owing to Bhoja's conciliatory words, the Ḍāmara considered that he had in a certain measure the ability to give counsel and maintained a friendly understanding with him. 2535

Bhoja dissuaded his uncle from asking to be allowed to depart by saying, "He will not let us go thinking that the king would kill him when we have escaped." 2536

Bhoja, then, held forth in a reasoned manner to the Ḍāmara thus: "You and we—all of us are together besieged; the arrogant enemy not apprehending any hostilities in their rear from any one would continue to strive unswervingly. Whatever they might attempt would have a chance of success. Therefore let me out just by myself. By inviting the other Lavanyas or the Darads I shall soon raise the siege,"—and he made as if he agreed, in a measure, with his protégé. 2537-2539

"I shall let you go during the night to-day or perchance to-morrow," saying this with undiminished courtesy, he deceived him every moment. 2540

As their opponents who were at a great distance had failed to cut off their communications which should have been done, they continued to pass their days with the food stores brought from the outlying villages. 2541

Apprehending that the operations might end in disaster, Dhanya and others now prayed to the king to make peace with the enemy.. 2542

The king, considering the negotiation for peace as incompatible for a number of reasons, ordered them to surround the ramparts of the stronghold. 2543

And he sent the message: "The Ḍāmara, on being bribed by my kinsmen, will let them go and they will sneak away to their own estates having won publicity." 2544

"If even in a grim struggle we are not firm in action and lack in

Savoir faire, we shall have to repent the non-performance of the task when denounced by the subjects." 2545

"'If king Harṣa had not relaxed his efforts for seven days, then he might have secured the stream of milk;' even a stranger on hearing this feels a twinge." 2546

"Everybody gets what is in store for him in the three worlds as a result of his own actions whether good or bad; yet the people will throw in one's face the waste of one's opportunities." 2547

"The winged ant despite its feet and wings can move neither on earth nor in the sky but only in a hole; of what avail are resources if the scope of action is subject to determinism." 2548

"For the course of the sun with his thousand feet Aruṇa, despite his being without thighs, has come to be the proximate cause; if he had both his feet what more, to surpass this, could he possibly have achieved?" 2549

"Therefore give up being spectators and surround the entire fort even if in this enterprise were to pass, in our case as well as theirs, a lifetime." 2550

"The indefatigable wind engenders a feeling of affection even as the flame; by the continuity of its action water breaks up even the noble mountains; when affairs of state have emerged as living problems, perseverance, unostentatious and energetic, leads to results in this world of inconceivable value at every turn." 2551

Hearing the grim order of the king, Dhanya and others thereupon immediately left the river bank and climbed up the very path leading to the fortress. 2552

While the garrison wondering in what manner they would lay siege and how they would hold their own were pouring down arrows and watching with keen interest, Dhanya, in the meantime, transformed that region with huts to resemble a town and from below, with incessant assaults, harried them though they were high up. 2553-2554

Thereafter with the incessant fighting, at every moment the casualties among the troops became altogether innumerable in both the armies. 2555

2546. Stream of milk is an idiomatic expression meaning all that one could desire.

On the day following having had the sight of the goddess Śāradā, the son of Garga arrived and made an addition to the population of Indra's city by the number of soldiers who were slain. 2556

Alaṁkāra, officer in charge of the king's outer court, who was a dauntless man, in many an assault of a super-human type killed the antagonists. 2557

How could those who dwell on the plains vie with the mountaineers? Nevertheless, the endless military machines have to be reckoned with which cause inconceivable havoc. 2558

The garrison numbered few, the besiegers were in superior numbers. Hence the former although they killed many were themselves reduced by small losses. 2559

After being stormed twice or thrice, the fortress with the closed wickets of the portals appeared as if it had closed its eyes through terror. 2560

Seeing Dhanya and the rest pursuing a policy of winning over the defenders, causing internal dissension, and probing for weak points, the garrison began to lose confidence. 2561

To prevent sleep they shouted to one another during the night and kept awake; by day, however, while they slept they made the fort, with its stillness, appear deserted. 2562

During the night they were alarmed by the sound of the kettle-drums of the various regiments at the hour of the watch, like sparrows in the hollows of trees by thunder-claps. 2563

With boats which patrolled by day and night the royal troops cut off their supplies and threw them into confusion in every way. 2564

Their movements being stopped, they were cut off from water yet they bore the withering thirst for a while; they were, however, reduced to despair when their foodstore was exhausted. 2565

The starving kinsmen of the king, yearning for delicious fare worthy of royalty which is the glory of good luck, had, at this time, to satisfy the desire for food with wretched stuff. 2566

Their ambition had receded in the distance, and more and more in their starving condition, day after day, they began to envy the very servants who shared in the king's board. 2567

"If we are all herded together the requisite task cannot be done;" because Bhoja had spoken out thus, Alaṁkāracakra had him separately lodged in the central turret. 2568

Alaṁkāracakra considered only him to be a fit claimant for the throne realizing that one of them Loṭhana was old and the other Vigraharāja was the son of a concubine. 2569

Believing that but for him the antagonist would not worry so much on account of the other two, he had a false rumour spread outside that Bhoja had got out. 2570

It came to the ears of Bhoja who was daily investigating every thing that the faithless wife of Alaṁkāracakra who, from love at sight for Ṣaṣṭhacandra, had melted into loving tenderness, desiring her husband's ruin had been betraying the secret plans of the fort to those outside. 2571–2572

Bhoja fearing a counter-charge of betrayal disclosed her doings to Alaṁkāracakra, whose mind was enveloped in the mist of love, and then begged to be allowed to depart. 2573

Alaṁkāracakra was forgiving and realizing that in the maintenance of a firm friendship lay happiness, he had schooled himself to overlook; he did not bear her a grudge for the fault, like the Bodhisattva who feels no anger even towards a sinner. 2574

The hatred of the sweetheart though it might be great and even the cause of one's death is forgotten by the one who loves her at heart, as the elephant on his back is forgotten by the Śarabha. 2575

Then Bhoja was allowed to depart. When he had well-nigh passed through the very camp of the slumbering enemy, he was hurriedly made to turn back, either through a treacherous design or through fright which had upset his morale, by the son of Alaṁkāra who had escorted him and who brought him once more before his father inside the fortress. 2576–2577

Alaṁkāra having rebuked his son said to Bhoja that he was to leave the next night and kept him concealed by day telling all and sundry that he had left. 2578

Dhanya and others having now been warned that in the absence of a decisive result one had escaped and that two were about to escape on the morrow, all of them kept awake during the night. 2579

2571. Verses 2571–2574 show the influence of Buddhism on K. Compare III. 484–525.

2575. Śarabha=a mythical animal, enemy of elephants, said to be able to fight at a time a group of elephants and to carry one off on its back. A picture of this animal appears in patterns of old Kaśmīr carpets. In Alberuni's time this mythical animal was believed to be the native of Koṅkan. See Vol. I, p. 203.

Thus when Bhoja, at night, was preparing to set out he saw from the bastion of the fortress that all round the camp which was lit up with flares all were wakeful; the blaze illumined the forest in such a way that even an ant emerging from the main path could not have escaped the observation of the expectant enemy. 2580-2581

The buildings in the flickering light of the flames appeared to be tremulous as if shaking their heads to dissuade Bhoja from the reckless adventure. 2582

He was thus not able to leave. At day-break following the night, the Ḍāmara had him lowered down the precipice fastened with a rope. 2583

Accompanied by a Ḍāmara chief named Kṣemarāja he got down to a rock in the middle of the precipice which was about the size of a Vitardikā. 2584

Having clambered on to this rock which was just sufficient for them to sit, the two of them passed five nights without sleep for fear of falling. 2585

The two of them managed to exist on barley cakes which they had carried in their hands and from that very place they dropped excreta like a couple of nestlings from a nest. 2586

Their figures were undiscerned for both of them remained as if they were woven in a pattern and they were amazed at the splendour of the enemy which they could see from the top. 2587

And they felt grateful to the warmth of the fire of Jayasiṁha's glory, which made them forget the intense cold. 2588

On the sixth day, when the two of them had nothing left for food, the clouds started pouring down snow which was like caustic on a wound. 2589

And thus their hands and feet suffering from the perishing cold instead of striving to do the proper thing by their teeth, which were making music like the lute, preferred somnolence. 2590

They both thought, "To-day smitten with hunger and cold we shall surely fall into the enemy's camp like a couple of nestlings caught in a snare." 2591

2584. Vitardikā = A wooden divan without a back. It is a special feature, which survives from ancient times, of Kaśmīrī homes; nowadays it is called a 'Takht.'

"To whom shall we halloo? Who knows about the two of us that he might pull us up from here, as the lord of the herd pulls out two baby elephants floundering in a marsh?" 2592

Thus the two who had been in such a sorry plight, during the night, beseeched the Ḍāmara who had them drawn up with a rope and caused them to be lodged in a solitary cell. 2593

They strove to withstand the cold by warming themselves at a straw fire and forgot their sufferings in the sleep which they found there after a long time. 2594

Worse than this was the plight which was shared by Loṭhana and Vigraharāja; they were eyesores, and from the folk there fell not even gentle words for either of them. 2595

The two of them had cakes of unhusked oats and Kidrava and their bodies as well as their clothes, through lack of ablution, lost their colour. 2596

When the food supply of Alaṁkāracakra ran out altogether, Dhanya won over by gifts of food stores both Hola and Yaśaskara. 2597

Thereupon the Ḍāmara, unnerved by starvation and in fear of betrayal by his subordinates, agreed through emissaries to sell the king's enemies. 2598

The morale having oozed out owing to excessive sufferings which proved difficult to go through, his mind coated with sin ceased to be nervous about unrighteousness and infamy. 2599

He hoped to safeguard his own self by retaining some of the king's enemies and to clear his honour by hanging on to any straw. 2600

Upon the suggestion of his varlet named Udayana, he kept the son of Salhaṇa concealed in that fashion, but hastened to deliver the other two. 2601

Believing that, in the absence of Bhoja, the king would be sparing of punishment on the two of them and that he might himself escape unscathe, he reckoned that this action would be in the interest of all. 2602

The plight to which he had been reduced through the lack of foodstuff nor this plan were known to Dhanya and the other ministers, when they were about to conclude an armistice. 2603

Through some excuse or other they were longing to go away from

2599. Pāpopalipta=coated with sin,

there—"what more can he do when he has promised to deliver the two kinsmen?" 2604

Dhanya appointed his brother's son, Kalyāṇa, to supervise the carrying out of the terms for the delivery of those who were to be surrendered, the withdrawal of the army, and the rest. 2605

When composing a literary work, placating an adversary who is camouflaging his resentment, when a mighty serpent is being captured or while occupied in intricate diplomatic negotiations, he will hold the floor of all success who sustaining the requisite devotion to the task speeds up with great firmness and energy up to its very culmination. 2606

The hardships arising from their prolonged absence from home had stripped the king's officials of their elegance and at this time they had been reduced to a state of slackness in action. 2607

That minister is difficult to find who can boldly tackle an affair, bristling with difficulties during its dénouement, as if it were the frame work of a novel. 2608

After learning that the armistice had been concluded, the soldiers marched out the next moment with their faces set homewards unmindful of the generous treatment of the sovereign. 2609

Having secured the rations sold by them, the Lavanya began to prolong the affair while Dhanya and others owing to the paucity of troops found themselves in a quandary. 2610

They had their eyes pinned on the path leading to the fortress in expectation of the arrival of the wanted men; by not delivering those two on that day he tormented those besiegers. 2611

With difficulty was that night of the wailing cry of the Cakravāka passed by them and they could see no other course but to relinquish their lives. 2612

"The affair which had materialised through sedulous care has been ruined by the feebleness of our wits; the other ministers pretending to join in the regret for what has been lost will make fun of our various expedients and while sympathizing will surely upset the sovereign who will be far from polite in his speech when he receives us. To-day those who are impatient with the changed situation of the campaign will not look at the devotion to duty and will cast shame upon us." While others said, "That free-booter has staged this jugglery in consultation with the other enemies of the king and his plan having succeeded is

now sitting up there laughing at us." While they spun out many a thought, with minor details and without, in this fashion, that night which had given infinite subtle worries ended in a new dawn. 2613-2617

Then, early in the day, the minister for justice, Alaṁkāra, keen on a bold venture, ascended to the fort and by diplomatic threats brought the Ḍāmara under control. 2618

Having put up with the delay of one day Alaṁkāracakra, whose patience was exhausted, plainly told Loṭhana on that day to quit. 2619

Thereupon, some proud men made suggestions to that man what he should do which could wash away disgrace and put an end to the loss of fame. 2620

"This is an age which has obscured the vision of the mass of the common people yet is capable of proclaiming the everlasting glory of the noble Kṣatriyas. Sombre like the cloud, the sword blade, it's a wonder! even while in the company of the heavenly ladies, is in a hurry to indicate its clear predilection for the solar region." 2621

"Kings gain, foresooth, one realm only in the event of a victory, but by giving up their bodies in the field of battle they attain the solar orb as well as, at their sweet will, the orbs of the breasts of ageless nymphs moist with the transports of love." 2622

"For herein no suffering arises from beds which are constantly surrounded and whose surface is hot, nor do the joints develop pain which is enough to cut the very soul to the quick, nor is one heart-stricken with the distressing sound of the wailing kinsfolk—this, of a truth, is the happy death and wondrous fair the region which may be attained." 2623

"By routes where massed sword-blades formed the canopy, your father went to heaven, your brothers roaming in the bristling jungle of sword-blades earned salvation. Resorting to this path, trodden by your family, enter straightaway, through chivalrous conduct, the solar region on high and here below the hearts of the valiant." 2624

"Providence brought you sovereignty more than once which was lost through imbecility, over and above this, at an age when self-restraint was meet you have behaved like a youngster; for that you now have the opportunity of a penance offered by the Creator; do

not let this also slip, like the crown, through your being mum in the discharge of your duty." 2625

"The realm, though it had been secured, was lost in feeding on the victuals off the platter of persons of unequal rank; time was wasted; the term of his rule became the cause of the universal destruction of the people, these conditions obtained in the case of king Bhikṣācara, while he wielded power, yet worthy of himself was the remarkable display at the time of renouncing his body whereby he has been exalted above everyone." 2626

Though stirred in this fashion, he being devoid of spirit did not catch the fervour; being without substance the monkey's fuel is not ignited by contact with fire itself. 2627

His self-assurance being dead he, on the other hand, with the rising tide of fear longed to cry with the pouting underlip like a little boy whose sleep has been interrupted. 2628

When the Ḍāmara had made him over, the king's liege-men who were preparing to take him away seeing him in that plight addressed him, out of pity, to put him at his ease. 2629

"Do not despair. In His Majesty's breast, lit up with the rising moon of mercy, grows not wantonly the darkness of animosity." 2630

"He is the ocean of the ambrosia of gentleness, he is the celestial mountain of calmness, he is the sandal tree to remove the fever of suffering of those who approach him." 2631

"On seeing his figure which is blessed and bright, like the flowing river in the heavens during autumn, your mental ebullition will assuredly be allayed." 2632

"With courteous behaviour he will receive you without distinction comparable to your forbears who were untainted; and he will relieve you of shame the ground of which is humiliation." 2633

"Even enemies who have injured him but are sunk in misfortune, he recognizes as his real benefactors since they provide an opportunity for the test of his forbearance." 2634

When they had thus spoken, he was cheered and he then emerged from his room with his bushy beard waving and his cloak hanging down, like an old ox from his stall. 2635

2627. See VI. 364.

Seeing him arrive, seated in a palanquin, bereft of trinkets, with faded and worn out clothes and weapons, Dhanya felt subdued by a sense of shame. 2636

With his eyes which were moveless for a long time and his figure with the shoulders covered by his coarse thick hair, Loṭhana looked like an owl that had strayed from his dwelling in a hollow. 2637

The mountain was lit up when upon withdrawal they set fire to the camp; it appeared to have transformed itself into a touchstone for the gold of royal prestige. 2638

After the camp had been raised, the sky which sent down heavy snows removed the doubt of the subjects regarding the divinity of the king. 2639

Had the snow fallen earlier, the soldiers would have sunk in it and perished in no time, like insects which have found their way in insect powder. 2640

Thus in the year nineteen on the tenth of the bright half of Phālguna, Loṭhana who was round sixty years, was once more taken prisoner. 2641 *4219 L. E.*

To welcome the troops returning from a prolonged campaign, *1143 A. C.* the unassuming king went up a lofty terrace. 2642

As was seemly having gratified the army with gifts, honours, inspection and a harangue, he dismissed it and gave interviews to Dhanya and others who had presented themselves before him. 2643

Then the king got a glimpse of Loṭhana as he was being announced by the ushers. He could hardly be seen in the courtyard where he was surrounded by a big throng. The soldiers of Dhanya and the rest had, however, gripped him with their hands under his armpits, his face was concealed by the edge of the garment which was drawn up to the nose; the coarse white hair of the beard disclosed the painfully thin cheeks and spread to the lobes of the ears which were devoid of ornaments. Every now and then he looked from the corners of his eyes, with pupils pitifully moist, at the throng of citizens who were loud-mouthed with comments of all sorts. He had suffered from diffidence, depression, terror, fatigue and hunger owing to the evil eye of misfortune. His limbs from lack of sleep were quivering like a cow benumbed by frost. He felt as if the earth had gone astray, that the mountains had been upset and that the heaven had fallen and the dry lips.... "would that there were a divine intercession,

or a dense darkness would prevail or the winds would wear out the royal palace which is well-nigh reached! I, who have done him all manner of wrongs, how shall I stand before the king?" Musing in this way he stumbled in his progress at every step. 2644-2651

The king's order was communicated by the sign of the brow and he ascended to the hall of audience which, with the eyes of the spectators, appeared as if it were replete with undulating lotuses. 2652

When by a glance he was given leave to stand in the immediate proximity, he threw himself on his knees on the floor and touched with his head the lotus-like feet of the sovereign. 2653

With his two lotus-like hands, the monarch supported his forehead which was bent down and raised the head of that prince, who was subdued by nervousness. 2654

The touch of those hands, studded with jewels and herbs cooling like the moon, removed his mental agony as well as the aches from his body. 2655

And he was instantly touched in his heart by the eminence and the reassuring courtesy of the king, who was of a merciful nature, through the manifestation of the merits of a former life. 2656

'"Have no fear" would be arrogant words, "happiness will still be yours" such a phrase would mean a disappointment being a commonplace, "towards you there is not that resentment now" if this were said it would be tantamount to reopening former acts of enmity, "you are our kinsman" would be an irony at the present moment; to refer to his hardships would be to talk of the power of our own military domination.' Musing in this wise, the king merely looked at him and refrained from speech. 2657-2659

As a prayer for safety Vigraharāja bowed the head to his feet; the king on his part touched his hair with his foot. 2660

"How do I deserve an honourable reception"? while he thus protested the king, with importunity, induced his uncle to accept Tāmbūla which he offered with his own hand. 2661

2648. There is a lacuna of four syllables in the text.

2661. For the king to offer Tāmbūla was a mark of the highest royal favour. It was the duty of the recipient to humbly accept it. If the French travellers are to be believed, the Great Mogul got rid of those who were politically obnoxious to him, by giving them poisoned Tāmbūla which they had to eat on the spot!

To the warden of the frontier, who was bowing, he said smiling, "You have had a strenuous time and he touched Dhanya and Ṣaṣṭha who stood before him with his left arm. 2662

When Loṭhana saw that he was endued with kingly virtues such as tact, generosity, composure, and courtesy, he considered himself a contemptible person. 2663

Then conveying an assurance through the mouth of Dhanya, the king courteously folded both his hands and sent his uncle, who was bowing, shamefast, to a splendid dwelling-house. 2664

As during an offensive so in diplomacy the king, who kept his eye on them, had the same colour of countenance—unperturbed—when the fruit was secured. 2665

The ocean does not get hot with the seething submarine fire nor does it become chilly with the invading waters from the snow mountain. Remarkably alike is the demeanour of men of unruffled minds in moments of dejection as on occasions for exultation. 2666

By continued kindness and unfeigned acts of civility such as are seemly among relatives the king, in due course, removed the humiliation of those two who had survived the loss of their manfulness. 2667

From the very lips of the kinsmen the realm had been pulled out, yet the king on account of Bhoja continued at heart to worry, like a charmer about the tooth of the viper of unrest. 2668

Because, his own people, who had too soon abandoned their efforts fearing the rigours of the campaign, had made the ambitious king relax his vigilance although the foe was still at large. 2669

The son of Salhaṇa, on the other hand, since his rescue from the precipice living in a solitary cell had no news whatever of his uncle and Vigraharāja. 2670

When, however, he saw from above Alaṁkāra of the royal household coming to see the Ḍāmara, he began to think increasingly of the possibility of treachery. 2671

And he observed later the divisions of the army in line of formation, the extent of which was difficult to discover owing to the distance, on the road which led to Śrīnagara. 2672

Thereafter he espied a litter, occupied by his uncle, whom owing to the distance he could not recognise, between the two palanquins of Dhanya and Ṣaṣṭha. 2673

And he wondered, "What could be the reason of the march of the

troops from here and who could be the third person seated in the litter between Dhanya and Ṣaṣṭha!" 2674

Being questioned by him, some menial full of joy then told him that peace had been concluded and that Loṭhana and Vigraharāja had departed for Śrīnagara. 2675

The thought of treachery ceased with the rising sense of doubt and casting out fear, he for a space remained in a state of anxiety from affection for his kinsmen. 2676

On the withdrawal of the army the desolate river, where the birds with loud cries had foregathered, he imagined, was crying for those two who had been taken away. 2677

"The Lavanya himself may detain me and Dhanya and others on learning of my presence here may come again, in due course, to take me away"—thus he then speculated. 2678

At intervals, when he heard the roar of the cataracts, he felt alarmed that it was the din of the royal troops who had come back to carry him away. 2679

At this time the world grew dark with the gathering clouds frustrating the light of midday, the glory of which appeared as if it were chafing under midnight. 2680

From that time onwards until the month of Vaiśākha, the clouds appeared to be hanging on to the earth for the ceremonial performance of a sacrifice with masses of snow as the offerings. 2681

Then the free-booter Ḍāmara sat before Bhoja and spoke thus in self-condemnation, "I who played a confidence trick have been disgraceful, impious, and devoid of shame." 2682

Remaining unperturbed, having regard to the circumstances, the son of Salhaṇa checking his wrath and pretending to sooth him said, "There has been no misdemeanour on your part in this matter." 2683

And he added, "You have done this to save your dependents, children, kinsfolk and others who were in a critical situation. In this connection no one has the right to reproach you." 2684

"If your intention had been treacherous, you would not have shown any sympathy towards me. Hence what happened was a matter of compulsion due to exigent circumstances." 2685

"Like the descendants of king Harṣa we ought not to be extirpated, but kept in restraint by the king in pursuance of the tradition of royalty." 2686

"Discredit to your own self, injury to those two, and the pursuit of a wrong course on the part of the king as well, have been averted by your good sense in keeping me in reserve." 2687

To him who had thus spoken, the Ḍāmara, as if throwing off the load of mortification, said eulogizingly, "You alone are my witness everywhere and at all times." 2688

Presently Bhoja said, "Let me out now" to which he replied "as soon as the snow drifts are over I shall do so." 2689

"Alaṁkāra learning of your abstaining from food will attribute it to a grudge on your part in this connection" some one having suggested this to Bhoja, he partook of food. 2690

As Bhoja touched food he thought to himself, "This has at last been procured by the sale of the two of them", and he felt that he had fed on the flesh of the bodies of those two kinsmen. 2691

The robber, however, while saying—"On the morrow for certain or perchance to-day I shall send you away when the snowfall ceases" did not release him for two months. 2692

"On learning of my presence here when the king starts operations after the melting of the snow, the Ḍāmara would sell me to him," considering thus Bhoja began to press for departure. 2693

Every single excuse which Bhoja put forward in favour of departure, the robber having found a snag cut it out in order to prevent him. 2694

Rājavadana, whose mother was of a noble family, was begotten by a Balahara named Tejas; he had had a happy childhood and had worn a long Kambala. During the civil war which was the touch-stone of the chivalry of many a virile man, he had attained in Sussala's army distinction for gallantry and an honourable position in the banquet row. Later on he was fostered by the king with whom his father was intimate and, in due course, came to hold the charge of Evenaka and other districts; when Nāga of Khūyāśrama had turned the king against him, Rājavadana desiring to fight protected Bhoja. 2695-2698

Mildness from his having been a liege-man and, from the fact that he was not a Lavanya, his inability to offer resistance to the king, was what every one imagined. Thus the prince of the blood royal was not delivered, by Alaṁkāracakra at this time, to him who was

planning a contest for the crown and who was making urgent requests. 2699-2700

Treating as present before his eyes the impatient Udaya, although he was at a distance he, who was inclined to treason, was unable to give up Bhoja. 2701

Then the king despatched Alaṁkāra with moneys to arrange the transfer of Bhoja and he arrived at the watch-station being invested with authority over that region. 2702

"If you go without letting me depart I shall relinquish my life" thus, on the other hand, spoke Bhoja to the Ḍāmara when he saw him preparing to go before Alaṁkāra. 2703

"Early to-morrow morning I shall see you", was all that he muttered on this occasion and Bhoja, without any mention whatever, at the time of the drum of the night watch, slipped out. 2704

While Bhoja in pouring rain was impatiently groping his way to get on the road, Alaṁkāra heard, when the night had ended, that he had escaped. 2705

Then failing to hinder him he, during the day, pursued Bhoja, who had a start, up to the sanctuary of the goddess Śāradā with a few of his followers. 2706

In the absence of the two kinsmen with whom he had started for a common object, Bhoja, from bien-séance, was unable to face the ladies of his kinsfolk as if he were culpable; he thought to himself—"though advanced in age, Loṭhana had risked an adventurous throw five or six times, while Bhoja though a young man is a nincompoop"—such would be the scandal about himself. Thus his plan of giving to Durāṇḍa fell to pieces and having resolved to fight by gaining the support of the Darads, he betook himself to the road by the bank of the Madhumatī. 2707-2709

In some places slabs of ice with sharp edges hurt like the pointed fangs of Death, anon the clouds shut out daylight causing blinding darkness as if from the lassoo of Yama, at times the falling avalanches seethed like elephants arrayed for battle; in some places his body was hit, as if with arrows, by the hissing spray of the cataracts, at

2707. Dākṣiṇya=the French word bien-séance is the nearest in meaning; Bhoja was unable to face the brave Kṣatriya ladies, his kinswomen, after a defeat.

times the piercing wind burst upon his swelling skin, while at other places the sunlight reflected from the dazzling snows affected his vision. The flat surface he felt was a steep incline; where there was no flat surface he felt as if the way was clear; often he fancied when he was scaling heights that he was going down a steep decline. Having thus passed six or seven days on the way, made trying by the season of snow, Bhoja reached a hamlet on the frontier of the Darad principality. 2710-2714

The commandant of the fort of Dugdhaghāṭa, having privately furnished him from his own stores, put an end to his humiliating state of impecuniosity and having bowed accorded to him a respectful welcome. 2715

His messenger having reported Bhoja's arrival, Viḍḍasīha who was at a distance, sent a parasol, musical instruments and other insignia such as were meet for a king. 2716

Through the commandant of the fort, he conveyed a message of congratulation and placed his own treasure at the disposal of the prince of the blood royal. 2717

Thus Bhoja went to the royal residence and while he was playing the role of king, there came to pay homage the son of Rājavadana, who invited him to support the latter's cause. 2718

His father who, to all intents and purposes, had now been alienated from the king had sent him to Bhoja, who considered that of the powerful meshes of enemy diplomacy he was like a decoy. 2719

With a message which was correct as a combination of appreciation of the issue and lack of trust, Bhoja sent him away neither accepting nor rejecting at the same time. 2720

"As to whether I belong to the king's intimate circle or am wholly estranged from him, you will come to know me by and by." 2721

In order to demonstrate to Bhoja his grim determination, Rājavadana took to fighting against Nāga and his people upon the pretext of a family feud, although the king had already pronounced that they were not culpable. 2722

Lacking in resources, this resolute and relentless man by slow

2710. Those who love mountaineering and the joyous efforts of climbing will appreciate this picturesque description of the hardships of Bhoja.

degrees came to hold his own, later he equalised and, in due course, acquired superiority over them by his encounters. 2723

He gained such prestige that the kindred of Nāga born within his territory, felt no shame in accepting service under this remarkable man. 2724

For, ornate with open-handedness, forbearance, patience, absence of covetousness, and the like virtues he was sought after, though he was just rising, as if he had always been accustomed to exercise power. 2725

The perseverance of Pṛthvīhara and the others who had vassals was not a marvel; the extensive show which this man, on the other hand, who lacked support made was worthy of admiration. 2726

He then roped in large bands of thieves, woodsmen and herdsmen and raided villages while waiting for Bhoja and his people. 2727

Thereupon the other Ḍāmaras, too, whether on account of the conflicting opinion of the mutually envious ministers or from love of rapine, abandoned good behaviour. 2728

Their plan of an upheaval which had been ruined by the capture of Loṭhana now ramified a hundredfold. 2729

Trillaka and Jayarāja, who had been brought up by the king, yielding to the heat of passion, failed to drag themselves away from the conspiratorial league. 2730

As is the precipice for the owls, consumption for ailments, the infernal region of the demons, the ocean for the monsters of the deep, so was Trillaka, seething with machinations, the resort of all the Ḍāmara thieves who having inveigled the superintendent of Devasarasa raised a revolt. 2731–2732

Then the Brahmans longing for his overthrow and anxious to safeguard the country started a hunger-strike, directed against the king, at Vijayeśvara. 2733

That was not the time to exasperate the Ḍāmaras was the king's view which when represented to them they did not accept whereupon he, from decorum, concurred in the desire of their assembly. 2734

When the king got ready to march Jayarāja, who was the senior among the insurgents, died having developed a fatal abscess. 2735

Lucky in one direction the king thereupon proceeded, in order to placate the Brahmans, to Maḍavarājya where his domination had increasingly isolated the free-booters. 2736

The Brahmans, instigated to perversity by the ministers and intoxicated with their own knavery, then objected to the minister Alaṁkāra, who was dismissed by the king from his milieu. 2737

He had ever striven for the rehabilitation of the Ḍāmaras in distress and to the other ministers who were filled with envy, he appeared to be a purveyor of their wicked conduct. 2738

"I shall root out Trillaka after having broken up the rebellion of the Pretenders"—with this promise, the king prevailed upon the Brahmans to give up the fast. 2739

The affrighted Trillaka then caused trouble through all sorts of hostile acts, like some hidden disease through other affections. 2740

Yaśorāja, the younger brother of Jayarāja, had been assigned the latter's fief by the king; upon Trillaka's advice Rājaka attacked him who was his brother's son. 2741

To save Yaśorāja who was beset by insolent enemies, Sañjapāla proceeded to Devasarasa, but owing to the smallness of his force his success became doubtful. 2742

Rilhaṇa having learnt this news thereupon came up to the seething field of battle and was the first guest towards whom the goddess of victory cast her coquettish glances. 2743

Then, while Mandāra-like he churned the ocean of enemies, Sañjapāla was enabled to pick up the minor enemies as the cloud the particles of water. 2744

Even after Rājaka had been defeated, Yaśorāja without his benefactor was not able to squat on his own estate like a child in a desolate place. 2745

Waiting for the contest for the crown to come to a head, Trillaka temporised with the king by feigning submission on various occasions. 2746

Thereafter at the opportune moment, the men who were thorns in the side of the country and who had been secretly collected, he sent forth in all directions like a porcupine throwing the arrow-like quills from its own sides. 2747

At this time Pṛthvīhara's son, Catuṣka, the younger brother of Koṣṭhaka who, with his brother, had been confined by the king escaped from prison. Trillaka being his son-in-law gave him asylum on his own estate and helped him to raid Śamālā, equipped with numberless Ḍāmaras. 2748-2749

On hearing his call, the freebooters in hiding came to the surface like the fish in a pool at the call of the osprey. 2750

At this time Ṣaṣṭhacandra, son of Garga, had held up the arrogant Rājavadana, as the cliffs on the coast obstruct the sea when attempting to cause an inundation. 2751

The two of them, whose forces continued to augment and to diminish, were like the ridges of the snow-cliffs in summer showing mud as well as snow. 2752

Jayacandra and Śrīcandra, the two younger brothers of Ṣaṣṭhacandra, who drew their allowances from the royal household had become deeply offended. Apprehending that harm might befall them from their elder brother who was honoured and loved by the king, owing to his services of the highest importance, they knew they could get no rest. They deserted from the army and went over to Rājavadana and, although they were brothers-in-law of the king, joined the opposition. 2753-2755

With the help of countless Khaśa wretches, who had come marching over the mountains, Rājavadana, coveting the treasure bestowed by former kings, then had the shrine of Bhūteśvara looted. 2756

Helpless in the grip of the plunderers, the weak massacred by the strong, the entire realm as if it had been without a king was reduced to a sorry plight. 2757

Thereupon the king, ordering the commander-in-chief Udaya and Rilhaṇa to attack Catuṣka, ruefully re-entered Śrīnagara. 2758

By the troops of these two, the son of Pṛthvīhara was held in check, like an incurable disease by means of medicine, but could not be destroyed. 2759

For conniving at temporising or the wicked designs on the part of his own adherents, the reputation of even Rilhaṇa had grown dim at this moment. 2760

Viḍḍasīha, on the other hand, on learning the tidings about Bhoja, had despatched emissaries to invite a large number of the chiefs way up in the North. 2761

From the regions which form the hem of the Himalayas including those which have known the secret amours of the women-folk of Kubera; also, from those whose cave-cells are resonant with the songs of the city of the Gandharvas, those, too, which relieve from heat the sea of sand by circulating coolness at one end and even from

those which with the breezes from the mountain peaks gratify the Uttara-kurus, came galloping the Mleccha chiefs, obscuring the directions with their cavalry, into the camp of the ruler of the Darads. 2762–2764

While the ruler of the Darads was organising a conspiracy of the chiefs, his feudatories from all directions presented themselves before Bhoja. 2765

He took a delight in watching those who spoke an unknown tongue

2763. Viḍḍasīha's allies were perhaps from the regions of Astor, Skardo and Gilgit who, at this time, were no doubt still pagan. The word Mleccha applied to them suggests that they were a backward people outside the pale of Kaśmīrī civilization and culture. Uttara-kuru, according to Alberuni, referred to the regions of the north including Chitral, Badakshan and Kafiristan in Eastern Afghanistan. Kafiristan still largely remains a land of mystery. The tract of country enclosed between Chitral and Afghan territory is the land of Pagan mountaineers who maintained their independence until 1895 when by the terms of an agreement entered into between the British Government and Abdur Rahman, Amir of Kabul, the whole of the Kafir territory passed under the sway of Kabul.

In his *Memoirs*, Babar mentions the Kafirs and their taste for drinking, every man having a leathern wine bottle slung round his neck. The *Ain-i-Akbari*, too, makes occasional mention of the Kafirs and contains a passage which has given rise to the theory that the Kafirs are the descendants of the Greeks. According to Sir H. Yule, however, this passage refers to the claim to descent from Alexander the Great of the rulers of Swat (Sk. Suvastu). Even at the present day, many of the petty princes of the Hindu Kush States take pride in declaring themselves to be the descendants of Alexander the Great from a princess miraculously sent down from heaven to wed him. Benedict Goes travelling from Peshawar to Kabul in 1603 heard of a country where no Mahomadans might enter on pain of death. Hindu travellers were, however, allowed to visit the country but not the temples. Benedict Goes tasted the Kafir wine and from all that he heard suspected that the Kafirs might be Christians.

The Kafir language is of Prākṛta origin. Every village has a temple dedicated to Gish where the goat is sacrificed which the hereditary priest offers together with flour, wine and butter. The offerings are sanctified with the sprinkling of water by the officiating priest pronouncing 'Such, such' (Be Pure). Music, dancing and songs of praise were acceptable to the gods and every Groom, (Sk. Grāma) village, has its dancing platform and dancing house furnished with a simple altar. The Kafirs worship family and tribal gods; Gish, the war-god, is by far the most popular. It was his worship which kept the Kafir so long independent. In life as a hero and after death as a god, he symbolized hatred to the religion of Muhammad.

During the British occupation of Kabul in 1839-40 M. S. Elphinstone tells us a deputation of Kafirs journeyed to Kabul to invite a visit to their country from the Europeans whom they assumed to be their kindred. In 1895 after the British took Chitral from Kaśmīr and gave Kafiristan to the Amir Abdur Rahman, the latter invaded Kafiristan. All opposition was ruthlessly put down and the boys of the country were deported wholesale to Kabul where they were converted to Islam.

descending from the mountain ranges and who like monkeys grew familiar with kind treatment. 2766

Jayacandra and other Kaśmīrīs and Kīras sent by Rājavadana also came to the side of the prince. 2767

Those who were in his entourage as well as those who were at a distance—chief among whom was Balahara—Bhoja maintained with gold, having an enormous treasure under his control. 2768

Then as the insurrection had been well launched, Rājavadana who had instigated the conspiracy met Bhoja without diffidence. 2769

While they settled the details of the task which had not been done, they came to be on good terms and very soon their lack of trust withered away. 2770

While Bhoja in the absence of the Darads was unwilling to commence the offensive, Rājavadana in his overweening pride desired no assistance other than that of a limited number of horse. 2771

When Bhoja expressed himself thus: "If our enemies should withstand the very first onslaught of this army there might arise an equilibrium or, what is more serious, even a defeat which might break down our league. Therefore it is desirable, in my opinion, that the issue of victory or defeat be confined to a single battle in an offensive with all arms lasting for one day," he in his conceit, however, ridiculed this and led the Darad force without waiting for the army which was to come. 2772-2774

At the end of the gorge as he was in the rear of those who had marched ahead, the prince now heard that the ruler of the Darads had arrived. 2775

To meet him he returned to the fort, while Balahara occupied Mātṛgrāma with his force. 2776

The son of Garga then saw the horizon full of horses like roaming antelopes; possessing innate resolute wits he did not lose fortitude. 2777

All the Ḍāmaras of Nīlāśva who were with him as well as his own soldiers, making common cause with the adversary, deserted from his army bent on treason. 2778

In that perilous situation even when entreated by his advisers to

2767. Kiras=A tribe inhabiting the territory between Chamba and Kangra.

retreat, he replied, "I am not able to see the sovereign with a drooping countenance." 2779

"No one has been born in the family of Sūryavarmacandra but has been of service to the descendants of the House of Malla." 2780

Viḍḍasīha, on his part, having together with the other ruling chiefs received Bhoja with honour, bade him farewell to march to victory accompanied by the élite of his own nobles. 2781

And he then marched, mustering an army swarming with a host of Mlecchas and separated by just one march, remained in Bhoja's rear. 2782

The force which followed him having created a universal sensation, the son of Salhaṇa in his wild enthusiasm, believed that the entire earth lay in his hand. 2783

Reinforced by cavalry and the Mleccha chiefs, the army then secured a firm foothold in a place known as Samudradhārā after it had been terrorised. 2784

Rājavadana, radiant with such a first class invincible force, believed that Ṣaṣṭhacandra was as good as doomed between the grinders of Death. 2785

Then the land, inundated by a deluge caused by the monsoon cloud-burst, was so transformed that land and water became indistinguishable. 2786

The earth was like a wassail-bowl filled with water instead of rum; the submerged trees, of which only the tops were visible, bore the semblance of floating blue lotuses. 2787

Realizing the critical situation of Ṣaṣṭha, the king now despatched with the remaining troops Udaya, the warden of the frontier, as well as Dhanya. 2788

The river barred their passage and they followed a trail as Sātyaki and Bhīmasena had done on the route taken by Arjuna. 2789

In the sky with the pendant clouds and on the earth's surface filled far and wide with water, the lightning with its uninterrupted flashes, free from thunder, appeared as if it were sewn. 2790

Retaining a glittering retinue which would suffice for pomp the king, on this occasion, had all the forces in the field. 2791

Trillaka from the beginning had no faith in the uprightness or

2787. Pāna-pātra=wassail-bowl. See. 3105 supra.

fortitude of Rājavadana. He sent messages to the Darads, through emissaries, that another prince should not be thrown away on this occasion. While assisting the son of Pṛthvīhara to gain ascendancy, he planned so that, through the might of either of the two, Catuṣka or Rājavadana, Bhoja should fall into his own hands. 2792–2793

Now Trillaka had been watching the extraordinary strength of Balahara, which could paint a fresco without a wall; he also felt that the power of the king, whose whole army was divided in all directions in different critical situations against the enemy, was immediately vulnerable; he laid bare his wicked diplomacy and, behaving like a puffed up porcupine, released as a second quill, a wicked and violent man, whom he had personally harboured for a long time. 2794–2796

Furnished with resources by Trillaka, Loṭhaka, son of Pṛthvīhara, on a sudden, fell upon Śūrapura with many Ḍāmaras. In the gathering darkness and the blinding network of clouds, he was the whirlwind of dust. He was aware of the great efforts of those who whispered evil in the ears to cause a cleavage in the two wings of his own party. With unwearied vigilance he nursed, to the fullest extent, in different precarious situations disasters for the king, who had carried out the extermination of his family. 2797–2799

He had long been weaving his fabric of intrigues and his hostility when it overflowed was noticed, as in the case of a lake upon the bursting of the dam in the rainy season, when filled to the brim. 2800

Like the universe which emerged at the will of Upendra from his belly as he lay asleep, the force, which he had collected, became visible at the advent of the clouds. 2801

Piñcadeva, the commandant of the watch-station, with followers who would not have sufficed even to count such a large force as Loṭhaka possessed and among whom were included only few soldiers with scarcely any food stores, made Loṭhaka's soldiers the guests of the river and of Yama's domain. 2802–2803

Owing to the reflection of the rows of funeral pyres ignited on the river bank, it seemed as if the final honours were being paid to those, who had found death in the waters of the river. 2804

In this fashion, Loṭhaka, oblivious of death, fought the battle which lasted the day and was with difficulty induced to withdraw by friends the next day. 2805

In that town, which had been evacuated, as he was rallying the troops on all sides, he reckoned that he could easily capture Śrīnagara in two or three days. 2806

His ardour for attacking Padmapura was made feeble by Trillaka, from fear of Yaśorāja and the commander-in-chief who were in the rear. 2807

His followers could not carry out his plan, although the other Lavanayas were ready to obey, because of the refusal of this single Ḍāmara of Holaḍā. 2808

Even in the civil war during Sussala's reign, such a reign of terror had never been witnessed as there arose during that of his son on all sides. 2809

Now ignoring Catuṣka as if he were comparable to a disease of the foot, Rilhaṇa was despatched by the king to expel Loṭhaka, who was comparable to an abscess on the neck. 2810

As he was marching to destroy him, he was pursued by the people of Śamālā like Arjuna by the confederates when he was proceeding to slay the prince of Prāgjyotiṣa. 2811

Turning back, he fell upon the hostile demonstrators and scattered them like pursuing bees by the elephant heading for the lotus pond. 2812

Tired after the fighting, he spent the night at Rāmuṣa where the roar of the cataracts served for the welcoming challenge of the hostile forces. 2813

At day-break as he was about to enter Kalyāṇapura, Loṭhaka appeared in front of him, who having once more filled the horizon with his forces, had approached and blocked his way. 2814

As soon as Loṭhaka attacked, he made his opponent's infantry arriving in front of him flee at sight like goats before a gaping python. 2815

Before his whirlwind onslaught, the infantry fell away from Rilhaṇa like leaves in autumn from the tree. 2816

Under his very eyes those knaves, as they were melting away, felt no shame. Before the transcendent desire for life whose sense of propriety does not evaporate? 2817

When his own people besought him as they were retreating Rilhaṇa recollecting his devotion to the sovereign which he placed on an equality with that to the Creator, spoke with a smile. 2818

"On my face, as in a pond which is the repository of the dark blue lotus and later on of the white ones, the dark line of moustache has become white with age in the service of the sovereign's feet." 2819

"While he is withering away, would the uninterrupted enjoyment of the sportive graces of Dame Fortune heightened by the play of her bee-like eyebrows not be a mockery?" 2820-2821

"That is the way of cowards never of the brave that from fear of a little strain they turn their face away from bliss." 2822

"Only in taking off one's clothes is the nervous feeling engendered by cold; after the bath in the water of the sanctuary, one gets a joyous exhilaration comparable to the unequalled bliss of Brahman. Those who are about to give up their lives in battle thus have a tense moment at the start, later on, however, comes measureless peace in experiencing a delight which may be called the highest bliss." 2823

Having thus spoken he, single-handed, plunged into the enemy's force encountering arrows which came hissing, causing the delusion as if they were the breath of a lion's nostrils. 2824

With the golden sword-hilt glinting like the yellow orpiment, Rilhaṇa was on the crest of the wave in the battle-field like an actor armed with sword and shield on the stage. 2825

As his sabre struck down the swords of the enemies their souls, forsooth, rose up to cling to it as if by a magic trick like wisps of straw attracted by amber. 2826

In the battle, he was followed by those who deemed the enemy to be lower animals and their lives vanished like wisps of straw. 2827

Rilhaṇa, who had entered the mouth of Death, emerged from it through some unknown exits, just as water escapes through the gills of a whale when its mouth is closed. 2828

Having made repeated charges, he came away to rest after his exertions and his force having been considerably thinned reached the pitch of excitement against the foe. 2829

Suddenly from the rear there fell upon him, just at this juncture, Catuṣka with numerous troops, whom a while ago he had believed to be some one arriving with reinforcements for himself. 2830

2825. Haritāla=the yellow orpiment. It is used even now in villages as a rubber to efface writing. From it is derived the word 'Hartal'=strike—the method of effecting a political or other grievance.

Upon seeing the hostile army facing him both ways, he felt no tribulation; on the contrary, like a peacock at the sight of a double-faced snake, he danced the Tāṇḍava. 2831

Then by alternately attacking and retreating, he wore out those two fronts in the fight just as the churning mountain did with the ocean on both flanks. 2832

Galloping on his charger he constantly kept on the move between the two just as a weaver 2833

Bhāsa, on his behalf, bore the brunt of one army, as the rushes on the edge of an islet break on one side the impact of water. 2834

By him, the enemy array with its circle of weapons set aquiver by his impetuous onslaught, was rendered incapable of heroics as if it were a woman with tremulous gold ear-rings whom the ardour of his passion had rendered incapable, in the sport of love, of assuming the role of man. 2835

As he caused sweat to drip from the faces of his enemies, who were pale with fright, as if it were water from the pots, he was, I trow, having the ceremonial water poured over the king for his coronation a second time. 2836

2831. Tāṇḍava=the dance of Śiva. It represents the five activities (Pañca-kṛtya) viz. creation, preservation, incarnation, destruction and deliverance. The scene of the dances is the cosmos which is represented by the enveloping aureole of fire (Tiruvāśi).

2833. Kuvinda=a weaver; it is a pity this verse has a lacuna.

2835. The reference is to Vātsyāyana's book, the *Kāmasūtra*, on the Ars Amatoria. It was well known in Europe in the Middle Ages. An Arabic book on the subject written in Tiflis entitled *The Perfumed Garden* mentions Vātsyāyana and gives quotations. A Kavi was expected to be acquainted with the arts and sciences, and this verse is intended by K. to show his knowledge of Erotics. Count Keyserling writes about Eroticism as follows: "It is not a higher impulse, and the highest manifestations of which it is capable will not bear comparison in human values with other qualities. Nevertheless, its manifestations are not only beautiful as such, so that it would involve an impoverishment of the world if they disappeared: they are in such intimate, interchangeable relation to other higher qualities, that their existence seems to be absolutely tied to them; artistic culture can only grow and flourish on the background of erotic culture. The puritanical soul appears mean compared with the Catholic one; fanatics of morality are always cripples, non-sensuous natures incapable of religious profundity. In some sense every tendency leads to good; the perception of this significance in details is the fundamental problem of the art of life; to perceive it in its general relationship is the ultimate aim of human wisdom." (*Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, Vol. I, p. 181). This view is in conformity with the ideals of Saṁskṛta Poetics. See V. 373n. ante.

He and the son of Pṛthvīhara remained, at nightfall, in a state of readiness, mutually on the look out, like a sorcerer and the Vetalā for a loop-hole. 2837

On the following day, he forced the enemy to retire in the direction of the forest while he let the soldiers of the king who had arrived as reinforcement, become spectators. 2838

Recalling that Trillaka and the others had abandoned the clean fight, Sañjapāla on the third day came up to join Rilhaṇa. 2839

Oppressed by the king's martial glory, Loṭhaka withered away between the two armies, like a tree worn out by the timber pest in the heart of the forest is dried up by the months of Āṣāḍha and Jyeṣṭha. 2840

As the fire of the unattended funeral pyre is reduced by showers of rain so by skirmishes Catuṣka, too, was gradually compelled by Udayana to moderate his hot blood. 2841

The Darad army had descended the mountain passes, flaunting the gold trappings carried by their cavalry, spoiling for a fight. 2842

The folks, apprehending that the districts invaded by the Turuṣka people had fallen under their subjection, had felt as if the whole land were overrun by the Mlecchas. 2843

While Dhanya and the warden of the frontier were still at the distance of one march Ṣaṣṭhacandra, who had no support, had to bear the brunt of their sabres in the first instance. 2844

With its glittering trappings of gold that army of the enemy was held up by him, as the forest conflagration, with its flaming sheets of fire, is hampered by a mountain with its cascades. 2845

Having brushed aside Jayacandra and others who had opposed a forward advance, they had plunged, arrogant with their superior numbers into the field of battle. 2846

Against thousands of their cavalry, the son of Garga made an impetuous counter attack with his twenty or thirty cavaliers and routed them. 2847

Against those enemies, such was the superhuman valour displayed by him that, each one of them seemed to be confronted by him as if he had assumed the form of Viṣṇu. 2848

In a moment they broke; with their faces lowered on the pommels of their saddles, the cowards plunged into the mountains like Kinnaras. 2849

During the night Rājavadana, Jayacandra and others said to the Darads, "This reverse was occasioned through lack of knowledge of the terrain and stratagem; to-morrow, however, by taking us as guides, you will snatch a victory," to which they replied in the affirmative as a hoax while they were intent on a flight. 2850–2851

The powerful Balahara compelled Dhanya and the warden of the frontier to remain at a distance and attempted to prevail upon the Darads to hold on, by blocking the routes in the rear. 2852

Thereafter he made up his mind to lodge the prince with the Darads in an encampment at Tāramūlaka. 2853

While he was putting this into execution and the Ḍāmaras were blinded by their intoxication, the son of Salhaṇa convinced that the entire realm was as good as conquered was filled with enthusiasm. 2854

Even in the absence of a victory being supported by innumerable feudatories of such rank, he at that time mused thus: "I am going to be an august person" and was overflowing with joy. 2855

By the destruction of lotuses befriended by the sun the elephant's tusks become obnoxious to the latter; at the rise of the moon who outvies the tusks, their material falls to pieces by itself while the sun-stones who share the solar lustre cease to radiate heat. During a crucial stage luck and ill-luck tend to arise in a manner which is inconceivable. 2856

Being a Ḍāmara, Nāga had been superseded even during the constant disturbances of Bhikṣu and owing to his family connections with Ṭikka and others, he was regarded by the king as being at the head of the traitors. Not being a Lavanya and because of his amazing rise such as no other commoner had and later through his services during critical times, Rājavadana had come to be, so to say, at the top of the king's confidence. 2857–2859

Nāga watching the insurrection carried on by others, which he himself should have been doing, sorrowed like a poet when his theme nearing completion has been brought out by another. 2860

In order to get under his own wing the king's enemy, he then addressed him with a solemn visage in this wise, "Give up Rājavadana and rely on me." 2861

"Why are you waiting for the arrival of Tejas, Balahara's son in a litter, like a lover at the rendezvous keeping up for the woman?"

They, however, laughed at Nāga who had sent such a message, since it would have been like abandoning the Wishing-cow to hug a nanny goat. 2862–2863

Everybody from motives of self-interest turns to friendship or enmity; otherwise in the love or hatred of others no one is in the least interested. 2864

It becomes worthwhile for the nectar-rayed moon, whose lustre is menaced by the pair of ivory tusks, to damage them; the tusker's forehead is the favourite resort of the honey-suckers who have a mind to taste the ichor; the lotus, to whose abode the elephant is a constant peril, is not as a consequence enamoured of the moon and so, too, the bees do not become hostile to the elephant though he swallows up their friend, the lotus. 2865

Thereafter Nāga, to rob Balahara of his prestige, fomented a feud to endure for life against him with intent to benefit the king. 2866

Accordingly, he then communicated through his own men with the defeated Darads in this wise, "This Rājavadana, who has not broken with the king, will possibly destroy you and Bhoja at the same time." 2867

The two leaders of the troops of the Darad ruler, the army chiefs, the renowned Kṣemavadana Malla . . . . and the commandant of the fort, named Ojasa, who felt alarmed, spoke of this plot in confidence to Bhoja who, knowing the inwardness of it, laughed at them. 2868–2869

Then as, through a crystal lens, the consuming sunlight falls on tinder so, it was amazing!, did the burning light of the king—through the army which had held him up in front—fall on Viḍḍasīha. 2870

For, having been attacked by the disease of consumption, for his evil design of bringing disaster on the king, he had come to resemble the waning moon of the dark nights. 2871

When their master, who was their leader in war and the protector of their rear, had fallen a prey to disease and were themselves in a position open to attack, they were reduced to a state of panic and the entire Darad force abandoning Balahara, while he was at his repast, took to flight the following day with their horses and galloped away towards the mountains. 2872–2873

2868. See VIII. 2856.

Realizing how much the son of Salhaṇa was honoured, they having humbly announced, "We shall come back in the morning" took him along. 2874

As he had formerly sworn an oath by libation, he felt helpless and had to follow them, but his object having failed, he had the sinking feeling as if he were slipping down a precipice. 2875

From time to time filled with excessive rush of blood from every vein it was as if it were burning, anon it resembled the stones of a stairway down which unclean water is rushing; often level with the ground as if he believed that the sky had fallen, was Bhoja's countenance, as he went along, in which the eyes could not be seen on account of his embarrassment. 2876–2877

And he came to the conclusion: "Fie on us, duffers, who even after having repeatedly seen his extraordinary might still think that the king is subject to the laws of the mortals." 2878

"Poets of a superior genius beaming with truth have the head, but none else to describe such fiery glory." 2879

"If it was not the sparks from the blaze of royal glory which had covered the land, whence came our lack of self-possession just when we had set foot upon it?" 2880

"Large numbers of the bodies of brave men could not have experienced thirst, though they had drunk en masse the water of the fine edges of weapons, but for the great heat of the flame of his glory!" 2881

"Unless it was due to the blinding effect of his smoke-screen, how could one have been bewildered in perceiving, despite wide open eyes, the distinction between the right and the wrong course!" 2882

Avoiding the Darads, who were encamped on the opposite bank of the Madhumatī, he then, secluded by the curtain of the waves, dwelt on arrival on the edge of the river. 2883

When, in course of time, his dejection was undermined, they took him to the interior of their own camp and endeavoured to restore his confidence, while growing keen in their desire for treachery. 2884

For, with the king, who was showering untold wealth, it was their

2875. Vaihvalya='sinking feeling.'
2282. Dhūma-mālāndhya = Smoke screen.

plan to bargain with diplomatic skill and draw allowances for keeping him in custody. 2885

"This is not the season for a campaign—close by is the advent of winter, in spring we shall fit out once more a splendid expedition. If, however, marking time is insupportable, we shall take you immediately by the route through the Bhuṭṭa country to the estate of the puissant Trillaka. Rājavadana is supporting the king." Thus he was addressed by those mean men who intended cunningly to keep him a prisoner in their own principality. 2886-2888

For, in duplicity even the people of Rājapurī are beaten by the Darads, like long summer days by the days of separation from the beloved. 2889

Now Balahara reproached him, through emissaries, for having retreated in that fashion saying, "I have been placed in a well while the rope has snapped." 2890

He remained in the field enthusiastically—despite this—confronting the son of Garga and gave no thought in his ardour to the approaching royal army. 2891

That with the sudden disappearance of the Darad ruler, Bhoja and the rest, he did not go to pieces was indeed the high water mark of his resolute courage. 2892

Even after the defection of his supporters with their strutting demonstration that he should have continued the campaign fighting haughtily —who but a superman could have achieved this? 2893

To gain time he employed dilatory tactics with Dhanya and the warden of the frontier who were anxious to come to terms in the hope that Bhoja might return. 2894

Then Alaṁkāracakra came up to take away Bhoja and approaching the Darads made his request on the ground of relationship. Learning that their assembly, despite his insistence, was recalcitrant and held fast to treachery, he resolved to persevere until death at the bridgehead on the highway. 2895-2896

2892. Paryāpteḥ aṅkanam=high water mark.

2895-97. The life of Hsüan-Tsang contains a remarkable episode of a hungerstrike. The king of Turfan, Ch'U Wen-t' ai, became his disciple, loaded him with special honours and tried to dissuade him from proceeding to India. Eventually finding the pilgrim determined to proceed, the king forcibly detained him. Hsüan-Tsang threatened to starve himself to death. "He sat upright and motionless, and for three days not a drop of water passed his lips.

Seeing him together with his vassals who were mostly young men preparing to die, the force of the Darad ruler suffered from contumacy and weakened through sympathy. 2897

The Balaharī stream appeared to avert the strife with her arm and to reproach the Darad forces with the murmur of her rippling billows. 2898

Put to shame by his women-folk and by the Mleccha chiefs, who were filled with jealousy, as well as by his troops who were scared by sin, Viḍḍasīha then gave up Bhoja. 2899

With the routed guardians of the bridge as his precursors, he crossed over to the further side while the rattle of his kettle-drums pierced the directions. 2900

In view of his own feeble condition and the weakness of his army, Viḍḍasīha now sued for peace and invited an envoy of the king to whom he said: 2901

"To vie with your master, whose might is superhuman, imagining him to be like a border chieftain is to do the work of a fisherman." 2902

"His statesmanship is inconceivable; Jayarāja and I will present ourselves before Yama, as heralds to announce his might, in heaven." 2903

"For me even a defeat at the hands of him who is of divine glory is victory; in a Tīrtha the fall of the pilgrim, through landslide from the bank, results in his elevation." 2904

Then he returned and having lingered for a short time in his own town, he entered Yama's realm where his evil reputation was displayed as the garland of welcome. 2905

Unaware of the approaching Bhoja, Rājavadana, on the other hand, made peace on that very day with the warden of the frontier and Dhanya. 2906

Having sent away the one who had come on horse-back and taking

On the fourth day the breathing of the Master of the Law was getting weaker and weaker. Ashamed and terrified at the consequences of his severity, the king prostrated himself on the ground and offered him his respectful excuse." He swore before the statue of Buddha to let his guest depart; only then did Hsüan-Tsang consent to take nourishment.

2899. See App. B.

2902. The verse is literally translated. To catch fish is an idiom which survives in the Hindi, Jhakh mārnā (Sk. Jhaṣa = fish).

with them Ṣaṣṭha, the foremost among the strong-minded, the two then presented themselves before the king. 2907

Either from self-assurance or folly having laid aside their judgment, the two of them did not take into consideration prince Bhoja who was unscathed. 2908

Though repeatedly invited by the sovereign who entertained a wayward longing for him, Rilhaṇa, however, who had not finally destroyed the enemy, would not return. 2909

He would not stand in front of the master when the task was not finished, just as a *chef de cuisine* is anxious to win appreciation but not to enjoy the food at all. 2910

Kept apart by him in the campaign, the two sons of Pṛthvīhara, like the body of the lord of Magadha cut up by Bhīma, became incapable of action. 2911

As if into his mother's lap Loṣṭhaka reduced to straits in the campaign fled to his own territory, just as the serpent cut to pieces by Arjuna betook himself to the Khāṇḍava. 2912

Catuṣka, abbreviating himself and shedding his pride, retired to the impregnable residence of Trillaka, like a tortoise withdrawing his body under his shell. 2913

Rilhaṇa, having finally accomplished the task by his valour alone, went to present himself before the monarch to get the lustre of the nails of his feet as his turban. 2914

Through the glory of the king, the insurrection had withered away in this way, yet owing to grave errors on the part of the ministers, it once more displayed its shoots. 2915

For Rājavadana, who should have been chastised, had instead been pacified with gifts and had fearlessly supported Bhoja who was approaching once more. 2916

With blackmail as his end, he then had Bhoja lodged at a place called Dinnāgrāma which was the seat of the wretched Khaśas. 2917

And he said to Bhoja "if you had arrived yesterday, the warden of the frontier with his limited following would not in the pursuit have escaped from the range of my vision." 2918

Rājavadana quivering with recklessness was restored to steadiness by Trillaka himself by diplomacy, like a gondola in the rapid current by extending a rope. 2919

Resolved to compel the protector of the subjects to surrender

to the growing unrest, that villain took up the leadership in the disturbances once more. 2920

Although his advisers, Alaṁkāra and the rest, endeavoured to keep him quiet, he would not give up intrigues, just as he who has no self-restraint cannot give up his caprice. 2921

Just as a surgeon letting alone the disease which is unripe proceeds to incise the mature boils, so ignoring him the king proceeded to root out the others. 2922

"Please come to our support if we are shaken"—having thus addressed Bhoja, Alaṁkāracakra set forth bent on rebellion. 2923

The Ḍāmara freebooter Jayānandavāda, son of Ānandavāda, as also other natives of Kramarājya who were distinguished fighters, followed him. 2924

The minister for justice, Alaṁkāra, who confronted them with a small force was regarded by them as nothing but a dam of sand against the rapid current of a river. 2925

He, however, carrying on the fight singly against many, afforded to the subjects the thrills of the passage of arms of Balarāma and the rest. 2926

As the blood began to flow, the battle-field soon came to resemble a tavern wherein he displayed dexterity in confounding his enemies as if they were demons stimulated by their carousals. 2927

As a tornado would do with a heap of cotton—what else need be said—he drove helter-skelter the formidable force of the enemies in no time. 2928

To become morsels for the vultures, kites and swarms of other birds Ānandavāda's son, slain by him with an arrow, was left on the battle-field. 2929

Between Bhoja who was yearning for an uprising and the king who was anxious to catch him, there existed a state of things like the parable of the francolin in the mud pursued by the fowler; for as the francolin, through weakness, becomes unable to fly so the fowler while running falls in the mire yet trails after it day after day. At the crucial moment for an adventurous throw, Bhoja would thus become a prey to lassitude while the king planning to seize him suffered from errors of judgment over and over again. 2930–2932

2930. Krakara=commonly called Chakor which closely resembles the French partridge. It is very common in the Hills.

While Bhoja was staying at Dinnāgrāma, Rājavadana thus occasioned the gibes of the sovereign : "What! are the thieves and the vandals in clover once more?" 2933

The Ḍāmaras, whose associations had been broken up, thereafter again began to close-knit a fabric of intrigue excelling their past record and once more became bold. 2934

So long as the warden of the frontier attacked them, they were unable to bear the brunt of his incredible charges; they aimed solely at wearing him out. 2935

At this time there arrived to save them and to get others to rise, the son of Salhaṇa whom Alaṁkāracakra had drawn to himself by furnishing a hostage. 2936

With them on the following day, Bhoja with his weary force repeatedly attempted to make a junction at Hāyāśrama, when the warden of the frontier got news of him. 2937

As if he were unaware of this, the warden made a mock truce with them on some pretext and marched to Tāramūlaka situate across Bhoja's line of march. 2938

While he halted there, Bhoja hearkening to a distant hubbub in the evening was considerably perturbed and mentioned it. 2939

Though he was laughed at by his own set for this groundless apprehension, he did not cease to feel nervous and accordingly kept his horses ready. 2940

Now the affrighted Alaṁkāracakra who had been enquiring, "Where is the prince?" soon fled from Daśagrāmī. 2941

Then from the midst of the township a terrific rattle of kettle-drums and the din of the army, heralding an attack, arose with the face of the night. 2942

Unnoticed in the pitch darkness Bhoja made good his escape, while Alaṁkāracakra was busy with the necessary preparations for the battle on the morrow. 2943

The fire ignited by the warden of the frontier lit the mountain tracks and conferred on Bhoja's people, who had lost themselves in the darkness, a boon at this time. 2944

The Ḍāmaras, who while waiting for Bhoja had been patient about the truce with the warden of the frontier, on learning these tidings, took to flight. 2945

... ...
... ... 2946–2947

At the burning of Tripura heat was radiated from the arrows, at the churning of the ocean it sprang from the submarine fire. Having associated with the churning mountain nowhere did the lord of the snakes have a life of comfort. 2948

The sons of Alaṁkāracakra, when Bhoja arrived in their own territory to end his sufferings from starvation and thirst, longed once more to take him prisoner. 2949

Either upon their father's advice or it was their own idea that they had conceived this plan; he, however, frustrating their devices got out and entered a different territory. 2950

Thereafter, being convinced that with the help of Balahara alone could success be achieved and losing faith in the other Lavanyas, the knowledgeable Bhoja once more proceeded to Dinnāgrāma. 2951

Meanwhile the warden of the frontier, though determined to safeguard the country from the enemies, was incapacitated by a sudden eye-disease and rendered *hors de combat*. 2952

The Ḍāmara who had desired to give his two daughters to Bhoja in marriage gave them to Parmāṇḍi and Gulhaṇa, sons of the king, when he was worsted. 2953

The disease having become aggravated just when the time had come to inflict punishment, the warden of the frontier, in his helplessness, entered into negotiations. 2954

During the period of conflict, Ṣaṣṭhacandra, too, son of Garga, capable of bearing any burden, died worn out by the disease of piles. 2955

Just when he was laid up with the malady, his own two brothers flaunting their arrogance caused disorder in the land by viloent attacks and like disturbances. 2956

Trillaka, who was engaged in promoting a league with other powerful persons, having concentrated on war did not accept even a pacific message from the king. 2957

Ṣaṣṭha having gone to his final peace and the warden of the frontier,

2946-47. The text is mutilated, and these verses have therefore not been translated.

2948. Tripura=The city of the Titans destroyed by Śiva in the eternal struggle between the gods and the Titans. For the churning of the ocean see App. C.

too, struggling with disease, the king appointed Dhanya who marched forth to Tāramūlaka. 2958

"Bhoja, when he has fallen out with this one, might fall within the purview of other powerful persons and acquire prestige or having escaped from the country might become unassailable." Reflecting thus the king, who was anxious to capture him by negotiations or other devices, ordered Dhanya to start without losing time and get on with the offensive. 2959-2960

This mistaken policy, the dangerous consequences of which had not been realized, recoiled on the king to his injury like a viper dragged with the posterior bruised. 2961

Finding that Rājavadana had the power while the king was powerless, the men of the inner court as well as the outer court gradually fell into discontent. 2962

Alas! there always are pitfalls in the policy of government which are as easily met with as when gliding through the chasm towards the nether world. If their number increases, then the one who has embarked upon that course may traverse it through some incomprehensible decree or suffer downfall. 2963

The Balahara when asked by the king to surrender, Bhoja stated, "He might depart having run through his money," and thus got the latter to grant a maintenance. 2964

Finding this swindle had gained publicity in the royal party, he began to look for an opportunity to try other tricks with diplomatic skill. 2965

For concluding pacts at each step with Balahara and others and making trips to and fro, Dhanya became the laughing-stock of the people. 2966

He could not get to the end of the affair of state which was constantly being set back, like the rope on the mechanism of the water-wheel with the pots. 2967

His diplomacy although it was sharp was not able to penetrate or even to reach his objective, like an arrow at a moving wheel. 2968

The protector of the subjects, who had captured two royal personages

and was bent upon the remaining one in the campaign, was bewildered as if he were playing chess. 2969

He had formed no objective in order to yield as a ruse, nor did he pay any heed to the enemy, who were destroying his knights, footmen, and the rest. 2970

While the freebooting Ḍāmaras held fast to their leagues and awaited the end of winter, Balahara apprehended that Nāga might extirpate his own people. 2971

As he with his power and active hostility had woven a web of aggression and Dhanya, too, was on the offensive, Rājavadana was perpetually in fear and trembling. 2972

Then having held a consultation with Bhoja he sent a message to Dhanya : "Arrest and hand over Nāga to me; I shall, thereupon, deliver Bhoja to you." 2973

Rājavadana hoped to achieve in a large measure his own objective by bringing about the imprisonment of the enemy; Dhanya, owing to the stress and strain, had failed to discern this plan of his. 2974

That kings with their wits led astray from rectitude in the hurry to achieve their selfish ends do any unclean act is nothing new. 2975

Even the chivalrous Rāmacandra, in the search for his beloved, being keen on securing Sugrīva, blinded by selfishness, committed a wrongful act—the murder of Vālin! 2976

Suppressing his eternal truthfulness, with his mind befouled by the pride of sovereignty, even the Pāṇḍava king who regulated himself by righteousness had his preceptor slain! 2977

2969-70. The similes in these two verses are from the game of Indian Chess called in Saṁskṛta Caturaṅga (literally the fourfold military array technically known as the Hasti-aśva-ratha-padāti), from which is derived the Persian Shatrang. According to legend Rāvaṇa, king of Laṅkā, was the originator of the game. The game is played differently in the West and in Japan. For a description of the game as it was probably played in Kalhaṇa's time see *Alberuni*, Vol. I. pp. 183-85.

2975. K. is at pains to explain away the king's acts such as the assassination of Nāga for a political reason. Jayasiṁha, like Akbar, was touched by remorse at such brutal but necessary acts. Employment of assassins and secret execution in the time of Jayasiṁha apparently caused no horror. See verse 3311 below.

Mustapha Kemal is reported by Upton Close to have replied when asked about the use of assassins: "They are the tongs with which I pick up dirt!"

2976. The reference is to the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* where Rāmacandra in order to gain the support of Sugrīva killed the latter's brother Vālin.

2977. The reference is to the episode in the war of the *Mahābhārata*: the truthful Yudhiṣṭhira is induced to make an ambiguous statement relating to the death of Aśvatthāmā in consequence of which the latter's father Droṇācārya dies broken-hearted.

Since the campaign of Bhikṣu Nāga had always been a traitor though for the time being he was neutral; the attack upon him from a motive of self-interest found no condemnation, on the contrary, that he should have been imprisoned by the king without having taken any security for the delivery of Bhoja for which it might become an impediment and hence there was, in some measure, indignation on the part of men of discernment. 2978-2979

If, however, the king had acted having thought over and held this act to be for his advantage in the future, in the way in which it turned out, then his intellect was superhuman. 2980

As if he had fallen out, Bhoja, on the other hand, sent a message to Nāga as follows: "Balahara is willing to surrender me to the king if you are handed over as surety." 2981

For, disbelieving that he had been arrested and that on learning this he might resort to neutrality through fear of the king, Bhoja had thus addressed him. 2982

After Ṣaṣṭhacandra had gone to his final peace, the king, through Jayacandra whom he had won over, then arranged to have Nāga brought before himself. 2983

"If brought under his wing by the king, this man will kill us"—owing to this fear Bhoja had conveyed that warning to Nāga even when he was on the march. 2984

"Alas! knowing that to be so I, who am being dragged before the king by these fellows, am unfortunately not master of myself." Thus through emissaries Nāga, too, replied to him. 2985

Surely the ears of a creature, drowning in the depth of the stream of destiny, are incapable of hearing what is being said by some one on the bank. 2986

Upon the imprisonment of Nāga, the affrighted members of his family approached and sought shelter with Balahara, but that wily man rendered himself difficult to interview. 2987

Taking him who was to form the payment in the sale of Bhoja, Dhanya then together with Rilhaṇa hurried to Balahara. 2988

Laughing inwardly, he cozened both of them ands aying, "First hand over Nāga to me then I shall deliver Bhoja," he put them in a quandary. 2989

Having gained a firm foot-hold, he was unassailable and that entire

army of the two ministers, which had come such a distance to fight, was rendered subservient to his plan of action. 2990

Then he said to them who were down-hearted owing to the rain, the fighting, casualties and the rest: "If the two of you withdraw from here I shall act according to your view." 2991

When they had taken up their position on the road at the distance of one march, through disappointment from the impasse in that affair, he caused bewilderment in their minds. 2992

In Balahara there was a remarkable perfection of resolute courage and character, which in these common place modern times is indeed unique among the brave. 2993

Thus it was that he was not treacherous towards Dhanya who having precipitately fallen in with his views had been deflected from his objective, nor even towards Bhoja through greed. 2994

"If through error of judgment the ministers do hand over Nāga to me then I shall make an appeal and restore him to his own seat." Thus he resolved in his mind. 2995

With the object of making secure the wealth which he had got hold of in Nāga's absence, a nephew of Nāga, named Loṣṭhaka, who was secretly hostile to him, induced Dhanya and others to destroy him. 2996

Nāga having been killed without reason by the ministers, misled by his enemies, the king was blamed for this ill-advised act by his own people as well as by the opponents. 2997

Thereupon all the hostile Ḍāmaras furious at the murder of their clansman as well as the followers of Nāga flocked to the support of Balahara who became powerful. 2998

Even to a person, who through nervous breakdown caused by a sudden calamity is erring on the way and is actually marring things he ought to make, divine Providence may grant success. 2999

A person, obsessed in his mind with the growing affliction of his slender means, wandering aimlessly in his helpless state suddenly falls down a precipice where another has deposited a treasure. By its discovery, despite injury to limb, relief from his wretched condition is extended to him by Providence, if by good luck it is favourably disposed. 3000

Bhoja was not aware that Nāga had been killed without any judicial investigation in that manner by the diplomats; on the other hand, growing alarmed he soliloquized in this wise. 3001

"This atrocious act of the ruler who is a man of letters and who had yet to benefit under the terms of the pact, cannot be supposed to have been for achieving his purpose." 3002

... ...
... ... 3003-3004

"Since the upheaval caused by Bhikṣu which has brought in its train an abundant crop of treachery, is it not conceivable that this Rājavadana himself, through covetousness, may prove to be its soil?" 3005

Then the wretched Khaśas, in order to remove the nervousness of the suspicious Bhoja, swore an oath by libation by putting their feet on a skin wet with blood. 3006

He having expressed his apprehension at being kept under guard, Balahara came to him unattended for his assurance. 3007

The mission having failed owing to the deficient judgment of the ministers, the king, experienced in affairs, was obliged to put it right and calmly set himself to do it. 3008

Does not the king Jayasiṁha during a period of depression put life into an affair of state in the same way as does the month of Caitra in a cops of trees, the advent of monsoon in the waters of a rivulet, a respectful welcome in the case of homage to merit, intimate association when there is love at sight, hard work in the case of opulence and deep and undaunted perseverance in achieving a victory? 3009

In persisting in a course opposed to the current, one can not succeed in putting through the matter in hand any more than in reaching the opposite bank where the current being strong carries one away in midstream. 3010

Thus the shrewd king, who was erroneously believed to be a simpleton by his enemies, by demonstrating his simplicity strove for a rapprochement. 3011

For, his plan was to ply those who were round about Bhoja with all manner of gifts and to render them an object of distrust in every way. 3012

3003-4. There is a lacuna in the text.

To the elephants even the rivers will appear as if they are in flames, if their edges smell of the odour of the lion. 3013

Just as within a perforated nest a bird shrinks with fright and knowing that if it emerged it would altogether fall into the net fastened in front of the exit is alarmed, so Bhoja, without trust in the men of his entourage and his passage abroad barred by the king, felt nervous even to depart. 3014-3015

At this time he became a prey to uneasiness so that he would not, for a moment, see anything to divert his mind or do an act worthy of this world or the next. 3016

Alas! one, who has suffered, is grieved and readily melts at the severe hardships of another which follow his own. Imprisoned in the dimple of the lotus, the bee is even more wrung with pain at the cry of distress of the Cakravāka separated from his sweetheart. 3017

Bhoja happened to see a certain Brahman whose wounds received in an affray were filled with coagulated blood, his hair was torn, foam issued from his mouth and he was groaning in travail. 3018

Being questioned, he related how the rebel Ḍāmaras had robbed him of every thing and had wounded him to boot and denounced Bhoja for being unable to afford protection. 3019

Bhoja's mind being afflicted by his own sorry plight day after day he was grieved at this misfortune as if a fresh wound had been rubbed and spoke to give him solace as follows. 3020

"Oh Brahman! I do not deserve to be reproached by you; on the contrary, being myself in such sore straits, I deserve your sympathy"—to which he then rejoined. 3021

"Say, prince! what purpose will be served by this wicked persistence on the part of yourself who can discriminate between the substance and the shadow being a young man of high lineage and honour?' 3022

"By placing your life in jeopardy, bowing to the vulgar-minded and harrying the subjects with afflictions what achievement do you visualise?" 3023

"And he, whom you fancy you could vanquish, is it not known to you that where plunging into the flame of the enemy's heroism is concerned, he is like the antelope purified by fire?" 3024

3024. See V. 15.

"Where the point of the sword fails in splitting the crystal, can it be effected by the cup-like leaf of the blue lotus?" 3025

"He who has defeated Pṛthvīhara, the Avatāra and other antagonists what, indeed, in a conflict with him are these miserable wretches?" 3026

"Are they really worth being proud about now that you know the doings of those who live by civil war? Those whose conscience is in the keeping of their servants resemble snakes captured by snake catchers." 3027

"Beshrew the young cobras, born in the line of the Hydryad who supports the globe of the earth, for gladly accepting the food morsel in the cavities of their mouths opened by the snake catchers; the latter do this in order to earn a living by begging through them and not to add to the importance of the snakes, whom they compel to jump in and out of the leather bag to frighten the people." 3028

Bhoja having assuaged him who had thus spoken gave him leave to depart and at that very time it happened that discernment blossomed in him. 3029

The possession of a noble soul is, forsooth, necessary to be able to exult in the greatness of peace; otherwise attitudes of mind may be indeed gentle or cruel. It may feel hard when touched by the foot yet it is marvellous how the moon-crystal, although it is a stone, begins ardently to melt when touched by the feet of the cool-rayed one whose light is ambrosia. 3030

Though born in the royal family, he was not taught to be domineering and he pondered a great deal over the difference between himself and the king. 3031

"Owing to the courage, statesmanship, open-handedness, uprightness, character and other virtues of the sovereign even the rulers of yore are dwarfs; what indeed in comparison are we insignificant persons?" 3032

"He displays, even during the era resplendent with power, his strength which is cool with forbearance; even in the numbness of decline there is on the part of us fools much heat." 3033

"Even when closely thronged by snakes and harassed by the Bamboo

3026. For Avatāra See VIII.858.

3027-3028. Kings are like snakes in the power of snake-charmers. See V. 338.

conflagration the tall Sandal tree maintains its coolness; even during the period when the season of snow has effaced heat, in the bottom of the low down well a very warm temperature prevails." 3034

"How can any one achieve his purpose unless this king ceases to be vigilant and in any case is not an objective which is about to be achieved marred by blunders? 3035

"The limpid water of the cataracts which flows from the hills is either obtained somewhere by them or is secured from the clouds; tainted with impurity it ceases to be excellent. The water of the rivers in flood flowing towards lower levels, were it not drawn by the sky, would not attain the dazzling brightness of the eternal snow on the peaks of the Himalayan range." 3036

"For this very reason when a man, who has control over himself is requested in favour of reconciliation, against whom a fabric of disaster had been woven, he should not be touched by anger." 3037

"Should he, who set fire to the forest to burn the Sandal tree, approach it and be singed by the fire while the Sandal tree is hale, would it not do him a good turn, by allaying his burns from the conflagration?" 3038

In all difficulties as if he were the remover, Dhanya laboured to save the king, the patron of his people, again and again. 3039

While Bhoja was seeking the means to placate the king, he, on this occasion, saw a royal emissary arriving singly at Balahara's place. 3040

Bhoja, when proceeding to the territory of the Darads, had seen him and known him before. As he was bowing, Bhoja had him brought before himself and then spoke to him feigning a smile. 3041

"What is the use of the king negotiating with others? He should conclude a treaty of peace with me; for the wise get a physician to prescribe the diet for an invalid. 3042

As the emissary regarding it as a joke smiled unconvinced he, by palaver in various ways succeeded, in a measure, in creating confidence. 3043

Owing to the sincere words of Bhoja which invited trust, he then, in the course of conversation, came closer and spoke to him in praise of the king. 3044

"O prince! of this king, who is noble and of charming disposition, the shelter of the feet like that of the mountain of gold is obtained by those who have merits of a former existence." 3045

"Through compliance however yielded one can safely remove prejudice from him, just as the warmth of water due to the glare of the autumnal sunshine is removed by the moonlight." 3046

"And do you recollect that having been employed for espionage by the king, I once appeared before you as you were entering the territory of the Darads?" 3047

"On my return from there and after having reported the important news about you in order to pass time while giving details I spoke to him" 3048

"When weary with hunger, thirst and the sufferings of the road his own retainers on seeing me began to revile you, Sire, Bhoja after reproving them, spoke in this fashion." 3049

"He is as it were our divinity, the ornament of our dynasty; it is we who lack in good deeds of a former life that we cannot get to serve the feet of the sovereign." 3050

"We count for something though strengthless in the extreme because of our relationship with him. The wood which is mistaken for sandal is that which is scented with the perfume of it." 3051

"No sooner had he heard this than he was seen to have passed into a mood of melting sympathy towards you and as if he were your father, he again questioned me, 'What does this youngster say?'" 3052

On hearing this Bhoja's heart, too, melted; gulping down his tears, he saw the man still standing before him trying to console him. 3053

One, who is so simple as to realize only what is very obvious having no knowledge of the motives of a man of affairs, fails to perceive what is in his inmost heart. 3054

Distrusting the intentions of Bhoja, whose situation was not precarious, Dhanya, to whom the emissary came back entrusted with his mission, placed no reliance upon it. 3055

"It is a game; what happened in the case of Nāga should not recur, I am gambling with the king to delude him by stratagem." Thus did Bhoja fearing lest there should be cleavage speak to Balahara with feigned straightforwardness. In secret, however, he hastened to conclude peace. 3056–3057

One who in this exigency was fitted to act confidentially and who was also an adept in diplomacy, the son of a man from the plains, was then immediately appointed by him to be his emissary. 3058

"He through youthful inexperience being ever wayward might be

engaged in some personal intrigue." Thus Balahara had entertained no suspicion against Bhoja. 3059

Then upon his return, the messenger informed Bhoja: "The king whose favour has been sought awaits a relative as a messenger for peace." 3060

As Bhoja had no other relation present on the spot, he sent his own nurse named Nonā, who being a woman was not assertive, to appear before the king. 3061

His father having died and being left without a mother, who had followed him in death, Bhoja had been looked after by this worthy woman who had stood in a mother's stead to him. 3062

Bhoja had set his heart on securing the mediation of the queen Kalhaṇikā, thinking in this wise: "For the happiness of her husband she, in whom the flame of jealousy has been extinguished, has acted as a friend to his other wives by arranging reconciliations where there was lack of harmony, open breach and other misunderstandings. The king never sees this brave Kṣatriya lady upset whether in failure or success since she takes decisions on affairs of state with her advisers after considering what would be suitable action. At the coronation of the king, she assumed the diadem of the queen consort desired for her by her father-in-law as well as by the subjects. Though lured by attachment to her children, love of luxury, and the desire to gratify her husband, her mind does not run into undesirable channels; whether among her own people or elsewhere once an alliance has taken place, her mind is never disparate from her husband; she is free from overweening pride during the dawn of good fortune and the record of her virtuous life is unbroken. The inner mind of her husband, since his early youth, is known to her and she would not plunge into an affair to pursue a wrong course of conduct, being a lady who would safeguard honour and family." And she arranged for the stages of his journey extending up to the limits of the frontier. 3063-3069

For the security of the intermediaries huge sums for bail bonds and the like and ample gold from her own treasure for travelling expenses and furthermore eight Rājaputras of very high lineage for his protec-

3061. The foster mother was an important person in royal households. She is selected to act as plenipotentiary in this verse.

3063-3069. In these verses K. gives us a fine sketch of the character of the queen Kalhaṇikā.

tion did the queen send, which was all according to the terms of the agreement. 3070-3071

Receiving her message, Dhanya arrived and prevailed upon the king to give the foster mother an assurance regarding the fulfilment of her set purpose. 3072

The king would have liked straightaway to put his trust in her, yet being firm in his duty as the sovereign his mind rocked in the swing of misgiving. 3073

For, he held the view: "Either through disgust or as a make-believe he is giving up opposition; he must be relieved from his critical position lest he should revert to enmity." 3074

"Until the network of clouds has finally disappeared, the sun though visible may not, like a judicial investigation while disorders of a serious nature are lingering, shed light for long." 3075

"Or else knowing us to be fools, since the murder of Nāga, without an enquiry he has, in order to achieve his own ends, forged this political device." 3076

"In a young man who has made his mark, whose resources are not exhausted, who is efficient, is thronged by supporters and who observes the code of Kṣatriya chivalry such a decision has nowhere been noticed." 3077

"The saffron flower is without a stem, the Kṣīrin bears fruit without a blossom and in high-souled men secession from desire is not limitec to the passage of years." 307

"He must not be left to himself, if this prince is a diplomat of such depth; if, however, he has transformed himself in this way, what meri will our eyes have gained if they have not put a sight on him?" 307

"The queen is of opinion—and these Rājaputras have been pre dicting the ruin of his prestige—that it is very clear that for him save straightforward and magnanimous course no other possible one indicated." 308

"The rambling and serpentine course of a river is not noticed b everybody, like water dripping from the tresses of one's sweethear as a rule." 30

Thus after giving his consideration to the political measure as b

3077. Labdha-lakṣa=made his mark.

3079. The meaning is: 'our eyes have been in vain for not having se Bhoja.'

seemed a sincere and wise man, he sent away the other ministers and confided the action to be taken to the ears of Dhanya and Rilhaṇa. 3082

"For the purpose of implementing the very ends you desire, the son of Salhaṇa is anxious to meet you in conference"—thus was Dhanya addressed by emissaries and induced to go. 3083

Lest the prince who was suing for peace might be nervous about the army, Dhanya, with a limited number of his retainers, stayed on an island in the river while waiting for him. 3084

That river had knee-deep water but the warm weather having melted the snows it grew formidable with the waves embracing the sky. 3085

The river seemed to have been seized with malice and became unfordable even for elephants; and thus hemmed in by the river he then fell a prey to his enemies who were on the look out for loop-holes. 3086

In the midst of the islet, the edges of which were enveloped on either side by the waters of the river, they acquired a semblance with foam as in their white clothes they huddled together. 3087

While thousands of the wretched Khaśas remained in readiness to kill Dhanya in that predicament, whom they believed to have fallen into Bhoja's power. 3088

During this turmoil with his appealing eyes, as if touching the ears to ward off a sacrilege, the guileless son of Salhaṇa spoke to them rebukingly: 3089

"If the murder of one who is free from deceit and who has hurried to us in trustfulness is committed, then at all events without guilt I should surely fall into hell." 3090

"Nor in the event of his death, would the king who has many officers suffer dimunition of his power; it is not the damage to one wing which would destroy the velocity of the eagle." 3091

"If kings could be denounced for inflicting injury in such circumstances on those who trust them, how should one who is mindful of his responsibility injure one of equal rank?" 3092

"And as he, devoted in service to none but the king, serves him professionally, it is also my endeavour to do likewise in seeking service with the latter." 3093

As they were immovable in their resolution even after they had been

3089. Touching the ears with both hands is still a common gesture in India.

addressed by him in such seemly wise, he held them back by obstinately vowing to slay himself. 3094

Later, at night, in order to guard against a loop-hole for any such mischance, he prevailed upon them to swear an oath by libation, and Dhanya, too, was warned about this state of affairs. 3095

Dhanya having reported this straightforward conduct, the serene king, whose wits were not inexperienced, then pondered over the completion of the pact for peace which had been imperilled and without revealing the decision or his state of mind to others, he sent the queen on the journey to Tāramūlaka accompanied by the ministers. 3096-3097

From exigency of state policy, she imagined that harsh measures might become unavoidable and acceding to her husband's request regarding the journey then spoke thus: 3098

"Even among ministers, who are extraordinary, having repeatedly observed a wicked course of conduct, it is a matter which deserves consideration whether one should trust the adversary." 3099

"How should those, who are embodied in mortal frames, fathom the nature of thoughts which perhaps have a superhuman origin?" 3100

"The protection of your person at the cost of my life is my constant care; but the rule of conduct of a virtuous woman does not tolerate what may be permissible in statecraft." 3101

"You being the foe, Sire, an open display of good manners through oral messages is necessary for negotiations pending strife; and Bhoja has commenced to sell snow on the Himālayas." 3102

"The common people nowadays do not keep the peace, do not recognize the distinction between themselves and others and generally flaunt their arrogance which is wrong." 3103

"When his mind is prejudiced by his sons, ministers, women and others even a good-natured king, in anger, acts precipitately to the detriment of an unsuspecting person." 3104

"Your Majesty, who does not transgress a promise and whose word is infallible, does indeed share with me as from the one wassail-bowl his drink of glory in the three worlds." 3105

"On the other hand, if I should disregard life in order to save from destruction those whom it is my duty to save, I believe I should be selfish in tasting glory and appropriating it to myself." 3106

When after saying this she had fallen silent, the king was reticen

about calming her misgivings; true to his word he, having taken counsel together, sent the noble lady on the mission. 3107

And all the people marvelled—"A defeat and altogether a wrong policy! What is he contemplating, this king, that he is preparing to extend protection and even to fix a pension for him?" 3108

"Or perchance no other remedy remained which he could try since all the ways and means have been employed even to the extent of sending the queen on the mission!" 3109

Those few Ḍāmaras who had remained neutral either through dissentions in their own party or while watching the strength or weakness of the king which was being tested—all of them, whether small or big, wore out the fetters of decorum and started weaving a web of intrigue with the people of Bhoja's household. 3110-3111

They thought that, because they had continued to be bystanders in the contest for the crown, Bhoja had been in this predicament and soon they dropped their attitude of neutrality. 3112

Trillaka despatched his son to Bhoja at once and caused Catuṣka to raid Śamālā with ample forces. 3113

Those who during even the rebellion of Bhikṣu had maintained friendly relations with the king, the Ḍāmaras of Nīlāśva, too, joined the side of the adversary. 3114

From Lohara, Devasarasa and Holaḍā three Ḍāmaras and from Nīlāśva, a solitary Ḍāmara lady stood out. 3115

And without cease on the force of Bhoja, composed of the various Lavanyas, fell snow like, the ocean-like roar of falling waters maddened by torrential rain. 3116

Bhoja, on his part, learning the queen was about to arrive then said quite openly to Balahara, "In truth the desire to conclude peace has a hold on me." 3117

"All these days one man has been leading into error another man; when the ladies of the family undertake mediation, who can remain estranged from one's kindred?" 3118

"On an occasion when the crest-jewel of our family behaves with affection in such fashion, how can persons almost of no account like myself be acrimonious?" 3119

3115. The Ḍāmara lady who was loyal must have held the fief in her own right.

"And as for your statement that this is a ruse, then let it be so that I am diddled. Anyway for having been trustful I shall not become the abode of infamy." 3120

"Lest you might be entertaining the hope of victory with the thought 'we are all united,' we have witnessed similar arrays and have nevertheless climbed down from the heights." 3121

This and many such things as were expedient he spoke, and Bhoja could not be induced to alter his resolution by Balahara and the rest. 3122

But the chiefs asked him, "When the ruin of your adversary is at the distance of two or three days whence this *volte-face* on your part? and how does it happen when the time for the fruit has come?" 3123

While the queen stayed at Tāramūlaka, Dhanya and Rilhaṇa with their respective forces thereafter arrived at Pāñcigrāma accompanied by the Rājaputras. 3124

Learning that they had both arrived and had taken up their positions on the south bank of the river, Bhoja, too, in a wood on the opposite bank pitched his camp to await them. 3125

Watching the incessant entry of soldiers from all quarters in his camp, there were several in the royal army who did not feel secure about the truce. 3126

Rājavadana was ever full of the thought of slaying Dhanya and his people who had presumptuously advanced with a few soldiers and were not in a position to extricate themselves. 3127

After cutting the bridge from Suyyapura, longing to massacre the royal army, some lay in wait secretly on boats on the lake Mahāpadma. 3128

While others, who had fallen away from the king on the look out for tidings of a bold throw on Rājavadana's part, had posted themselves at different places on their respective routes and eagerly waited to attack. 3129

An attack on the city of Śaṅkaravarman was contemplated by the Ḍāmaras of Bhaṅgila and other districts and a raid on the Kṣiptikā by those of Śamālā. 3130

Trillaka and the rest reckoned they could reach the bank of the

3121. Unnateḥ avārukṣāma=Climb down from the heights.

Mahāsarit and the Ḍāmaras of Ṅīlāśva were to endeavour to penetrate to the heart of the city. 3131

What else need be said? Together they were all preparing to slay the officials of the royal household, who were like ducks surrounded in the midst of water. 3132

The instructions became altogether doubtful and the mission was on a par with the chance of rain showers during a period of draught with an intervenient conjunction of planets. 3133

At every step, Bhoja was absorbed in the occupation of cutting down the plan of Balahara, who desired to rise and move against the royal army. 3134

At every moment, with a view to frustrating them in the peace terms which were being negotiated, Rājavadana raised some obstacle or other. 3135

Whatever the impediment to the rapprochement raised from either camp, Bhoja himself bent solely on acting righteously cut it out at once. 3136

The sycophants of the king, who were in clover while serving on the mission when things were going smoothly, were reduced to imbecility, through nervousness, during the acute stage of the negotiation. 3137

They whisper into the king's ear what, with beat of drum, has been broadcast throughout the realm; they speak in an abject manner, their bodies doing the obeisance so that he may be ashamed of himself; they flatter, and unpleasant things which cut to the quick are openly discussed such as would not be done even by an enemy. In fact, whoever are the collection of knavery and folly they are the flatterers of the king. 3138

The harlequin in the dance hall, the epigrammatist in his satirical one-act plays, the dog of the cow-pen in the courtyard of his own dwelling, the marmot in his burrow on the hill slopes, and the sycophant as a knight of good cheer in the royal household, shows off his valour; elsewhere, however, they resemble a tortoise which has been dragged out of a pond. 3139

3138. Udghoṣita=Broadcast.

3139. Khaṭākhu=From Khaṭa=burrow and Ākhu=rat; a marmot (which is from Latin mus=mouse and mons=mountain). It is a rodent like the squirrel and is very common on the mountain slopes of Kaśmīr. The marmot is a friend that greets us every-

Soon the daylight was rendering homage to the peaks of the towering mountains, when with the change in the brilliance of the sun the heat had died down. 3140

The sun had stepped into the circle of the rays of his brother Anūru, stretched forth the arms towards the crest of the mountains, and turned blood red in his disc. 3141

The Lady of the Twilight, peace-maker between the faces of Day and Night, was being worshipped by the people with hands folded hollow for offerings. 3142

As the moon was preparing to rise, cracks in the elephants' tusks, the melting of the moon-stones and the insurgence of the lord of the rivers were being indicated. 3143

As the lotuses were drooping with melancholy, the bees, threatened with the loss of their sustenance from both the lotus and the elephant, decided to lodge on the temples of the elephants only. 3144

At this time not seeing how the affair would end, with their troops on the river bank in a perilous state, the ministers chafed in anxiety. 3145

They felt they were in a rapid vortex and could perceive nothing to lean upon like persons being carried away by the rushing current. 3146

On the other hand, in Balahara posted on the opposite bank of the river the desire for a sudden attack was sprouting, but he was repeatedly held back by the son of Salhaṇa. 3147

That small force brought by the ministers, who had thought the affair to be over, was an easy matter to cut up for that formidable man. 3148

As is the case in Śrīnagara during the pilgrimage to the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu, the people remained on the move tirelessly during the night. 3149

Through despatches issued by different highly placed officials of the inner and outer court, for the purpose of breaking up the Ḍāmara confederacy, the Rājaputras were closely knit together. 3150

His followers, living in an atmosphere of knavery, did not succeed

where in the valley. From its burrow it hops out as soon as the tourist approaches, sits erect on its quarters like a Teddy-bear and welcomes him with sharp birdlike whistles.

3149. People still start from Śrīnagar in boats at night in order to reach the confluence of the rivers at dawn.

in dragging the resolute Bhoja, even after raising tumultuous scenes, from either his patience or his determination. 3151

From lack of confidence in the assembled chieftains, Bhoja thought to himself—"If this Balahara is treated with contempt, unceremoniously, he may in his rage attack all of a sudden and cause a catastrophe and once the massacre is started by him, the Ḍāmara freebooters will come swarming in like birds of prey." Thus he carried Balahara with him by his pretended anxiety for the rebellion by saying, "We shall deliver an attack when the night is over." 3152-3154

"These chieftains who have come for my sake have had no food"—with this thought Bhoja, too, cadet of a noble house, from a sense of propriety did not feed. 3155

The ministers, however, who were not aware that his views were not opposed to their own, lacked trust and believed that the political mission was in jeopardy. 3156

Even at the darting of the fishes caused by the flapping of the wings of birds, they imagined that the enemy was about to deliver a sudden onslaught. 3157

So absorbed were they in their objective that they imagined that on the opposite bank of the river none but the Cakravākas felt the discomfiture. 3158

As in the case of Rāma's monkey spy, the Wind, his father, had helped in crossing the sea, so it now extended help to their spies to get to the further side of the river. 3159

Approaching close to the enemy, whose ears were dulled by the soughing of the trees growing on the river bank, the spies thus remaining awake passed that night. 3160

The night was worn; while the graceful sunbeams had not yet dispelled the solar illusion of molten gold and copper on the mountain peaks and from the gentle eyelike buds of the creepers, the nocturnal dew was trickling like tear-drops as if in sympathy at seeing the Cakravākas in separation from their beloved, the ministers espied a young man in a lovely dress carrying a battle-axe who, having emerged from the tree clumps, had just reached the river bank. He was mounted in a litter and accompanied by a limited number of infantry; he was urging the litter-bearers by touching their heads

3159. Hanumat was the son of Añjanā by the Wind-god.

with the foot while with his eye-glances he was, at the same time, repressing the ardour of the Ḍāmara warriors who, desirous of obstructing him, were hurrying from all sides. 3161-3165

When the ministers saw him with his curls on the forehead touched with sandal and with the emollient of saffron, they supposed it was Bhoja whom they had not seen before. 3166

He had spent the night cajoling Rājavadana and at day-break after a hurried farewell had appeared in that fashion face to face with them. 3167

As the litter reached midstream, Dhanya and the others galloped their horses from the opposite bank and having approached him gleefully surrounded him. 3168

Thereupon from the two camps arose a tumultuous din, loud-mouthed in lament at one end and at the other overflowing with jubilation. 3169

On hearing the noise, the Ḍāmaras came running from all directions in a bellicose mood but seeing him join the opponents they beat their heads. 3170

A reception was held in his honour, the main feature of which was an address of congratulations by Dhanya and the others; it was free from supineness and sincere and their respective precedence was not surrendered. 3171

Controlling his exuberant exaltation of spirit which was altogether surging within him, Dhanya then paid him all sorts of compliments while praising him in this fashion: 3172

"O prince! by you who are of stable character and the home of noble thoughts, this earth has been hallowed as by the steadfast Mount Meru who is the abode of the gods." 3173

"Of all spoken words, your word being unalterable is superior to the milk in the ocean of milk which is liable to alteration." 3174

"Barring yourself who else has succeeded in escaping from the midst of the base-born to nestle in the bosom of one's own kindred like the male Kokila? 3175

"Your Highness has, at the outset, struck the path of right conduct,

3174. The ocean of milk like all other oceans would be subject to ebb and tide and not be unalterable like Bhoja's word.

3175. See Taraṅga III. 107.

it will not be surprising if ultimately we find ourselves travelling together higher than that." 3176

After he had spoken in reply to these and similar courteous addresses which had been delivered, they escorted him to a charger after he had passed through a triumphal archway amidst applause. 3177

The Lavanyas then followed him, shouting curses for some Krośas like crows after him who is being taken away by his own kin to be restored to the Kokilas. 3178

Thus it was that in the year twenty-one in Jyeṣṭha on the tenth day he, who was in the neighbourhood of thirty-three years, was won over by the king. 3179

The queen greeted him when he saluted her on arrival like a beloved son and, as his servants were weary, she thoughtfully arranged for his food. 3180

She noticed that he had many of the qualities not unmeet for one of the lunar race and not having seen him before, she felt that her eyes deceived her. 3181

And because of the absence of artificiality and on account of such qualities as frankness, gracefulness and sweetness, Bhoja reckoned that the king, too, must be of pure white character. 3182

Facial demeanour is the index to the state of mind, the splendour of the gateway to the prosperity of the house and the behaviour of the wife of the disposition of the husband. 3183

Towards the close of the day, while he showed he was sick of marching and was eager to depart, yet out of loving kindness no one said to him, "Enter appearance before the king." 3184

At this juncture, the ministers, who were anyhow opposed to a hitch in the pourparlers, declared that the king, whose resentment had not died down, desired that his instructions should be communicated. 3185

This phrase like a prologue to the statement "Appear before the king" acted like a dart in the orifice of his ears. 3186

For a long while Bhoja was as if cut to the quick; then recovering himself he looked round but the firm determination of the mediators, through generous regard, had been confined to their lips. 3187

3184. Rājñaḥ Abhyarṇaṁ Viśa= 'enter appearance before the king.'

3185-3190. From these verses it appears that the ministers were charged with the mission to win over and conduct Bhoja before the king.

As he spoke bitterly desiring to lay down his life, they allayed his emotion with soft words while their heads were bent with respect. 3188

The behaviour of the eloquent Bhoja, though unfriendly, was just and no one felt it was possible, by a rejoinder, to control him. 3189

Then the brave Dhanya spoke softly and the gleaming light of his teeth revealed his complete devotion to the sovereign, which he bore in his heart: 3190

"With the course of the duties of royalty laid down for righteous conduct you are familiar and yet how is it that you have this delusion about the traditions, which have come down from generations?" 3191

"What kind of peace do you call it when you go away without seeing him with whom peace is to be made? How, in front of us, do you account for this?" 3192

"Having realised that the king is radiant with uprightness which is not easy to be found among rulers at the present day, the transformation has taken place in you regarding your duty as a kinsman." 3193

"He has no hypocrisy, conceit, inhibitions, persistence in dislike or a wicked word even for the dead, and in the purity of his exemplary good manners what a charm !" 3194

"Service under him will bring fortune which is not possible from the acquisition of sovereignty; can such light as is reflected from the sun come from a lighted lamp?" 3195

"The love of discussion about Nirvāṇa, such as is to be found in the resorts of those who have attained the inner poise, is in the king who at the same time is a Ṛṣi; he follows the consensus of opinion when he sits as a member of the assembly." 3196

"Thus when you can secure well-nigh complete bliss which is obtained in your own home, why worry about other places of fortune and other rulers ?" 3197

"The hooded snakes have never reckoned those among them who following the season abandon the waters of their own pools to be fools; they cling to the cool sandal trees in summer while in the month of Māgha they enter their warm and ancient burrow." 3198

3196. Rājarṣi. The king who at the same time was a Ṛṣi was the ideal king according to ancient literature; such was the father of Sītā, king Janaka of Mithilā, who though living in the world was not of it.

"The queen and the princes are the means which support the life of the king; in his interest whatever may be unseemliness is to them nothing but seemliness." 3199

"Like food which after the warmth has left it is warmed and has become cold your action will, through the warmth of repentance, once more become nauseating." 3200

Such a forceful speech he proved unable to refute with potency and any lingering sense of deception was dispelled; nevertheless, in the matter of the journey he continued reluctant. 3201

When, however, on the route he saw the inhabitants who had everywhere composed laudatory poems, the growing realisation of the correctness of his action was confirmed in his mind. 3202

The surface of the earth appeared as if it had formed an alliance with the sky through the hallucination of the dust swirled up by the feet of the infantry. 3203

Bhoja thought within himself: "I wonder if I shall ever get to the king! I wonder if an audience with him will be hindered by scheming persons." 3204

"In the household of potentates who can get a moment to display his merit, without being interrupted betweenwhiles by the satellites?" 3205

"The stream of water rushes from the Snow Mountain with the thought that it would be comforting to the ocean heated by the submarine fire. But at the very time it falls into the ocean it is swallowed up by the sea monsters." 3206

Being absorbed in these and similar anxious considerations, he failed to notice the excitement in the city and learnt that the palace was close by from the halting of their horses by the troops. 3207

The king, surrounded by the ministers, from the royal balcony, saw Bhoja as he dismounted from his horse. He was neither very tall nor overmuch gaunt; his face was tanned by the rays of the sun; his body was pale white like the pericarp of the lotus; he was at his ease and deliberate. His shoulders were powerful like the hump of a bull and the chest broad. The beard which was not too long revealed the fulness of his cheeks and neck; the nose was prominent, the lips like the ripe Bimba, the forehead broad and smooth......He walked steadily with even steps. His clothes and turban fitted him well and

the sandal emollient........with a line gleaming white like the moon kissed the parting of his hair. 3208-3212

Then sought by the king's eye which was lit up with kindness, he ascended to the hall of audience which was perilously packed with people straining their necks in curiosity. 3213

Having touched the king's feet by stretching his hand, he sat himself down in front and placed before the throne a dagger which he held in the hand. 3214

Thereupon the king, stretching his hand which bore the mark of betel-paper, placed his two fingers under Bhoja's chin and said. 3215

"You have not been captured in war nor are you even now about to become a prisoner, hein! Why then should we accept this weapon which you have handed up?" 3216

He made his submission to the king—"Sire! the reason for bearing arms is the safeguarding of the sovereign or for self defence." 3217

"While Your Majesty protects the seven seas by the flaming glory of your prowess, one sees that there is hardly any room for the use of one's own sword." 3218

"The shelter of the sovereign's feet is a haven even for the other world, that being so what need is there for other means of safety in this world?" 3219

The king replied to him, "You are now like the plaintiff who when the issue has been joined has discharged the onus; the burden on us, however, remains." 3220

Bhoja said, "I have not said anything at all to create a kindly feeling now in the Sovereign or by way of compliment save what is manifest." 3221

"What wickedness did I not plan, what harm not done to you? That which did not succeed did not come to light; this should be borne in mind." 3222

"Do we not recognise with our skinny eyes that in the House of Malla you, who are extraordinary and such as no other family has produced, have arisen as a remarkable elemental personality?" 3223

"Whenever Sire, we made a plan to do you an injury the earth each time.................. 3224

3208-3212. There are lacunæ in these verses.

3216. Aṅga is an expletive in conversation and is used like the French Hein!

3224. There is a lacuna in the text.

"The shining glory which poets by their fancy have conjured up such, Sire, we see to be yours present before our eyes." 3225

"Neither on mountain peak, nor in the cavern, nor in the defile nor in snow nor in the sylvan glade was I able to rid myself of the fever caused by your oppressive valour." 3226

"From that time onwards I desired to surrender myself but the favour of rendering homage was not obtained by me in the absence of a pact or other agreement as I was far away." 3227

"Thus, whatever the wicked acts they have been done from a desire to remove cleavage and were intended merely to show that I was very much alive but not from love of strife." 3228

"Because of our relationship to you we were waited upon by ruling princes in all directions. It is from association from the water of the Gaṅgā that the glass jar is reverenced in the world." 3229

"Even to this day the name of the Śāhi sheds lustre on an endless number of Kṣatriyas abroad who lay claim to that lineage." 3230

"When even the chief of the mountaineers had formed a coalition against you, we had to face hardships and fall ill through bad nourishment and inferior food." 3231

With such .... and having said "now the sovereign's will be done", he again touched both the feet of the king with his head. 3232

Then, in the confusion caused by the obeisance, the turban fell off from Bhoja's head, but as he rose the king invested him with his own head-dress. 3233

His own dagger and the one Bhoja had surrendered, the king placed in his lap with conciliatory words and while he protested, the king, free from emotion, spoke to him with earnestness. 3234

"These weapons given by me you should wear or preserve them as sacred. You should not have any reluctance in accepting the weapons; this is my command." 3235

As he, whose command could not be disobeyed, insisted Bhoja, who knew how to behave in an emergency, in pursuance solely of the royal wish, placed the two daggers in the lap after saluting. 3236

Thereafter the king having abandoned reserve Bhoja became, at

3230. We learn from this verse that the cadets of the royal House of Kabul upheld the traditions of their family until the middle of the 12th century.

3232. There is a lacuna in the text.

that instant, the recipient of jests and reconciliation, as if he had been an intimate for a long time. 3237

From somewhere appeared at this time the loyal Dhanya and made his obeisance..............."Your Majesty! neither life nor wealth is of any account to us unless we hear praise of your virtues and what we want is unalloyed kindly feeling on the part of the sovereign. So may Your Majesty think this over." 3238-3239

To which the king replied, "That is so; further, if we were to give vent to what is in our mind it would hardly convey our meaning." 3240

For a while having engaged on various topics of light conversation, the king then went accompanied by Bhoja, to the private apartments of the queen Raḍḍādevī. 3241

Bhoja made his obeisance and seeing her radiant with kindliness and other qualities, he thought the king united to her was like the Pārijāta united to the Kalpalatā. 3242

"He deserves to be welcomed oh queen! who has come here through friendliness and family affection", and the royal consort replied, "He is more than our sons to us." 3243

In order to let her participate in the welcome, the king, who was a fund of goodness, after this followed by Bhoja, went to the apartments of the wife, who had above all borne the burden of the affair. 3244

The shrewd queen said with a smile to Bhoja who had come with the king, "Already you have become an intimate friend of the king." 3245

Her face was lit up with the smile of modesty at the deep bow of her husband and in responding to it she spoke words of welcome referring to Bhoja. 3246

"Āryaputra! it should not be forgotten that he repudiated the advice of his own friends and that he to whom honour is the sole

3238. There is a lacuna in the text.

3242. Pārijāta=One of the five famous trees of Paradise. It was one of the jewels churned from the sea. Kṛṣṇa brought it to earth and planted it, as a gift in lieu of his love, in the courtyard of Satyabhāmā who was in love with him; the tree, however, shed its flowers in the courtyard of Rukmiṇī, Kṛṣṇa's wife, the goddess Lakṣmī!

The verses that follow contain a charming account of the conversation and private life of the king. In verse 3246 we find the king bowing to the queen and in verse 3247 occurs the word Āryaputra, a term of address for

refuge, has been transformed through affection for his kinsfolk." 3247

"Lotuses in their growth from day to day lose contact with water—their former benefactor; those like you who are the lotuses of their own family, it is meet, that you should be superior to them" 3248

"If he had not come away succumbing to the difficulty of the task we might not have succeeded in preserving our exalted status nor in returning here." 3249

"In the flood if the tree which protects the river bank falls, the creeper, which has found shelter on its trunk, would surely fall with it." 3250

"Subservience to the policy of the husband and anxious thought about his life must be carried out in such a way that no need should arise apart from him to save one's life." 3251

The king replied to her "O queen! you who are an eyewitness of all my actions, you could hardly conceive that in this matter my behaviour to him could possibly be different." 3252

"For having punished Sujji and Mallārjuna, even though they were guilty, my conscience through penitence is not free from qualms even to this day." 3253

And so Bhoja was offered by the king residence together with his retainers in a splendid mansion, but he did not consider his position would be secure away from the royal palace. 3254

For he reflected that it would become difficult to achieve conciliation with the monarch by infrequent audiences which would be the result of the unprotective isolation of residence at a distance. 3255

He received sentries from the king and................ 3256

The king appreciated his feelings and being gratified allowed him, thereupon, a dwelling place within the royal palace furnished with all appointments. 3257

The king, though serviced by his particular set as well as by others whose attachment was, in fact, dictated by self-interest, came to love Bhoja as if he had long served him. 3258

Further at the hour of repast, variety shows and other suitable

the husband, with which we are familiar in Saṁskṛta literature and drama. Above all the freedom with which Bhoja is introduced to the royal ladies is noteworthy.

3256. There is a lacuna in the text.

occasions, the king remembered him as if he were his beloved son and had him summoned to his presence by messengers. 3259

He placed him on his right, while he fed, in honour of the kinship and never failed to offer dishes and other things which he had touched or tasted. 3260

Such was the guileless affection which Bhoja entertained that...... the royal children who were infants played with him as with a relative. 3261

And as his leaning towards a straightforward course of conduct became more and more manifest, the king, too, with his milieu came to place unequivocal confidence in him. 3262

Those of the inner court who, during the conflict for the crown, had been corrupt, he pointed out and had them dismissed by the king reducing at the same time disloyalty towards the king and the number of his own enemies. 3263

By his sincere application to business within the councils he proved that he was neither slow-witted, overbearing nor a hypocrite. 3264

If an act of state on the king's part failed through error of judgment or was either inadequate or had overshot the mark he, like a petty mind on the defect of the composition of a great poet, did not harp on it. 3265

He did not brag or offer to narrate his exploits; if incidently questioned about past events he did not bend the knee. 3266

Flatterers, who suggested equality with the sovereign on the ground of kinship and the like, were compelled to hold their tongue by his eyeglances which were firm yet not impudent. 3267

Even in close contact, such was his high character that knaves, reparteeists, backbiters and others did not succeed in fathoming him. 3268

During the hours when light had ended, when there was agitation

3260. It was the custom for the king to send food from his own plate to his favourites. At the court of Chitor the bravest Sāmanta who had distinguished himself in war or sport became the recipient of such favours from the king as we know from the ballads and history of Rājputānā.

3261. There is a lacuna in the test.

3264. Bakavrata=The stork is supposed to observe the vow of silence on the edge of the water while his real object is to swallow the unwary fish: hence stork personifies the hypocrite.

3266. There is a lacuna in the text. 'Bend the knee' is an idiom like drawing the long bow.

and like disturbances, he entertained no fear when going to his residence 3269

As the king from confidence in him progressively came to relax his hold on him he, in equal measure, like a trained horse did not bolt in a temper. 3270

He always led the way for the king elsewhere, yet, while moving forward to the ladies' apartments and the council chamber, even though unforbidden, he would tarry his steps and fall in the rear. 3271

For requests to obtain what was proper he made submission with great respect in person, and kept away from the intervention of others as his mind ever had misgivings about them. 3272

Even incidents in a dream were related to the king. 3273

The mutual recriminations of the ministers and the staff of the Pure Interior, he did not recount but relegated them to oblivion like an evil dream. 3274

Although sensitive, he chimed in with ribald jokes and made repartees though at heart he was conscious of the depravity of the wit-snappers. 3275

In this way, through the actions of this prince of pure conduct the king, who was a judge of character, became attached to him and entertained greater affection for him than for his sons. 3276

And so a novel bridge was fashioned by king Jayasiṁha, to safeguard the dynasty, such as rulers in the Kali age would have found difficult. 3277

In this manner having liquidated without any remainder his troubles, the king turned his attention to Trillaka. 3278

He, however, reflecting that an escape during the season when the mountain passes were clear of snow would be difficult to accomplish, delayed relying upon his instinctive cunning. 3279

Thus, while the man was prudently waiting for a favourable moment for the journey, Sañjapāla thoughtlessly launched an offensive. 3280

With a few select troops from the capital and accompanied by a large number of natives of Devasarasa, he set foot in Mārtaṇḍa. 3281

In his arrogance, Sañjapāla did not realize that the terrain offered no obstacle to the entry of the adversary and that the provincial soldiers were without morale. 3282

3273. There is a lacuna in the text.

The following of Trillaka, despite the absence of archers, did not give up courage but joined battle with him. 3283

While he was engaged in an attack with all arms upon a Ḍāmara in another place the Lavanya Trillaka supported by an endless number of troops fought furiously in that place. 3284

Then all those, whose homes were in Devasarasa and who had loaded themselves with plundered wealth, deserting Sañjapāla melted away. 3285

While all round things were submerging, as if in a deluge at the end of the world, in the disaster caused by the enemy, the soldiers from the capital alone remained like the noble mountains. 3286

For a long time they bore the brunt of the enemy's fury under the fiercely burning sun and were slain, during the various phases of the struggle, after killing many of their opponents. 3287

When all the heroes were slain in battle, Mārtaṇḍa, through his disc being pierced by those who were his very own, was not without a few wounds himself. 3288

Radiant in battle was the son of Sañjapāla, Gayāpāla who, owing to his dexterity, although three horses were killed under him, was not observed on foot. 3289

His younger brother Jarja, a stripling, who had his first opportunity in action, astonished brave men who had witnessed countless major actions. 3290

The right arm of the commander-in-chief could not do what the left could. The sun worries the mighty tuskers with the heat, the moon splits open their tusks. 3291

Sañjapāla looked brilliant as he galloped his horse with the glittering sword in his single arm; he held his ground like a forest conflagration with its column of smoke on a winged mountain. 3292

In the thick of the enemy, in the midst of arrows, slaughter, and rout when his passage was barred, his charger threw him off its back. 3293

Injured by impact with the hard surface of the earth of his heavy armour, he lost consciousness and was carried off by his two sons from the midst of the enemy. 3294

3288. The heroes go to the region of the sun after death in battle. Mārtaṇḍa is the Sun-god,

The army having been altogether routed they lodged him in the quadrangle of the Mārtaṇḍa temple unobserved by the foe; the two of them then retreated. 3295

The king set out with such large forces as could swiftly deal with the Ḍāmara who was there and bottled him up. 3296

When the king arrived at Vijayakṣetra, Sañjapāla, who had broken through the siege, burnt down the residence of the Lavanya. 3297

Despite the wrathful king's brows being knit to such an extent, Trillaka not being impecunious easily continued to find provisions from the various regions of the mountain valleys. 3298

But he lost support and was boycotted by his family and came to be the recipient of the taunts of his subordinates, who made a display of wisdom such as is facile in misfortune. 3299

Being isolated he then severed a finger off his palm but his prayer, like a request for fruit to a monkey, to the royal wrath for his own head, was in vain. 3300

Of the sons born of the body of queen Raḍḍādevī, the eldest was named Gulhaṇa; the king had this illustrious prince annointed ruler on the throne of Lohara. 3301

The prince, who was six or seven years of age, excelled by his virtues those who were old in years, just as the mango sapling surpasses the grove of ancient trees. 3302

The queen had gone to assist at the coronation of her son; the iridescence of blood-red rubies on the tiaras of ruling chiefs paying homage, made her feet appear pink like the half ripe barley. 3303

On that occasion when the water of the coronation was being sprinkled, upon the earth parched by a severe drought the clouds, too,

3295. Piṇḍita=bottled up.

3302. The Mango has been cultivated in India from remote times. It is mentioned in the ancient Saṁskṛta Mss; excellent representations of the Mango tree are to be found in Stūpas of about 150 B.C. including the famous Barhut Stūpa. The early Chinese pilgrims, who visited India, all mention it and have recorded their impressions. In the 17th Century Van Reede, native of Holland, who visited the West Coast of India, described the numerous varieties of this queen of Indian fruits. Botanically, in India there is only one species, the Mangifera Indica of which the enormous number of varieties are but sub-divisions. The word Mango is of Tamil origin. It is commonly known as Ām from the Saṁskṛta Āmra. The Mango does not grow in Kaśmīr. K. mentions it with many other Indian trees following the traditional Kāvya rules. See VI. 367.

3303. It is noteworthy that the queen receives the homage of feudatory chiefs by holding a public levee.

released the waters as if for the purpose of annointing the earth as the queen consort. 3304

Once again Rājavadana, anxious for a resurgence of disorders, attacked Jayacandra who was energetic under orders of the king. 3305

Supported by the nephew of Nāga, he defeated in a narrow pass the pursuing troops of Jayacandra, the son of Garga, who was bringing up the rear. 3306

The son of Garga for days remained with his countenance withered through this reverse, but subsequently in a skirmish captured the leader Loṣṭhaka, the nephew of Nāga. 3307

Being difficult of access, no one had raided Dinnāgrāma; Jayacandra swiftly marched therin and having set fire to it got away with a cheap victory. 3308

Despite this, Rājavadana did not give up courage; he neither came to terms nor did he wax wroth. 3309

Day after day with diminishing troops he continued to attack the king, but he suffered repeated reverses while facing Jayacandra. 3310

Then the statesman of the country, to the stretching of whose arms and nails there existed no limits, had him killed by assassins in the secret service in the very midst of the campaign. 3311

His head, as it swung from the line of the cheeks, soon reduced the broken tree of his fortune to small pieces just when it was eager to sprout. 3312

Under the agreeable plea of the extermination of Pṛthvihara's family, the king killed also Loṭhana by the method of secret execution. 3313

Though, on one occasion, when he was besieged he had been saved by Trillaka by climbing down, he found himself in the meshes of the royal diplomacy. 3314

Mallakoṣṭha, Kṣūra, Jayya, Saḍḍacandra, and others, though alive,

3304. As the prince was yet a boy, he had no wife who could sit with him, side by side, as his queen-consort. The ceremony of coronation according to ancient Indian rites required the presence of the queen and the poet supplies the want of the queen-consort by the poetic description of the Earth acting as her proxy.

3309. There is a lacuna in the text.

were as good as dead and found their quietus through the hardships of penury. 3315

King Uccala deluded by his rise to sovereign power had failed to meditate upon the transience of life and his convent had lacked a fixed endowment. For this convent, which had been in receipt from each successive monarch of the estimated funds, king Jayasiṁha, the upholder of the dynasty, made a permanent endowment. 3316-3317

To Sullā Vihāra founded by his uncle and three temples by his father, the construction of which edifices had been half achieved, the king gave the final touches. 3318

He, of his own will, delighted the hearts of priests of unstained character and others with gifts of villages, stores and valuable market rights. 3319

In memory of his mistress, the lady Candalā with the moon-like face, who had died, he has founded a convent of surpassing splendour from whose gateway no pilgrim is turned back. 3320

Also the famous convent of Sūryamatī touched by the conflagration in the city was reconstructed by him, who is free from vanity, larger than it was before. 3321

Thereafter, when Sañjapāla had become a refugee in the other world, his son Gayāpāla was appointed to the chief command of the army by the king. 3322

Sañjapāla, though he had softened in his maturity, had been difficult to endure; his gentle son caused him to be forgotten as is the autumnal sun by the moon. 3323

During the hardships of the trying heat of summer, when the clouds make their appearance, realizing that the tree on the bank which shares its life in common is liable to destruction by a sudden fall of lightning, the flowing stream shrinks from desiring a prosperous increase in its own waters. 3324

Dhanya, from the demise of Bhikṣu up to the defeat of Bhoja, had pre-eminently borne the load of the yoke of state affairs in times of crisis for the king, whose affection for him was not shared with any one else; just when all the thorns had been removed, this devotee of the king found his death. 3325-3326

His own son at Madhurāvaṭṭa gave up his life, treating it as an offering of Ārti and Tāmbūla, to ward off disease. 3327

That king deserves to be guarded even at the cost of universal existence who, at every step, plunges into adversity firmly determined in his mind to save his subjects. 3328

From the side of the ailing Dhanya keeping company with those who were hoping for the best, the grateful king who had no sleep did not budge till the last moment. 3329

The set-back in the appearance of the king, who was devoted to his subjects, on the minister's account for a while, gave an impetus to his people in their existence. 3330

Under the dynasty of kings like Māndhātṛ and others, the subjects had been free from hardships—such at this time was the happiness enjoyed by the people. 3331

At a time when the realm was in a ferment owing to civil war, his undisputed ministership had broken through all the misfortunes of the new king. 3332

Time is indeed all powerful in public life. Under its compelling force who is not led to forget his former and later conduct? In the act of supporting the earth, Viṣṇu was enabled to be the vehicle yet later to dig it up in his incarnation of the boar. 3333

He, who upon the assassination of Sujji had become the prefect of Śrīnagara, had at first removed the maladministration of the district which had been growing since a long time. 3334

In sale transactions, the operations in Dīnnāras had ceased through lack of organization; he had checked the abuses and put them in circulation so as to prevent depression in trade and captious disputes. 3335

In the event of a lapse from chastity on the part of a married woman, the head of the household was liable to a punitive prosecution; this, upon due consideration, was stopped by him. 3336

With a single-minded devotion he had been a friend of the subjects

3327. The text in Stein's edition is evidently corrupt. Stein has not translated this verse. I have adopted the conjectural reading 'Ārātrika' in place of 'āyātrika' which makes no meaning. The son of the minister died to restore his father to health just as Babar is said to have done for the sake of his son Humayun. From the next verse it appears that the sacrifice of the youth to save an old man was considered justified because it was in the interest of the king.

in this fashion. Yet after securing the office of city prefect this very man, too, started the persecution of the people. 3337

He obstinately punished many persons who were alleged to have had sexual intercourse with dancing women who had been accepted in households as wedded wives. 3338

What use is it to dwell on defects which are like wisps of straw? As regards absence of disloyalty and freedom from covetousness, there was not another such as he was. 3339

Although owing to the exigency of the moment, he had sought shelter under Bhikṣu and Mallārjuna yet he had not sacrificed any interest of the sovereign nor had he destroyed. . . . . those two. 3340

Although he lacked unstinted liberality during the period of his prosperity, at his death, there was not money sufficient for the performance of his funeral ceremonies. 3341

What else need be said about the recognition of services on the part of the king, who honoured the dependents of Kularāja, like invited guests, as if the latter were still alive! 3342

In honour of his wife named Bijjā, who was a guest in the other world, Dhanya had commenced building a splendid Vihāra; upon his departure for the next world, the king completed the construction and made a permanent endowment for its upkeep. 3343-3344

Even those, whose sole occupation was a military life, acquired an enthusiasm for pious acts from the king's philanthropic disposition and bent their energy to works of piety. 3345

A cadet of royalty named Saṅgiya, younger brother of Kamaliya, made an endowment called after his own name. He was born in the race of those Kṣatriyas who, as their native land lay within the territorial jurisdiction of the Turuṣkas, had learnt nothing but cruelty owing to an abundant harvest of enemies. He had found occupation in Kasmīr during the very times of disorders when king Sussala was involved in the war with his rivals. 3346-3348

The Bāṇaliṅga, installed by him on the strand of the Vitastā, brings to mind the Avimukta sanctuary towering high on the bank of the Gaṅgā. 3349

3340. There is a lacuna of three syllables in the latter half of the verse.

3349. The sanctuary, referred to by K. who had no doubt visited it, still continues to attract pilgrims at Benares.

Also the convent annexed to it, whose ornaments are its anchorites, is such that after visiting it the curiosity to see the world of Rudra is suppressed. 3350

In the spoliation of other sacred foundations in these present times and the gifting away of the property of the poor, this pure-minded man had no share. 3351

The wife of Udaya, the commander-in-chief, named Cintā, adorned with a Vihāra the strand of the Vitastā. 3352

The five chapels situated in her Vihāra seemed to be the manifestation of the Law holding up its hand with the firm straight fingers. 3353

The minister for peace and war, Maṅkha, womb-brother of Alaṁkāra, became prominent by the foundation of Śrīkaṇṭha together with a convent. 3354

Through the convents, Agrahāras, restoration of dilapidated temples and his other works the younger brother of Rilhaṇa, named Sumanas, attained equality with him. 3355

By erecting a convent at Bhūteśvara and also at Trigrāmī, he offered the waters of the Kanakavāhinī and of the Vitastā to the Manes. 3356

In the region of Kaśyapāgāra, where the stream which has its rise in the Nīla flows in an easterly direction as if aspiring to rival the Gaṅgā, he, by building a bridge for cattle and the rest to cross, created a spotless piece of work capable of winning salvation from mundane existence. 3357-3358

Also in the city he erected a temple of Śiva called after his own name and a convent which contained a series of chapels to Śiva with the matted hair. 3359

He made a gold Āmalaka for the shrine of Mammeśvara and also made the precincts of Somatīrtha bright with ponds, a garden, and the rest of it. 3360

There had been kings in this dynasty who, being jealous of the high lineage or wealth, had deprived their ministers of lives, riches, or other property. 3361

Even the divine Indra hurled down in anger, from heaven, the king Māndhātṛ through jealousy of the new throne occupied by him. 3362

3351. The verse shows that the spoliation of religious foundations had become common by this time.

3360. Āmalaka=Āmalasāra; the crown on the steeple (Śikhara) of a temple common in Kaśmīr and Orissa.

But this monarch, on the contrary, with his undisturbed wits, seeing his subordinates elevated by pious acts day by day, thinks that it would add to his own glory and is delighted. 3363

His officer Rilhaṇa, by constructing gilt parasols after the clever invention of king Kalaśa, has caused him gratification. 3364

The gold sheeting at Sureśvarī on the temple, where Śiva and Pārvatī are in union, matches the lamps and the pots for illumination and is furnished with tiny bells. 3365

It seems as if Mount Meru from affection for his kinsman, the Snow Mountain, had come in the guise of the gold parasol to kiss on the forehead the daughter and the son-in-law. 3366

The flame darting from the eye of Śiva has ascended in the guise of the gold parasol having learnt this from him "the bodily union of the fair Pārvatī with me as her wooer, for the sake of which the god of Love had used his endeavour and had been burnt down, has in this spot been achieved by the loving Pārvatī." 3367

The large gold parasol erected by Rilhaṇa on the top of the shrine of Kṛṣṇa, Rukmiṇī's lover, now throws brilliant beams of light in the sky. It seems as if the sun had arrived to gaze at Viṣṇu's disc, beautiful like his own, which having strayed in intoxication engendered by the drinking of blood has since found its way to its master. 3368

In that sanctuary which teaches the noble lesson of the friendship of Śiva, the conqueror of the god who churns the mind, and of Viṣṇu whose ensign is the eagle, the gold parasol with its decorated staff and consummate workmanship of the former lord seems as if powdered with the pollen of the lotuses of the Gaṅgā scattered by the hisses of the snakes in his hair, while that of the latter is vivid like the concentrated flash of lightning which abides close to his cloud-black hair. 3369

The golden parasol forms the covering lid of the golden cavity of the cosmic egg containing the sombre and bright regalia and splendid collection of jewels of the moon-crested Śiva and Viṣṇu. 3370

3366. Pārvatī is the daughter of Himālaya.

3367. See I. 1 n.

3369. This verse illustrates the fellowship of faiths—Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism—which is characteristic of Indian religious beliefs. There are temples of Hari-Hara where the features of Viṣṇu and Śiva are represented in one image as in the Ardha-Nārīśvara image of Śiva and Pārvatī.

The king had four sons, intelligent, virtuous and distinguished, born of Raḍḍādevī, in succession to him who had become the ruler of Lohara. 3371

As Lakṣmaṇa from Rāma so is Aparāditya inseparable from Gulhaṇa and is being brought up at Lohara, where he is in residence. 3372

The infant Jayāpīḍa is flourishing being looked after by prince Lalitāditya, just as Śatrughna was by Bharata. 3373

From the king, to whom as to the sun it is a pleasure to make obeisance, has come Yaśaskara, the fifth prince royal, like the early sunshine from the sun. 3374

With his caresses which owing to his tender age are inconstant yet full of charm owing to his confiding nature, it is amazing how Lalitāditya can make even a stone wall react to his mellow influence. 3375

His olive complexion, the lower red lip and patches to guard against the evil eye have the semblance of a golden lotus with bees on it lit up by the early morning sun. 3376

His conversation is pregnant with dignity though indistinct owing to tender age and his pronunciation is, like the sound of the ocean when it was being churned, soft with ambrosia. 3377

Born in an exalted family, the prince by his dignified bearing indicates in childhood his future blossoming. 3378

.. ..
.. .. 3379

Four daughters have been born to him—Menilā, Rājalakṣmī, Padmaśrī and Kamalā, whose lives are devoted to virtuous conduct. 3380

This blameless couple with such charming little children spread joy as if they were the monsoon and a flower garden with recreation grounds and pleasure parks. 3381

In this kingdom, hallowed by sacred shrines, the riches of queen Raḍḍādevī attained a fortunate position through incessant expenditure. 3382

During pilgrimages to holy places the king's consort, with feudatories and ministers of state following in her train, appears as if she herself were the royal fortune. 3383

3379. This verse which describes a peacock returning from a pool of water seems to be a combination of different verses. It makes no sense in this context and is evidently misplaced.

In this land of Pārvatī, the numerous Tīrthas, when the queen takes a dip, soon abandon their ardent longing to secure the touch of the person of Pārvatī at bath. 3384

In fine weather during such excursions, even when the rains are over, the clouds in order to get a sight of her are ever following her as if it were monsoon. 3385

When she sets out for a bath in the terrestrial Tīrthas, the celestial Tīrthas, forsooth, being jealous of them, seek to reveal themselves in the guise of showers of rain. 3386

Neither the mountains which kiss the clouds, nor rivers which corrode the banks which, *en route*, are defficult to traverse does this lady of delicate limbs heed on account of her zeal for the Tīrthas. 3387

Through her manifold foundations and restoration of ancient buildings, the lame Diḍḍā has been outstripped in a wonderful manner by this resolute and shrewd lady. 3388

The queen consecrated to the divine Rudra the shrine named Rudreśvara with a gold Āmalasāra; it is the ornament of Kaśmīr and the essence of the world's beauty. Executed in white stone, gleaming like the nectar-giving moon, it creates the impression by its loveliness as if Rudra, the remover of the sufferings of poverty, were making the ocean of milk flow, even to his day, for the thirst of Upamanyu. She has restored the temple founded by Aśoka who had extinguished sorrow. 3389-3391

She is the refuge of the officials when the king is hot with anger, as the Himalayan river Gaṅgā is the asylum of living beings in the sea when heated by the submarine fire. 3392

Secure in the sovereign's favour the punishment and reward of even

3389. For Upamanyu see III. 276. For the temple built by Aśoka see I. 106. The Buddhist Emperor "who had extinguished sorrow" continues to rise in public estimation in the East and the West. H. G. Wells writes in the *Outline of History:* "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses, and the like, the name of Aśoka shines, and shines almost alone, like a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne." And V. Smith thus deplores the loss to India through deviation from his ethical system: "I believe that the Buddhist monasteries and nunneries in the days of their glory must have been, on the whole, powerful agencies for good in India, and that the disappearance of Buddhism was a great loss to the country."

ruling chiefs takes place unfailingly, at any moment, at her will. 3393

The son of Somapāla, the ruling chief Bhūpāla, has been raised by this proud lady to exalted rank by marriage with the princess Menilā. 3394

It is marvellous how the prestige which in a large measure one develops as a matter of course in one's birth place does not miscarry to any great extent elsewhere. The disc of the burning sun is pledged to the removal of darkness within itself; the lustre emanating from it penetrates obscurity. 3395

In cleaning his empire which was the wonder of the world, the king had to play the part as a reliable surety. When the princess Menilā was married, her husband's father Somapāla, who had a splendid state the territory of which was covered with precious stones, having unreservedly abandoned his antagonism, bestowed the crown on his son. 3396–3397

When the ruling chief Prājidhara had been killed in war by his enemies the younger brother Ghaṭotkaca looked forward keenly through the king's power to retaliate in revenge. This man of high sense of dignity took shelter under Raḍḍā and having gained the princess Rājyaśrī, O wonder! he obtained the height of royal fortune. 3398–3399

Together with the king's ministers who rendered him assistance he caused the overthrow of the ruler Pañcavaṭa, his brother's enemy, from sovereignty as well as of Prajji and Aṅgada. 3400

He traversed, owing to the king's glory which had in full measure sprinkled on him the waters of generosity, the river Kṛṣṇā which was in the enemy's sphere of influence as well as through their curved scimitars. 3401

By the defeat of Dvitīya, the ruler of Uraśā, he earned fame and through the glory of his Majesty he captured Atyugrapura which was held by the foremost warriors. 3402

In this fashion several commanders of the army, the undulating light from whose parasols gleamed like the moon, won renown at this time. 3403

3403. The age of Jayasiṁha was the age of Aryan Renaissance in Kaśmīr. As a result of the disappearance of the Śāhī Empire after the raids of Mahmud we know from his contemporary Alberuni that scholars and people of the upper

Twenty-two years had the king passed ere he secured the realm and since the acquisition of the crown by him an equal number has elapsed in the year twentyfive. 3404 *4225 L.E. 1149-1150 A.C.*

The king's mellow wisdom is such as has never been seen in another ruler; may it endure for years,—through the subjects' merits of former existence—and outlast this Kalpa! 3405

Even water, which by nature is fluid, is in time congealed as hard as a stone, and the stone having grown to perfection dissolves into water and oozes. Despite amazing imperial domination change reveals itself through the unerring might of the Time-Spirit; in whose case, in this world, is character stable on the road designed by Destiny! 3406

Epilogue

When six-hundred fifty-three years of the Kali era had elapsed, there was in Kaśmīr, Gonanda as king by virtue of vassalage to the Pāṇḍavas. 3407

Thereafter came his son Dāmodara, his wife Yaśomatī as well as his son Gonanda the second. Then passing over thirty-five kings whose grants, dynasty and names are unknown there was a king named Lava and after him his son Kuśa. 3408-3409

Then the latter's son and grandson, the two respectively called Khagendra and Surendra. Thereafter Godhara, who was born in another family, and his son named Suvarṇa. 3410

His son Janaka followed, whose son Śacīnara from the queen

classes migrated to Kaśmīr and to distant Benares. In spite of the constant fighting which took place in K.'s own times, the arts of peace flourished. The social position of women, it would appear, was at a high level. Monogamy was the rule. K. does not mention even among the ministers any instance of polygamy which was confined to the Royal family and there even it was apparently due to the need for alliances to eliminate hostility and possible sources of danger to the monarchy. After the destruction of Aryan rule, upon the defeat of Pṛthvīrāj Chauhān polygamy seems to have been practised as a rule by the nobility and the upper classes generally among the rulers. Mirza Aziz Koka, the foster brother of Akbar, of whom the emperor said "between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross," is reported to have said "A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to; a Khorasaṇi woman for his house work; a Hindu woman for nursing his children; and a woman from Mawarannahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three." Blochmann, *Ain i-Akbari*, Vol. I. p. 327.

3406. K. hesitates to make any forecast about the future policy of king Jayasiṁha. He constantly refers to the ever changing political views of statesmen whose lives and conduct, he tells us, are moulded by the influence of Time and the exigency of the hour. See IV. 308-9; VII. 792; VIII. 3333. For the subsequent history see App. K.

Saci then was king; thereafter Aśoka, who was the son of this king's great-uncle, became the ruler of the country. 3411

His son was Jalaukas and thereafter came Dāmodara who was of doubtful lineage, and after him the trio Huṣka and the others who were alike born in the Turuṣka dynasty. 3412

Then Abhimanyu and Gonanda the third and his son Vibhīṣaṇa. Next, Indrajit became king and Rāvaṇa in due succession. 3413

They were succeeded by Vibhīṣaṇa the second, Siddha and Utpalākṣa and after them came Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyakula and Vasukula. The latter's son became notorious as the slayer of three crores of people. From his son Baka was born Kṣitinanda and his son was Vasunanda. 3414-3415

Then Nara the second and Akṣa; from the latter Goptṛ and after him king Gokarṇa. After him was Narendrāditya whose son was Yudhiṣṭhira the Blind. When he was compelled to abdicate by his vassals, Pratāpāditya from another dynasty became king and then his son Jalauka. 3416-3417

Tuñjīna, his son, having died without male issue, Vijaya born in another family followed and his son Jayendra, having been without a son, the minister Saṁdhimat became king. 3418

Then sprang from the house of Gonanda the illustrious Meghavāhana, son of Bhūpāditya, and grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira. 3419

Then Pravara the second, the son of Tormāṇa and nephew of Hiraṇya, acquired the country; his son was Yudhiṣṭhira. 3420

Thereafter Narendrāditya and Raṇāditya became kings in succession; the latter's son was king Vikramāditya. 3421

Next arose Bālāditya, Raṇāditya's son, and thereafter Durlabhavardhana, the son-in-law of Bālāditya. 3422

The latter's son was Durlabhaka. Thereafter Candrāpiḍa and his younger brothers, Tārāpīḍa and Muktāpīḍa. 3423

Then became rulers the two, Kuvalayāpīḍa and then his stepmother's son Vajrāditya, who were both sons of king Muktāpīḍa. Next Pṛthivyāpīḍa and Saṁgrāmāpīda; then Jayāpīḍa became king and then his minister Jajja. Then followed in succession the two sons, Lalitāpīḍa and Saṁgrāmāpīḍa and after them came the exalted Cippaṭajayāpīḍa, who was born of the daughter of a liquor-distiller to the elder son. 3424-3426

He having been killed by witchcraft by his maternal uncle Utpala

and others, who by mutual agreement without seizing the throne for themselves placed in his stead Ajitāpīḍa, a brother's son of Jayāpīḍa and later the son of Saṁgrāmāpīḍa named Anaṅgāpīḍa. 3427–3428

Having uprooted him Utpalāpīḍa followed, but setting him aside Avantivarman, son of Sukhavarman and grandson of Utpala, was placed on the imperial throne by the minister Śūra. Then the brave Śankarvarman and Gopāla his son. 3429–3430

The latter's brother named Saṁkaṭa, who was picked up from the street, came to be the ruler and their mother Sugandhā. Having upset her the Tantrin infantry proclaimed Pārtha, great grandson of Śūravarman, as king and Nirjitavarman in succession to him. Cakravarman and a son of Nirjitavarman were at various times placed on the throne to buttress it. The minister Śambhuvardhana, in the meantime, seized the crown; having killed the latter ruler, Cakravarman succeeded and on his death followed in order the impious son of Pārtha, Unmattāvantivarman; his son Śūravarman having abdicated the throne, the minister Yaśaskara was set up to rule by the Brahmans. 3431–3435

He was followed by Varṇaṭa, the son of his grand-uncle and after him Yaśaskara's son, Saṁgrāma, the Crooked-foot, sat on the throne. Later, after deposing him his minister, named Parvagupta, seized the realm by treason. His son was Kṣemagupta. Abhimanyu, his son, went to his rest while under the guardianship of his mother. When thereafter his son Nandigupta and her grandsons Tribhuvana and Bhīmagupta had been killed by this very lady of cruel deeds who was known as Diddā, she carried on the government in her own name. She at her death nominated as king her nephew Saṁgrāmarāja. 3436–3439

Thereafter came his two sons Harirāja and Anantadeva, and Kalaśa, the son of Ananta. The two sons of Kalaśa, named respectively Utkarṣa and Harṣa, became kings in succession. After ousting king Harṣadeva, Uccala of unbridled martial ardour attained the status of royalty. He belonged to the same dynasty, being the son of Malla, who was grandson of Diddā's nephew Jassarāja. 3440–3443

When he was slain by Garga, came Salha, the step-brother of king Uccala. Having imprisoned Salha, the powerful prince Sussala, son of Malla, womb-brother of Uccala, wrested the crown. When he was driven out by the disaffected vassals, the grandson of king Harṣa,

named Bhikṣācara, was set up as king during six months. When king Sussala had regained the realm after expelling Bhikṣācara, in due course, his trusted Lavanyas fomented civil war and murdered him. Having destroyed all those Lavanyas as well as the king Bhikṣācara, the son of king Sussala, Jayasiṁha, whose forbearance is without compare, at present delights the world as the sovereign of this country. 3444-3448

As the impetuous Godāvarī with the seven mouths falls into the broad expanse of the ocean for final repose, so is gathered to rest after the swift progress of the seven resonant waves in the amplitude of the bosom of the illustrious Kāntirāja's dynasty this River of Kings. 3449

[Thus the Eighth Taraṅga of the Rājataraṅgiṇī composed by the great Kavi, the illustrious Kalhaṇa. Completed is the River of Kings, the composition of the great Kavi Kalhaṇa, son of the mighty minister the noble lord Caṇpaka.]

APPENDIX A

The late Mr. S. P. Pandit[1] considered in detail the chronology of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in order to arrive at the date of the poet Vākpati whose patron Yaśovarman of Kanauj is mentioned by Kalhaṇa as the contemporary of king Lalitāditya. The following extracts from the Notes of that learned scholar will be found interesting.

"As far as the account of the *Rajatarangini* is concerned, it may be said that that work incidentally but unmistakably bears first upon the history of Yashovarma, and secondly upon his date. It may not be out of place here to give a summary of the particulars narrated by the *Rajatarangini* which concern the hero of the *Gaudavaho*. They are contained in the account regarding king Lalitaditya of the Karkota or Naga dynasty of Kashmir. Lalitaditya is described as having held imperial sway over India, and brought several trans-Indian regions bordering upon Kashmir under subjection. He was most powerful and was dreaded by his enemies. He spent nearly all his life in expeditions of conquest. He levied tribute from the eastern kings, by which are probably meant the then rulers of Oude and Northern Behar, and wore the turban of victory in the Antarvedi or the region between the Ganges and the Jamna. After the subjugation of the eastern kings the very first victory he obtained was a bloodless one over King Yashovarma of Kanauj. He is described as having in no time dried him up, even as the powerful sun of the harvest season dries up a stream that has been flowing down a hill-side during the previous rains. 'The king of Kanauj showed himself to be one who eminently knew what was the best thing to do, when he gave his back to Lalitaditya, and became his obedient servant. But his allies were more proud than even he was, for the breeze bearing the perfume of the sandal, though only an ally of a flower-garden, is taller than the garden itself.' It appears that the peace was made between Yashovarma and Lalitaditya against the wishes of Mitrasarma, the latter's minister of peace and war, and that Lalitaditya's soldiers felt dissatisfied that a treaty was made between the two kings before they (the soldiers) had gratified their desire of fighting by long warfare. Mitrasarma appears to have indicated his dissent in the treaty when it was written. Accordingly, when the allies of Yashovarma showed fight, Lalitaditya took advantage of the adverse advice of his minister of peace and war as also of the bellicose attitude of his army, and, after the unsuccessful opposition of Yashovarma's friends, deposed the king of Kanauj and rewarded his own minister with the five great titles. 'Yashovarma, in whose service were the poets Vakpati, Bhavabhuti and others, having thus been conquered, became a dependent

[1]Edited, inter alia, several works of Kālidāsa for the Bombay Sanskrit Series, the Atharva Veda, the Ṛg Veda (incomplete), the Prākṛta poem *Gauḍavaho;* compiled a dictionary of Prākṛta etc. etc.

of Lalitaditya employed in proclaiming his praises like a court bard. Why say more? The land of Kanauj from the banks of the Yamuna to the banks of the Kalika came under his sway, as if it had been a yard attached to his house. Having thus subjugated Yashovarma, even as the river Ganges goes down the Himalaya, his army proceeded to the regions of the Eastern Sea.' Then we are told that he seized all the elephants in the kingdom of the Gaudas. He went on conquering one kingdom after another of the southern peninsula, including the 'Seven Konkans,' and the regions to the west, and, returning to the north, he subjugated the people of Bukhara, the Bhauttas and other peoples. Wherever he went he built towns and cities, and erected temples in them dedicated to different deities, giving lands for the maintenance of the temples. To the god Aditya in the city of Lalitapura, which he built and named after himself, he gave Kanauj with the territory attached to it.

Lalitaditya was a great and good ruler, or rather a brilliant and generous victor. But Kalhana, with true historical instinct, rarely to be found among the class of writers to which he belongs, mentions some acts of folly and injustice of which that king was guilty. Among the latter it is related that while living in Parihasapura, a city built by himself, he caused the king of the Gaudas to be murdered in Trigrami. The followers of the Gaudian king were, the author of the *Rajatarangini* tells us, wonderfully brave, most loyal and ready to give up their lives in avenging the death of their king. They travelled all the way to and entered Kashmir under the pretext of visiting the goddess Sharada, and in a body surrounded the temple of Madhyastha-Deva, a shrine that was a favourite of Lalitaditya. The latter being absent in distant regions, the priests of the besieged temple closed the gates and shut themselves up within. The Gaudians attacked another god called Ranasvami and, mistaking it for Parihasa-Hari or Madhyastha-Deva, rooted it out and broke it to pieces, which they threw in all directions. They were, however, pursued by the soldiers and mercilessly cut down, glad to die after having taken their revenge. The Gaudian heroes were as brave and impetuous, as if they were Rakshasa, and fell upon the prey, the god Parihasa-Keshava or Parihasa-Hari, the most favourite god of Lalitaditya. The prey was saved by the sacrifice of the god Ranasvami. 'The world was deprived of the shrine of Ranasvami, it is true, and the temple is still empty and abandoned, but the world is filled with the renown of the heroes of the Gaudian country, who sacked it in revenge, of their master's death.'

This is all in the history of king Lalitaditya that bears upon that of Yashovarma. Lalitaditya, according to the *Rajatarangini*, must have come to the throne in 695 A.D. He is recorded to have reigned thirty-six years, seven months and eleven days, between 695 and 732 A.D. Accordingly, his conquest of Kanauj and destruction of the sovereignty of Yashovarma, if that was really achieved, must have occurred in the first ten years or so of the eighth century, if not earlier.

Out of the account given in the *Rajatarangini* we may safely accept as true without any doubt these facts: first, that Yashovarma was a contemporary of king Lalitaditya of Kashmir; second, that he did not, when attacked by the latter in his expedition of conquest, come off successful, and had to become his vassal, if, indeed, he was not entirely deprived of his throne; third, that Vakpati and Bhavabhuti were poets at his court; and fourth, that Lalitaditya reigned for thirty-six years, seven months and eleven days. I say the defeat, if not the total ruin of Yashovarma by Lalitaditya, may be accepted as a fact, because Kalhana shows throughout his part of the *Rajatarangini* that he is a safe witness as to the main facts of his narrative, not only as a compiler or chronicler of accounts, which he found in the old chronicles that served as materials for his own, but even as a critical and discriminating historian. He often relates incidents recorded by the previous chroniclers, but does not hesitate to throw doubt on their character, or even reject them as unworthy of credence, when he believes that such is the case. It is possible that the old records, which contained the narrative of Lalitaditya's reign and his achievements, may have exaggerated the extent of their greatness. But Kalhana's way of recounting the history of Lalitaditya's doings in the Doab, and the particulars detailed concerning the treaty at first concluded between the two kings, do seem to entitle the account to be accepted as true enough in the main. To these considerations may be added this one—viz. that Vakpati, who began his *Gaudavaho* with the professed intention of narrating the circumstances, under which Yashovarma slew the king of the Gaudas, not only ends so far as we yet know, without saying anything about the matter, but has also given clear indications of doubts whether the slaying of the Gaudian king by Yashovarma should be narrated at length after all as if a great calamity had befallen his hero, which discredited his renown, and justified hesitation on the part of our poet, whether he should relate the achievement of his patron over his enemy, when he had himself been reduced or been deprived of his throne by a superior foe. It is somewhat disappointing that Yashovarma's enemy, the Gaudian king, is not even named by Vakpati; and more so, that Lalitaditya too is described by Kalhana as having caused a king of the Gaudas to be slain. This king too is not named, and might either be the successor of the one whom Yashovarma killed or a king of another part of the Gaudian country. It may be mentioned in this connection that a king of the Gaudas is mentioned and named in the narrative which Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* furnishes of the reign of Jayapida who is said to have married Kalyani, the daughter of Jayanta, the king of the Gaudas, and after having conquered the five Gaudian peoples, to have made his father-in-law Jayanta supreme king over them all.

Although, however, the duration of the reign of Lalitaditya as given by Kalhana must undoubtedly be accepted as correct, it is the opinion of some scholars that his date does not seem to rest upon the same firm basis of certainty and accuracy. The date is not, it is quite true, mentioned

anywhere by Kalhana, but has to be obtained by calculation; and although the results of the calculation, which fix the dates of many of the kings named by Kalhana, may be as a matter of fact quite correct as having, to him rested on independent evidence not available to us, part of the materials of that calculation are not quite so satisfactory in every respect as to put the conclusions to be drawn therefrom beyond all doubt on their uncorroborated authority. The chief materials from which the date is deduced are: first, the date of Kalhana, Shake 1070—or A.D. 1148; second, the date of Gonanda III, who reigned 2330 years before Shake 1070; and third, the names as well as the durations of the reigns of the kings that reigned between those two points of time. Now, though the date of Kalhana, as given by himself, must be perfectly correct, the same cannot be said, it may be urged, of the period that had passed from Gonanda III to the date of Kalhana, and of the durations of the reigns of the kings that had passed up to the date of Lalitaditya. The names of the kings and the durations of their reigns may be given here, I think, with advantage. They are as follows:—

Kings of the Gonanda Dynasty—Group I

B. C.				Ys.	ms.	ds.
1184	1.	Gonanda III.	reigned for ..	35	0	0
1149	2.	Bibhishana I. ..	.. ,, ..	53	6	0
1095	3.	Indrajit	.. ,, ..	35	0	0
1060	4.	Ravana	.. ,, ..	30	6	0
1030	5.	Bibhishana II. ..	.. ,, ..	35	6	0
994	6.	Nara I alias Kinnara ..	.. ,, ..	39	9	0
955	7.	Siddha	.. ,, ..	60	0	0
895	8.	Utpalaksa	.. ,, ..	30	0	0
864	9.	Hiranyaksa	.. ,, ..	37	7	0
827	10.	Hiranyakula ..	.. ,, ..	60	0	0
767	11.	Vasukula	.. ,, ..	60	0	0
707	12.	Mihirakula nicknamed Trikotiha, (killer of three crores of people)	..	70	0	0
637	13.	Baka	.. ,, ..	63	0	0
574	14.	Kshitinanda	.. ,, ..	30	0	0
544	15.	Vasunanda	.. ,, ..	52	0	0
491	16.	Nara II.	.. ,, ..	60	0	0
431	17.	Aksha	.. ,, ..	60	0	0
371	18.	Gopaditya	.. ,, ..	60	0	6
311	19.	Gokarna	.. ,, ..	57	11	0
253	20.	Narendra I alias Khimkhila	.. ,, ..	36	3	10
217	21.	Yudhishthira I. ..	..No period is mentioned			
			Total Gonandas, Group I ..	1014	9	9

The Vikramaditya Dynasty—Group 2

B. C.			Ys.	ms.	ds.
169	22.	Pratapaditya I. .. .. ,, ..	32	0	0
137	23.	Jalaukas .. .. .. ,, ..	32	0	0
105	24.	Tunjina I. .. .. .. ,, ..	36	0	0
		Change of dynasty ("Anyakulajo Raja")			
69	25.	Vijaya .. .. .. ,, ..	8	0	0
61	26.	Jayendra (dynasty ends) .. .. ,, ..	37	0	0
24	27.	Sandhimati alias Aryaraja (Jayendra's minister) ..	47	0	0
		Total Vikramadityas and others, Group 2	192	0	0

The Gonandas restored—Group 3

24	28.	Meghavahana reigned for ..	34	0	0
58	29.	Pravarasena I. alias Tunjina II	30	0	0
88	30.	Hiranya and Toramana (dynasty interrupted)	30	2	0
118	31.	Matrigupta the poet, (Protègè of the great Vikramaditya of Ujjain defeater of the Sakas) .. .. ,, ..	4	9	1
		The Gonandas restored			
123	32.	Pravarasena II .. .. ,, ..	60	0	0
183	33.	Yuddhishthira II .. .. ,, ..	21	3	0
204	34.	Narendra II alias Lakshana .. ,, ..	13	0	0
217	35.	Ranaditya alias Tunjina III .. ,, ..	300	0	0
517	36.	Vikramaditya .. .. ,, ..	42	0	0
559	37.	Baladitya .. .. .. ,, ..	37	4	0
		Total Gonandas after the first restoration, Group 3	572	6	1

The Karkota or Naga Dynasty—Group 4

396	38.	Durlabhavardhana alias Prajnaditya ,, ..	36	0	0
632	39.	Durlabhaka alias Pratapaditya II .. ,, ..	50	0	0
682	40.	Chandrapida .. .. ,, ..	8	8	0
691	41.	Tarapida .. .. .. ,, ..	4	0	24
		Total Karkotas up to the end of Tarapida ..	98	8	24
		Grand total up to the end of Tarapida	1,878	0	4

695 42. Muktapida alias Lalitaditya

Deducting the period of 1,878 years, and 4 days from 2,333 years, 7

months and 15 days, we get 455 years, 7 months and 11 days before Kalhana (the end of Śake 1072) or Shake 616 years, 4 months and 19 days, or with the addition of seventy-eight years, two months and fourteen days, the difference between the Shake and Christian eras, A.D. 694 years, 7 months and 3 days, i.e. the 3rd of August 695 as the end of the reign of Tarapida or, which is the same thing, as the accession of king Lalitaditya.

Looking, however, over the list, we may observe, that besides the improbably long periods assigned to most of the kings of the first group, eleven out of the twenty-one kings have figures which are too suspiciously round (three thirty-fives, six sixties one seventy and one thirty) to reasonably demand unquestioning credence. Then we have the fact that the length of the reign of Yudhishthira I (No. 21) is not mentioned, but has to be inferred to have extended to forty-eight years and ten days, from the circumstance that the total period of the twenty-one kings of the group is stated by Kalhana at the end of the Taranga to be one thousand and fourteen years, nine months and nine days. In group 2 there is nothing extraordinary to raise suspicion, except perhaps the absence of months and days. The third group at once arrests attention at No. 35, Ranaditya, who is put down as having reigned for the extraordinary period of 300 years. It is said that Ranaditya married the goddess Kali, who was born as a princess in order to become his wife, and that through her he was enabled to live so long. It is probable that the period of three hundred years is like those of which Kalhana tells us the detailed history was lost, and that the name of one king only who reigned in that period being known, the whole period was assigned to a dynasty lost to history, or to anarchy, or to foreign government, or to displaced kings, is of course such as cannot be accepted as accurate without independent evidence, and it is impossible to say what was the exact period of which no history was forthcoming.

The list distinctly improves with the fourth group or with the beginning of the Karkota or Naga dynasty. There is in that group nothing that is suspicious. There the periods of reigns assigned to the kings also become more and more detailed by the addition of months and days, and appear to belong to easy and everyday probabilities by being short.

The remarks I have just made on the defects of the list up to the end of the third group do not, however, justify suspicions as to the general correctness of the periods assigned to the various dynasties or to individual kings, especially after the beginning of group 2. Though we may not feel prepared to accept the correctness of the periods assigned to the kings in the first group, there is no reason to doubt that from Gonanda III to the revolution which compelled Yudhishthira I (No. 21), to quit his capital and go into exile, the period given by Kalhana viz. 1,014 years, 9 months and 9 days, is the period that had actually passed. For Kalhana must have given the figure on the authority of the previous chronicles, lists of kings, memoirs and inscriptions which he mentions at the commencement of his *Tarangini*,

and which he must have critically examined. The period assigned to group 2, as also the reigns given to the six kings thereof, must likewise be considered to have been based upon the author's materials derived from the same sources similarly examined. Whatever may be said—and much can be said—against the years of the ten kings (28-37) comprised within group 3, we may safely accept as correct the period of 572 years, 6 months and one day, which Kalhana gives to that group. The four reigns of group 4 which produced the accession of Lalitaditya appear to be free from objection.

There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the correctness of the date of Lalitaditya's accession, A.D. 695, (which is the date, supplied as above, by the *Rajataragnini*, and not A.D. 696, as has hitherto been supposed), until independent facts are brought forward to show that it must be set aside in favour of another. General Cunningham in his learned, laborious and valuable work, *Ancient Geography of India* (Buddhist period), has adopted a correction of thirty-one years, so that the accession of Lalitaditya falls, according to him, in A.D. 727 (he takes 696 A.D. as the accepted date of Lalitaditya's accession) instead of in A.D. 695. My esteemed and honoured friend Professor G. Bühler has accepted this correction on the additional authority of the Jains, who state that Yashovarma was living in Samvat 800 or A.D. 744. Other orientalists, Professor Max Müller among them, have acquiesced in the correction on the authority of General Cunningham and Professor G. Bühler. Any one, therefore, who does not feel convinced by the view of the eminent scholars just named, can only venture to differ from them with considerable hesitation. Accordingly I need not apologise for a somewhat lengthy examination of the grounds of the correction, and of the reasons which might be relied upon in favour of the date supplied by the Kashmirian chronology. General Cunningham bases his conclusion in favour of his correction of thirty-one years on the following data, viz.:—

(1) that when Hiouen-Thsang,[2] the Chinese traveller, entered Kasmir in A.D. 631, the younger brother of the king's mother came to meet him; that according to the *Rajatarangini* the reigning king in Kashmir in A.D. 631 was Pratapaditya II, but that Pratapaditya's mother had no brother, so that there must be a mistake in the history given by Kalhana; probably Pratapaditya's father Durlabhavardhana alias Prajnaditya was the reigning king in A.D. 631; that Hiouen-Thsang passed two years in Kashmir; and that, therefore, Pratapaditya must have come to the throne at least three years after the year 631 A.D.; there is, therefore, a mistake in Kalhana's chronicle amounting to three years at least.

(2) that according to M. Remusat[3], Chandrapida, the son and successor

[2]The spelling adopted by modern scholars is Hsüan-Tsang.

[3]*Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques* par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris (Schubart et Heideloff) 1829.

of Pratapaditya, applied to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs; the date of the application is A.D. 713, while, according to the native chronology, Chandrapida reigned "from A.D. 680 to 688," which shows an error of not less than 25 years.

(3) that about A.D. 720 the emperor granted the title of king to Chandrapida; Chandrapida must, therefore, have been living as late as the previous year A.D. 719, which makes the error in the Kashmirian chronology amount to exactly 31 years.

Now as regards the first point, it may be observed that the reigning king in Kashmir in A.D. 631 was not Pratapaditya, as General Cunnigham supposes, but his father Durlabhavardhana or Prajnaditya, and Pratapaditya, according to calculation, did not come to the throne till towards the close of the year 632 A.D. The inaccuracy, therefore, of three years based upon the supposition that Pratapaditya, who had no uncle, was the reigning prince in A.D. 631 must, it is clear, be given up as altogether untenable.

As regards the statement that Chandrapida, and Muktapida alias Lalitaditya applied for aid to the emperor of China, and that the date of Chandrapida's application is A.D. 713, whereas Chandrapida, according to Kalhana, must have reigned "from A.D. 680 to 688," I find that the reigns of both Chandrapida and Muktapida are given at great length by the Kashmirian historian. But during the reign of neither is any mention made of any trouble by the Mlechhas, as the Arabs would be called, nor indeed by any foreign enemy or invaders. Kalhana frequently mentions such trouble whenever it has occurred, or even trouble caused by the neighbouring tribes or enemies immediately beyond the border, but no mention of any foreign invasion, threatened or actual, is made in the account of the two kings. It does not appear, that the memoirs from which he was compiling his account of the two reigns were meagre or of the nature of summaries. Even little incidents, involving the grant of compensation for land taken up for building a temple, are noticed in the reign of Chandrapida. Peace, internal and external, is stated to have been the characteristic of Chandrapida's reign. As regards the alleged application by Lalitaditya, that appears even more improbable. The account of his reign is particularly detailed, and so full, both as regards his internal and external policy, that it is not credible that a mention or reference to an invasion of his kingdom by the Arabs could have been omitted. Nor is it likely that any invasion by the Arabs could have taken place or been threatened during his reign, which was one of aggression all round and full of brilliant victories. He is described as having carried his arms of conquest far beyond the borders of Kashmir towards the north and the north-west, and to have died in an expedition of conquest towards Persia (Aryanaka). No mention is made of any foreign invasion. I do not think it is possible that Lalitaditya could have or even need have applied to the emperor of the Chinese for aid. We have further to remember that, if invasions by the Arabs had taken

place or been threatened both during the reigns of Chandrapida and of Muktapida, the fact, on account of its repeated character, would have become so noted, (the difference between the accession of Chandrapida and that of Muktapida being barely eight years and nine months), that it would certainly have been referred to by the chronicler of the latter's reign, and then repeated by Kalhana in his own narrative. We must, therefore, reject as unfounded or mistaken, the statement that Chandrapida and Muktapida applied to the emperor of China for aid against the Arabs, even if we felt satisfied that M. Remusat correctly restored the Sanskrit names from his Chinese text, and correctly identified them with those of the Kashmir kings.

I am afraid we cannot treat in a better way the Chinese statement that the title of king was bestowed by the emperor of China on Chandrapida about the year A.D. 720. For, among other reasons, it is not enough, when we have to deal with such a list of kings as that given by the *Rajatarangini* from Vikramāditya, No. 36, to Utpalapida, No. 54, merely to say that there is some mistake amounting to 31 years in the native chronology, but we must show where exactly that mistake lies. For the periods of reigns of the kings comprised in the list just referred to have been given in considerable detail, presumably after they were verified by Kalhana with the aid of the inscriptions on temples and other public buildings erected by those kings, most of which were extant in his time, as also by the various chronicles, memoirs, lists and other records, which he mentions at the beginning of his work.

As regards the Jain statement that Yashovarma was living in Samvat 800 or A.D. 744, it may be observed that, so far as we know there is nothing to make that statement, even if it be found to be based upon such reliable testimony as to be accurate, necessarily inconsistent with the earlier date of A.D. 695 being assigned to the accession of Lalitaditya. For Yashovarma may have had a long reign, beginning from some date anterior to A.D. 695 (a supposition not quite necessary to make) and ending by some year after A.D. 744. He may have continued to reign as a vassal of Lalitaditya after his subjugation by that king, and to reign even after the latter's death. But, as a matter of fact, the statements of the Jains have little or no value at all as bearing upon the date of Yashovarma, as I have shown at considerable length in a separate note already referred to.

There is, however, a different way of arriving at the date of Lalitaditya's accession (A.D. 695), which satisfactorily proves that the correction of 31 years, which has been proposed, cannot be accepted. This method is the method of calculating back from the date of the finishing of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* to the accession of Lalitaditya. I call this a different method, because the dates and reigns of the kings from Lalitaditya up to Jayasimha, the contemporary of Kalhana, rest on a far more sure and certain basis than those of most of the earlier predecessors of Lalitaditya. This will become apparent from the following continuation of the list.

The Karkota dynasty continued—Group 4

A.D.					Ys.	ms.	ds.
695	42.	Muktapida alias Lalitaditya	reigned for	..	36	7	11
732	43.	Kuvalayapida.. ..	,,	..	1	0	15
733	44.	Vajraditya Vappiyaka alias Lalitaditya II	,,	..	7	0	0
740	45.	Prithivyapida	,,	..	4	1	0
744	46.	Sangramapida ..	,,	..	7	0	0
751	47.	Jayapida	,,	..	31	0	0
	48.	Jajja (brother-in-law and minister of Jayapida's usurper)	,,	..	3	0	0
785	49.	Lalitapida	,,	..	12	0	0
797	50.	Prithivyapida II, alias Sangramapida II	,,	..	7	0	0
804	51.	Chippatajayapida alias Brihaspati (son of Lalitapida by a concubine) ..	,,	..	12	0	0
816	52.	Ajitapida, son of Chippata's brother, deposed and succeeded by	,,	..			
	53.	Anangapida (son of Sangramapida)	,,	..	41	0	0
	54.	Utpalapida (son of Ajitapida)	,,	..			
		Total up to the end of the fourth Taranga	,,	..	260	5	20

Change of dynasty—Group 5

857	55.	Avantivarma (son of Sukhavarma, son of Utpala, brother of the concubine above referred to), from (Phalg. kr. 1) of 31 to Ashadh. s. 3 of 59 ..	,,	..	27	4	18
884	56.	Sankaravarma, up to Phalg. kr. 7 of 77	,,	..	18	7	19
903	57.	Goplavarama ..	,,	..	2	0	0
	58.	Sankata	,,	..	0	0	10
905	59.	Sugandha, queen ..	,,	..	2	0	0

Dynasty changed

	60.	Nirjitavarma alias Pangu (grandson of Suravarma). He hardly reigned at all, when he was succeeded by his son, 10 years old, named.					
907	61.	Partha, up to Pausa. kr. 1 of 97, i.e. for 19 yrs., 9 ms., 23 ds., less by 4 ys. 0 ms, 10 dys of Gopala, Sankata and Sugandha ..	,,	..	15	9	13

A.D.				Ys. ms. ds.
923		Nirjitavarma or Pangu again up to Magh. kr. 1 of 98	reigned for	1 1 0
924	62.	Chakravarma, up to Magh. kr. 1 of 9	,, ..	11 0 0
935	63.	Suravarma, up to Ashadh. kr. 1 of 10	,, ..	1 0 0
936		Partha again, up to Ashadh. kr. 1 of 11	,, ..	0 5 0
936		Chakravarma again up to Jyesh. s. 8 of 13	,, ..	1 11 23
938	64.	Unmattavanti, up to Ashadh. kr. 1 of 15	,, ..	2 0 7
		Total years, Group 5, end of the 5th Taranga ..		83 4 0

Dynasty changed—Group 6

940	65.	Yashaskara, up to Bhad. kr. 3 of 24, including		
	66.	Varnata who reigned a few days before Yashaskara's death	,, ..	9 0 0
949	67.	Sangramadeva, up to Phalg. kr. 10 of 24	,, ..	0 6 8
950	68.	Parvagupta, up to Ashadh. kr. 13 of 26	,, ..	1 4 4
951	69.	Ksemagupta, up to Paush. s. 1 of 34	,, ..	8 6 3
960	70.	Abhimanyu, up to Kart. s. 3 of 48	,, ..	13 10 3
973	71.	Nandigupta, up to Marg. s. 12 of 49	,, ..	1 1 9
975	72.	Tribhuvana, up to Marg. s. 5 of 51	,, ..	1 11 23
976	73.	Bhimagupta	,, ..	5 0 0
981	74.	Didda, Queen, up to Bhad. s. 8 of 79	,, ..	22 9 3
		Total years, Group 6, end of the 6th Taranga ..		64 0 23

Dynasty changed—Group 7

1004	75.	Sangramaraja, up to Ashadh. kr. 1 of 4	,, ..	24 9 8
1029	76.	Hariraja, up to Asahdh. s. 8	,, ..	0 0 22
1029	77.	Ananta, up to Kart. s. 6 of 39, when he crowned his son Kalasa	,, ..	35 3 28

A.D.				Ys. ms. ds.
1064	78.	Kalasa, up to Marg. s. 6 of 65	reigned for	26 1 0
1090	79.	Utkarsa and Harsa, up to Bhad 5. of 77	,, ..	11 8 29
		Total years, Group 7, end of the 7th Taranga		97 11 27
		Dynasty changed—Group 8		
1102	80.	Uchchala, up to Paush. s. 6 of 87	,, ..	10 4 1
1113	81.	Radda alias Sankha ..	,, ..	0 0 1
1113	82.	Salhana, up to Vais. s. 3 of 88	,, ..	8 0 26
		Dynasty changed		
1113	83.	Sussala up to Phalg. new moon of 3 including 6 ms., 12 ds. of		
	84.	Bhikshachara	,, ..	15 9 27
1129	85.	Vijayasimha, still reigning in the 25th year or A.D. 1151, i.e. Shake 1072	,, ..	22 0 0
		Total to end of Shake 1072, or A.D. 1151, i.e. ..		48 5 25

Now counting back from the date to which Kalhana carries his narrative, which, for the sake of convenience, we will suppose is the close of the year Shake 1072, we come to the same date to which we came before, and regarding the reliableness of which as based on Kalhana's materials up to Lalitaditya we have already remarked. Thus:—

		Ys. ms. ds.
Period from the accession of Lalitaditya to the end of the Karkota dynasty, or Taranga IV	reigned for	161 8 26
Do. from the end of the Karkotas to the end of Unmattavanti, or Group 5	,,	83 4 0
Do. from the end of Unmattavanti to the end of Didda, Queen, or Group 6	,,	64 0 23
Do. from the end of Didda, Queen, to the end of Utkarsha or Group 7	,,	97 11 27
Do. from the end of Utkarsha up to the date when Jayasimha had reigned 22 years, or up to the end of Kalhana's narrative, end of Shake 1072, Group 8	,,	48 5 25
Total years up to end of Kalhana's narrative, end of Shake 1072	,,	455 7 11

At the beginning of his *Rajatarangini* Kalhana says that the cycle year of the era used in Kashmir was 24, and that at the time he speaks 1070 years of the Shaka era had already passed. At the end of his book he says that the cycle year is 25, and that in the latter year Jayasimha had from the time of his accession to the throne passed twenty-two years. Jayasimha came to the throne on the new-moon day of Phalguna of the year 3, so that he must have finished his twenty-second year on the new-moon day of Phalg. 25, or just a fortnight before the end of that year. If, therefore, we suppose that Kalhana began his work in the early part of the year 24, he took just two years to finish it. Further, when he says that in the year 24 of the local cycle 1,070 years of the Shaka era had passed, we have taken this to mean that he began his work in the very early part of that year, almost on the new year's day; so that we have got to deduct the number of 455 years, 7 months, 11 days from 1,070, which gives us 616 years, 4 months, 19 days Shake, or the 3rd of August 695, A.D., as the calculation date of Lalitaditya's accession.

When the date of the king from whom we start, viz., Gonanda III and the date up to which the narrator brings us are known, when the period between the two dates is also known, and lastly, when the periods of the reigns of the kings who reigned during that period are given, the date of any king in the list must of course be the same whether counted up from the beginning or back from the end; and I am aware that this objection may be taken to the importance I attach to the agreement between the dates obtained above by the methods referred to. But the support I seek is from the fact that the part of the list, over which we go in counting back from the date of Kalhana, is made up of dates and periods obviously so unassailable on account of their details, as also on account of the very detailed and apparently reliable account given of the reigns of the kings, that the result of the count-back must be accepted as independent and unassailable, unless undeniable facts are brought forward to justify any suspicions of error.

Those that accept the correction of thirty-one years have to show how the mistake of such a period is to be adjusted; that is to say, they have to show where it occurs in the list of kings, and how the list is to be corrected throughout. If it occurs anywhere in that portion of the list which precedes the reign of Lalitaditya, and if they accordingly bring down his accession by thirty-one years, they will have to alter all the dates of the kings subsequent to Lalitaditya even up to Jayasimha, the contemporary of Kalhana. I feel sure no one will seriously venture to do this, as no one can assert that all the dates of the kings, from Jayasimha back to where the mistake may be supposed to have occurred before the time of Lalitaditya, are wrong including Kalhana's own date, in fact. As for the post-Lalitaditya part of the list, I do not see the likelihood of a mistake of thirty-one years occurring anywhere in it. It is this fact which attaches especial value to the agreement of the date of Lalitaditya, obtained by the two ways of counting which

I have mentioned above. Differing, therefore, very reluctantly from General Cunningham and my friend Professor G. Bühler, I venture to hold that in all that the former has urged, or in all that may be derived from the statements of the Jains, no such facts as will justify any suspicions of error have been brought forward, and my conclusion, therefore, is that A.D. 695 is the correct date of the accession of Lalitaditya.

* * * *

As I have relied chiefly upon the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana in establishing that Lalitaditya's accession occurred in 695 A.D. and, consequently in placing Yashovarma and his eulogist Vakpati in the latter part of the 7th and the first part of the 8th century, the question naturally arises: how far is Kalhana to be regarded as a trustworthy chronicler of the dates and events of the kings of Kashmir? Unfortunately, in India, authors writing about kings as purely human characters, and about purely human events, especially with dates, are rare; and unfortunately, those that write about the two are so justly chargeable with the fault of writing for effect, and with using most extraordinarily exaggerated language, that it should not be a matter for wonder if scholars should at first distrust a solitary writer like Kalhana, when he comes forward and claims to be heard as a chronicler of actual events recorded historically, especially when he writes in verse, and writes, to a certain extent, as a poet. When every one, whom you have known, has told fables or at least has mixed a little truth with manifold falsehood or exaggeration, you would doubt whether you could believe your eyes and ears when, as a singular case, somebody comes forward and claims to be heard as a historian or as a chronicler of true events. Naturally enough all the presumptions would be against the veracity of the solitary witness. Under other circumstances he would be accorded some considerable credence; but here, in the company of story-tellers, he would be required first to prove his veracity and even to demonstrate it thoroughly before he can get a hearing; and, if that is impossible or difficult to accomplish owing to the nature of the evidence proffered, the witness is sure to be told that unless he is corroborated by a perfect stranger, he is entitled to no credit whatsoever. If he stammers or hesitates in his speech by a natural defect, he is suspected to do so because he finds it difficult to be straightforward in his cooked up and false narrative. If his interpreters have not quite correctly understood him, their difficulties are but too convincing a proof of the want of veracity in the witness, because all presumptions are against him. Further if one person, under the circumstances we have here set forth, has refused to believe part of this narrative, everybody else, without seeing him and examining him personally, is but too apt to follow suit, and to say that he cannot believe him. Part of his evidence is hearsay, though hearsay at second-hand only, and the rest such as consists of what he knows personally. Though he distinguishes between the two kinds, and sets forth the names of those from whom he received his hearsay, and is even careful to say which of his informants he believes and which he

does not, and though he tells you which part of his hearsay information is of a doubtful character, you would suspect that, as all presumptions are against him, he will in all likelihood exaggerate or falsify by adding to or cutting down the second-hand statements of his informants, and would say that, unless those informants are produced before you and examined by you, you would not believe the hearsay evidence of the witness, as even hearsay. Even the dress and appearance of the witness would prejudice you against him. He is rough, you will say, he is unrefined, he appears to hide his feelings and his thoughts, and his inside is not transparent through his countenance; and all this you would put against him as indicative of a desire to deceive you. If at times his answers appear to be very easy to understand and consistent, you would feel inclined to say that that is the result of an endeavour to make falsehood look like truth, because, forsooth, the nature of that part of his narrative is such that its details cannot be consistent.

This is not very far from what has actually happened to the author of the *Rajatarangini*, the only work hitherto discovered in India having any pretensions to be considered as a history, or at least as a chronicle of human events brought about by human means, and narrated for the most part in human ways.

Kalhana wrote in Shake 1070 or A.D. 1148-49. But the period to which his narrative extends begins, according to him, from 1184 B.C. and comes down to the year A.D. 1150-51, or a length of over 2333 years. Indeed, he takes cognizance of a previous period of 1226 years which preceded B.C. 1184, as one during which some fifty-two princes reigned in Kashmir, but gives no account of them because he found no records about them existing in his time. Indeed, even the names of many of them are unknown. Accordingly all that he does in regard to the prehistoric period of 1266 years is to enumerate as many of the prehistoric fifty-two kings as he can, and perhaps in the order in which they were believed to have reigned, and, after enumerating such public monuments as their names were connected with as their founders or promoters, proceeds at once to his main narrative which begins with king Gonanda III, whom he places in B.C. 1184. As the prehistoric period of 1266 years is a blank on account of "no poets having recorded the deeds of the kings" who reigned during that period, or rather because the records of that period were lost, and as he is enabled to give a narrative of the subsequent period because poets have preserved its history, he pours out his thanks to the ancient members of his fraternity thus:—

'Worthy of obeisance is that indefinable virtue of good poets which is superior (in sweetness and immortality) to a stream of nectar, and whereby they preserve their own bodies of glory as well as those of others.'

'What men, other than poets who resemble Prajapati, and who are skilful in producing lovely things, can place the past times before the eyes of men?'

'If a poet can realize with his genius things which every body cannot comprehend, what other indication is wanted that he has the divine sight?

'There is no history of fifty-two kings of Kashmir, beginning with Gonanda I, who in the Kali-yuga were contemporaries of the Kurus and of the sons of Kunti, forsooth, because, in consequence of the evil deeds of those rulers of the earth, there were not poets to produce their bodies of glory.'

'Obeisance to that energy, naturally great, of poets, without whose favour even those mighty kings are not remembered by enjoying the shadow of whose tree-like arms this earth, with its oceanic girdle, used to feel safe from danger from all quarters.'

'Even those who sat at ease with their feet on the temples of elephants, who even obtained prosperity, nay those even in whose palaces once dwelt young damsels fair as moons shining in the day, are not thought of even in dreams by this world, as if they never existed, though they were once the foremost on earth! But why praise thee a hundred times, O brother, work of good poets? Suffice it to say, that the world is blind without thee.'

Of Kalhana's regard for facts and for the impartial chronicler of facts, the following will give an idea:—

'That virtuous poet alone is worthy of praise who, free from love or hatred, ever restricts his language to the exposition of facts.'

What his materials were for the narrative, extending over 2333 years, and what he thought of them, and what value he attached to them, will appear from the following verses in his introduction:—

'The oldest extensive works, containing the royal chronicles, have been lost in consequence of the work of Suvrata, who condensed them in his narrative in order that their contents might be easily remembered. Suvrata's poem, though it has acquired fame, is not easily understood, being difficult, owing to a pedantic show of learning.

'Owing to some strange want of attention there is not a single part of Kshemendra's *Chronicle of Kings*, that is free from mistakes, though it possesses the merit of poetry.

'But his claim to be heard he bases upon the two facts, viz. first, that he examined and compared a large number of works on the ancient history of Kashmir, and second, that he used inscriptions of former kings, genealogical tables, and works forming memoirs of famous persons.

'I have examined eleven works of former scholars which contain the chronicles of the kings, as well as the doctrine of the sage Nila (i.e. the *Nilapurana*).

'The edicts issued at the coronation of former kings, inscriptions on ancient objects with which those kings were connected, laudatory scrolls containing genealogical lists, and memoirs of renowned personages having been examined, I have removed all trouble caused by errors.'

As for the fifty-two kings who reigned before Gonanda III the author has told us what his sources of information were in the following verses:—

'Out of the fifty-two kings of whom there is no history on account of the loss of the chronicles, four, viz., those beginning with Gonanda I, have been obtained from the *Nilamata* (i.e. *Nilapurana*).'

'Formerly the great Brahman ascetic Helaraja composed a chronicle of kings, containing twelve thousand couplets: Padmamihira having examined that work gave, in his own book, the eight kings beginning with Lava and preceding Ashoka.'

'Further the five kings among whom Ashoka is the first Sri-Chhavillakara has declared, are out of the fifty-two. For here is his shloke.'

'The five kings from Ashoka to Abhimanyu, who have been mentioned, have been taken by the ancients out of the fifty-two and not out of any other list.'

If so many previous scholars had already written on the subject of the ancient and modern kings of Kashmir, what, it might be asked, was the object of the author in undertaking the task of writing the *Rajatarangini?* The answer which Kalhana gives is that there was no one continuous and complete chronicle of the whole period from the time of Gonanda III up to his own; that the different works which already existed related to different parts of the period, and, so far as they treated of the same kings, they differed in their narratives, that some of them were wrong, others not very intelligible or clear; that people did not care to read all the works to get an idea of the whole period; that he wished to point out the moral of many of the events which filled that period; and that he undertakes the work of compiling a general history of the whole period, because the subject was lying neglected in every respect and by everybody. Kalhana observes: '(when kings are overbearing) in the prosperity of their times and their territories, or (when they are grieved) at the adversity of the same, this (*Rajatarangini*) which contains soothing narratives which are so many medicines, will be useful (as furnishing those medicines) to those kings.'

'Or even apart from that (use), what wise man does not delight in such a composition, which contains endless transactions of ancient times?'

'Bearing in mind the life, short, as a momentary flash, of created beings, let the predominance in this work be observed of the sentiments of disgust with the flitting and momentary things of this world.'

'Therefore, let this *Rajatarangini* (lit. *River of Kings*), which is beautiful with a vivid spring of rasa (sentiment), be imbibed with your ears which are like mother of pearl.'

The nature of Kalhana's use of the authorities consulted by him, and the merit he claims for himself is set forth modestly in the following verses:—

'Although I narrate again the subject-matter of chronicles which others have written, the virtuous ought not to turn their faces from me without hearing my reasons.'

'What genius can be exhibited when men of modern times compile in their own books accounts given by those who died after composing each the history of those kings whose contemporary he was? Hence in

this narrative of past facts—a subject which is neglected in every respect—my endeavour is simply to compile.'

Nor is the mention of inscriptions and scrolls or laudatory genealogical lists in his introduction the only reference to those authorities. He often mentions them in the body of his narrative as authorities for certain statements which he makes. For example in I. 349, describing the character of King Gopaditya, he says that he reigned for sixty years, he who did not allow the slaughter of animals except for sacrifices, and whom the laudatory scrolls of genealogical lists describe as having enjoyed fame as the most excellent of kings.

The whole narrative bristles with the names of towns, cities and villages mentioned as having been built by most of the kings after whom they were named, and of temples, Buddhist monasteries, stupas, convents, rest-houses, bridges, palaces and other public works erected by the kings, their wives, mothers, brothers, and their ministers or dependents, most of which were extant in the time of the author. There must have been many records connected with them, which Kalhana doubtless used as materials to check his other materials in fixing the dates of the kings, the durations of their reigns, or their places in the list.

Another remarkable feature of the work is the names of a great many authors and poets who flourished or found patronage in Kashmir, and who are mentioned both in connection with the reigns of the kings who patronized them, and in connection with the works they wrote. It is not disputed, that a large number of the literary poductions of those authors existed in the time of Kalhana, though they have disappeared since. Some of them must have furnished the materials for the *Rajatarangini*, or authority for the dates and other incidents given by its author.

As the first three Tarangas are much discredited on account of some very flagrant improbabilities and even an impossibility—that of the duration of Ranaditya's reign—which they contain, so much so that some scholars seem prepared to throw overboard all the kings in that period about whom no independent evidence is forthcoming, it may be interesting to see how many of the kings mentioned therein are connected with buildings, celebrated writers or authors, etc.

Non-historic period

1. Gonanda I	.. ..	
2. Damodara	.. ..	
3. Yashovati, queen	..	
4. Gonanda II	.. ..	
5-39 Thirty-five kings whose names are not preserved	..	
40. Lava	.. .. ..	(1) built the city of Lolora. (2) granted the agrahara of Levara in Ledari.

Non-historic period

41. Kusha	(1) granted the agrahara of Kuruhara.
42. Khagendra	(1) granted the agrahara of Khagi. (2) made the agrahara of Khunamusha.
43. Surendra	(1) built the city of Sauraka near the Darad country. (2) built the vihara called Narendra-bhavana in that city. (3) built the vihara of Saurasa in Kashmir.
44. Godhara	(1) granted the agrahara of Hastishala.
45. Suvarna	(1) built the canal called Suvarnamani in the district of Karala.
46. Janaka	(1) built the vihara and agrahara of Jalora.
47. Shachinara	(1) made the agrahara of Samanga (?) and Sasanara (?).
48. Ashoka	(1) spread Buddhism by building series of stupas in Shushkaletra, along the Vitasta and in other places. (2) built the city of Shrinagar. (3) substituted an enclosure wall of stones in place of the one of lime round Vijayesha. (4) built the two temples near Vijayesha, named Ashokeshvara.
49. Jaloka	(1) made the agraharas of Varavala and others. (2) his queen Ishana-devi established groups of images of the divine mothers on gates and other places. (3) he encouraged pilgrimage to Sodara and other holy places. (4) consecrated the shrine of Jyeshtha-rudra in Shrinagar, in rivalry of the shrine of Nandisha that was situated at a great distance with a Tirtha called Sodara attached, and caused another Sodara-tirtha to rise near the new shrine. (5) built a vihara called Krityashrama and established an image of Krityadevi. (6) built a stone-wall of enclosure round Nandikshetra.

Non-historic period

	(7) presented a set of articles of worship, made of precious stones, to Bhutesha.
50. Damodara	(1) built the bridge Gudasetu in the city built by him on the Damodarasuda.
51. Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka	(1) each built a city called Hushkapura, Jushkapura, and Kanishkapura, after their respective names.
	(2) Jushka built a vihara.
	(3) Jushka built the city of Jayasvamipura.
	(4) the three built mathas and chaityas in Shushkaletra.
52. Abhimanyu	(1) granted the agrahara called Kantakautsa.
	(2) dedicated a shrine to Shiva, called after him.
	(3) built the city of Abhimanyupura.
	(4) patronized Chandra and others.
	(5) introduced the Mahabhashya (of Patanjali) into Kashmir.
	(6) Nagarjuna, the Bodhisatva, was his contemporary.
	(7) restored the worship of snakes, etc., as prescribed in the Nilapurana.

Historic period

1. Gonanda III	
2. Bibhishana	
3. Indrajit	
4. Ravana	(1) established the shrines of Vateshvara.
	(2) built a matha having four halls, wherein he consecrated the image of Vateshvara, and dedicated the kingdom of Kashmir to the god.
5. Bibhishana II	
6. Nara or Kinnara ..	(1) burned thousands of viharas, and resuming their lands, gave them to Brahmans.
	(2) built a city called Kinnarapura on the banks of the Vitasta, which a Naga afterwards burnt.

Historic period

7. Siddha	
8. Utpalaksha	
9. Hiranyaksha	(1) built a city which he called Hiranyapura after himself.
10. Hiranyakula	
11. Vasukula	
12. Mihirakula	(1) built the shrine of Mihireshvara in Shrinagar. (2) built a city called Mihirapura in Holada. (3) granted thousands of agraharas to the Brahmans from Gandhara. (4) similarly favoured the barbarous Daradas and Bhauttas. (5) altered the course of the river called Chandrakulya.
13. Baka	(1) built the shrine of Bakesha. (2) led a river called by him Bakavati into a lake. (3) built the city of Lavanotsa.
14. Kshitinanda	
15. Vasunanda	
16. Nara	
17. Aksha	(1) built (? the vihara of) Vibhushrama. (2) built (? the vihara of) Akshavala.
18. Gopaditya	(1) granted the agraharas of Khola (?) Khagika, Hadigrama, Skandapura, Shamangasa. (2) consecrated the image of Jyeshtheshvara. (3) granted the agraharas of Gopa in Gopadri to Brahmans from Aryadesha. (4) established a colony of holy Brahmans in Vashchika and other districts, and granted them agraharas.
19. Gokarna	(1) built the shrine of Gokarneshvara.
20. Narendra alias Khinkhila	(1) dedicated many temples to Bhuteshvara and a temple to the goddess Akshayini. (2) his spiritual guide or teacher, Ugra, built the temple of Ugresha, and established a Matrichakra, or group of images of the divine mothers.

Historic period

21. Yudhishthira	
22. Pratapaditya of the race of Vikramaditya	
23. Jalaukas	
24. Tunjina	(1) he and his queen built the shrine of Tungeshvara and dedicated it to Shiva. (2) they built the city of Katika. (3) Chandraka the dramatist flourished at the time. (4) a terrible famine occurred, caused by snow-storms. (5) his queen Vakpushta granted the two agraharas of Katimusha and Ramusha. (6) she established a satra or annasatra at a place where she afterwards burned herself as a sati, where poor people and fatigued travellers are "still fed." (II. 59).
25. Vijaya	(1) built a town round Vijayeshvara.
26. Jayendra	(1) Ishana was the teacher of his minister Sandhimati.
27. Sandhimati	(1) established one thousand Shivalingams every day, groups of which cut into slabs of stones "are still found." (II. 133). (2) granted large villages for the maintenance of the Lingams. The villages "are not now continued." (II. 136). (3) built great palaces, and established great Lingams, great Nandis, and great Trishulas. (4) built a temple and dedicated it to Shiva, and called it Sandhishvara, after himself, and another, dedicated to the same god, calling it Ishaneshvara after his teacher; built temples of Kheda and Bhima; and filled the whole country with mathas, idols, Lingams, and palaces.
28. Meghavahana	(1) put a stop, by proclamation on his coronation day, to slaughter of animals.

	Historic period
	(2) granted the agrahara of Meghavana. (3) built Mayushtagrama. (4) built Meghamatha. (5) his queen, Amritaprabha, built a vihara called Amritabhavana for the residence of Bhikshus, natives of her country. (6) from Lo, name of a country, came Loshthana, the teacher of her father, who build a stupa. (7) Yukadevi, another queen, built a vihara in Madavana. (8) Indradevi, another queen, built a vihara called Indrabhavana, and a stupa. (9) Khadana, Samma and other queens built other viharas, and called them after their respective names.
29. Pravarasena alias Tunjina alias Shreshthasena	(1) built the temple of Pravareshvara, furnished with a group of images of the divine mothers. (2) consecrated various temples and laid foundations in the old capital. (3) allotted to the shrine of Pravaresha the territory of Trigarta.
30. Hiranya and Toramana ..	(1) Toramaṇa struck dinnaras in his own name.
31. Matrigupta	(1) prohibited slaughter of animals throughout the kingdom during his reign. (2) patronized the poet Mentha, the author of Hayagrivavadha. (3) built and dedicated a temple to Madhusudana (Vishnu), and called it Matriguptasvami, the villages granted to which were afterwards (A.D. 814-863) given by Mamma (IV 702) to the family of his father-in-law.
32. Pravarasena II	(1) built the temple of Jayasvami in his new city. (2) built the first bridge of boats across the Vitasta.

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Historic period

(3) built a city, which he named Pravarasenapura, on the site of the village of Sharitaka, and established five goddesses, viz., Shrisadbhavashri and others. The city stood only on the south of the Vitasta.
(4) Jayendra, the maternal uncle of the king, built the Jayendravihara and the Brihadbuddhavihara.
(5) his minister Moraka built the vihara called Morakabhavana.
(6) the shrines of Vardhamana and Vishvakarma (consecrated by him?) beautified his city.
(7) the king richly endowed every temple in his city.

33. Yudhishthira .. .. (1) his ministers Sarvaratna, Jaya, and Skandagupta built viharas and caityas.
(2) Vajrendra, the son of Jayendra, was also his minister, and built the town of Bhavachchheda.
(3) Kumarasena and others also were his ministers.

34. Narendraditya .. .. (1) built a temple called Narendrasvami.
(2) Vajra and Kanaka, the sons of Jayendra, were his ministers.
(3) built an edifice or library for the custody of manuscripts and called it after himself.

35. Ranaditya alias Tunjina. .. (1) built two excellent edifices called after himself and after his queen Ranarambha, to receive two Lingams; but established Hari in one and Hara in the other.
(2) built the temple of Raneshvara, dedicated to Shiva. Brahma, a siddha, performed the consecration at the instance of the queen, and established an image called Brahmasattama in his honour.
(3) consecrated the shrines of Ranasvami and Ranarambhadeva, and

	Historic period
	built the matha of the Pashupatas on the top of Pradyumna hill.
	(4) built a hospital for the sick.
	(5) consecrated a shrine of the goddess Senamukhi.
	(6) consecrated a shrine of Ranapuras-vami, dedicated to the sun, in the town of Simharotsika.
	(7) Amritaprabha, another of his queens, consecrated the god Amriteshvara to the right side of Ranesha.
	(8) the same queen Amritaprabha, placed an image of Buddha in the vihara built by her namesake, the queen of Meghavahana.
36. Vikramaditya	(1) his ministers were Brahma and Galuna.
	(2) the minister Brahma built the matha called Brahmamatha.
	(3) Ratnavali, the wife of Galuna, built a vihara.
37. Baladitya	(1) conquered Vankala and established therein a colony called Kalambya for the residence of Kashmirians.
	(2) made the agrahara of Bhedara in the district of Madava.
	(3) his queen Bimba consecrated a shrine of Shiva called Bimbeshvara.
	(4) Khankha, Shatrughna and Malava, brothers, who were his ministers, built mathas and temples, and also a bridge.

From the above analysis it will be seen that out of the seventeen kings, whose names are preserved and who belong to what I call the non-historic period, the names of no less than thirteen were connected with foundations, endowments, grants and other monuments, many of which Kalhana must have seen, and of others of which he must have read accounts then extant. In the historic period treated in the first three Tarangas, out of the thirty-seven kings no less than twenty-three had left numerous monuments, grants and similar evidences of their time, their administration, and their liberality. The writings connected with the latter must have helped Kalhana to fix the order and the dates and the durations of the reigns of a great number of them. Of course it is possible that like Romulus from Rome,

some of the kings, especially among the earlier ones, may have been imagined from the monuments, the real origin of these being forgotten. But looking to the nature of the monuments and the probability of copper-plate and other grants having existed, that theory cannot eliminate many of the kings.

One large class of miscellaneous inscriptions to which the author refers, besides those on foundation stones, consecration pillars, etc. is that of short inscriptions on objects of household furniture, coins, arms, copper-plates of grants of lands and allowances and similar things (purvabhubhartrivastushasanani). It is well known that old copper and brass vessels, swords, daggers, and other arms have inscriptions, containing the names of kings and their ancestors. These must doubtless, have been used for the purpose of setting at rest some doubts which had been raised in his mind by the conflicting accounts found in the books consulted by him.

Besides the historical works written by contemporary chroniclers, which Kalhana mentions and refers to, it is reasonable to suppose that he must have read legendary stories like those of Gunadhya, connected with ancient celebrities and with many of the sacred places in Kashmir, so many of which appear to have been mentioned in the older chronicles of the Kashmirian kings.

Though, however, there is no reason to suppose that Kalhana's materials were not ample, and though the chronicles he used were written by contemporary authors—a fact which deserves the highest consideration—it must not be forgotten that he writes in verse and as a poet and is liable to the defects which usually attend compositions in verse on a matter of fact subject. Though simple facts can be made the subject of poetry, all facts are not fit to be expressed in poetry, and a writer of verse is often apt to colour his narrative when it is likely to be otherwise dull, by the addition or omission of certain particulars. This has, doubtless, happened in the *Rajatarangini*, as it might have happened in any similar poetical work, or even in a prose work which treated of history from such an ancient date as B.C. 1184.

There appears good reason to believe, however, that Kalhana's materials, though many of them written by eye-witnesses themselves, were of a highly coloured poetical character, and that much of his own poetry is probably due to them. He must have given many incidents just as he found them in older works. We may observe, however, to his credit, that though he gives such incidents even when of a miraculous nature, he often feels, and does not hesitate to tell us that he feels, ashamed in narrating them in such a book as his *Rajatarangini*. We may instance the reign of Meghavahana, A.D. 24 to 58, that is described as full of righteousness and of tenderness for the life of all creatures. That king prohibited the taking of life in his kingdom, and even led an expedition into Ceylon, in order to put down by force the slaughter of animals for any purpose whatsoever. He succeeded, and returned to Kashmir. A Brahman brought

to him one day the dead body of his only son, and declared that the goddess Durga had killed him with fever, because she had not been given a victim, though she had asked for one. The king determined to offer himself as a sacrifice to the goddess, in order to induce her to restore the Brahman's son to life. Durga appeared before him, however, in the night and prevented him from sacrificing himself, and at once restored the dead son of the Brahman to life again. 'Relating this and similar deeds of the king, though he belongs to modern times, deeds which are considered possible among ignorant people only, we feel ashamed.' Again, referring to the various accounts of the manner in which king Lalitaditya must have met with his death, Kalhana says, as one reads that this king performed very miraculous deeds, so one reads that his death also was very miraculous! We might also refer to the author's remark on the older accounts of the cruelties of the king Mihirakula, whom previous writers had represented as having killed three crores of people because he found so many women failing to prove their chastity. Kalhana remarks: 'this is what is well believed, in the opinion of others.' In truth, however, it is impossible. Of course the slaughter of people by him was very great, even if those cases alone were considered where he killed for good reasons!

The *Rajatarangini*, we must recollect, was written in A.D. 1148–50, and almost touches at its beginning that mythical period, in which the war of the *Mahabharata* is believed to have occurred. If Kalhana had begun his narrative from that king, Gonanda I, who was a contemporary of the Pandavas and the Kauravas, his work, at least in its earlier parts, would have deserved no better credit, as a historical chronicle, than the *Mahabharata* or the *Puranas*. But of a period of 1266 years from the time of the war of the *Mahabharata* he says nothing except that he gives the names of seventeen out of fifty-two kings who are believed to have reigned during that period. Of the rest, he says, even the names are forgotten. Many of those names are, doubtless, and some we know to have been, historical personages, such as Ashoka, Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka. Besides naming the seventeen kings of this period, the author narrates such details of some of them as tradition had preserved, and as was borne testimony to by some very ancient monuments still extant in his time. But no dates or periods of reigns are given of any of them. His predecessors had recorded the dates and events of the reigns of kings beginning with Gonanda III, and Kalhana has, apparently on the authority of previous historians, commenced his own chronicle proper from the accession of that king. From B.C. 1184 to A.D. 1151 is, however, too long a period for accurate record to have been preserved thereof. Accordingly while the history of the later parts of the period, say of the part which begins with Durlabhavardhana alias Prajnaditya, the first of a dynasty called the Nagas, appears to be reliable as to main facts and the durations of reigns of the forty-eight kings who reigned up to the time of Kalhana, the period previous to Durlabhavardhana is even besides the impossibility of Ranaditya—often marked

by statements as to length of reigns and to events, which are not free from suspicion. The periods assigned to twenty-one kings who reigned from 1184 to 169 B.C. for a period of one thousand and fourteen years, nine months and nine days, are too long to be reliable, giving an average of a little over forty-eight years to each king. Besides, the numbers of years of reigns are too round to rightly demand credence at our hands as to the accuracy of most of them. Gonanda III may have reigned in 1184 B.C. and for thirty-five years. Both his date and the duration of his reign are probably correct, because all accounts appear to have begun the chronicles of Kashmir from that king, so that they must have preserved them by an unbroken tradition. Nay, it is even probable that from Gonanda III up to Pratapaditya of the Vikramaditya dynasty the period given may be quite correct, having been based upon previous contemporary records, inscriptions, and other authorities which Kalhana had before him. But what is also highly probable is that some mistake has occurred as to the number of kings who reigned during that period of one thousand and fourteen odd years. All the kings given are historical, but they could not be all the kings that reigned during that long period. Probably some of those fifty-two kings whose names have been lost, and some among those whose names have been preserved have to be brought on to the list, but besides this being a mere guess, it may be added that, unless undoubted evidence is obtained to justify the breaking up of the list in favour of any of those kings all we can do is to doubt the accuracy of the list in its details, and leave it undisturbed for the present.

In the second group (from 22 to 27) six kings reign for one hundred and ninety-two years or a little more than thirty-eight years each on an average. As the average is taken from a very small number of kings, the lengths of reigns may not be very unlikely, but the taint of suspicion still seems to hover over the list. The same remark about suspicion may not be made as to the nature of the third group of ten kings (28-37); for there nine kings reign over a period of two hundred and seventy-two odd years, or just thirty years per each king on an average. But then the group contains one king who is put down for the extraordinary period of three centuries! This period, from A.D. 217 to 517, is obviously one of which no records were forthcoming, and Kalhana's predecessors had only recorded the name of one king during it. The period was perhaps one during which Kashmir was subject to foreign rule, and no king ruled in that country. No records were, therefore, kept, and so none were forthcoming. Otherwise it is difficult to say why Kalhana should have given the period as practically a blank in his narrative. Accustomed as we are to the care with which he sifts his authorities (and averse as he is to put faith in miracles) we can hardly suppose that he arranged artificially the reigns of the list up to the predecessor of Ranaditya in order to come into harmony with the historical dates of his successor, or that for love of the miraculous he assigned to that king a period of three hundred years. The names in the

group are all historical, and there is nothing in the narrative to excite suspicions about the events which from this part of the chronicle forward begin to be more and more detailed.

But when we come to the fourth group, from 38 to 54, the list seems to improve in every respect. The lengths of reigns are moderate and quite probable; and what is of the utmost importance, is, that towards the end of the group, Kalhana begins to give, along with the durations of reigns, the dates in the Laukika era of the Brihaspati cycle of the accession and death of each king. Not only this, but the dates are often given henceforward of some of the important events in the administration of several of the kings, and this system he continues to the end of his narrative. Without doubt Kalhana's materials became more plentiful, more detailed, and more thoroughly historical from the beginning of the Karkotaka or Naga dynasty, which came into power in A.D. 596. From this date to A.D. 1151 where the narrative leaves us, the dates and general nature of the chronicle seem to be as reliable as can be expected under the circumstances.

My humble estimate, accordingly, of the value of the *Rajatarangini* as a historical chronicle is that it is fairly reliable up to the end of the Gonanda dynasty, or end of the reign of Baladitya, A.D. 596, and is as accurate as we have a right to expect from the commencement of the Karkotaka dynasty up to the year 1151 A.D., a period of some 555 years. Up to the end of the Gonandas, whatever its defects are, they are patent, and Kalhana has made no endeavours to conceal them by any subtle means, as he might easily have done, if he had intended to do so. I do not believe there is any evidence to show that the date of Gonanda III is placed too early, but it is likely that some kings have been lost to history even during the time that elapsed between that king and Durlabhavardhana. But it does not appear that Kalhana took, as he is alleged to have done, any liberty with the lengths of reigns or dates of kings with whose administrations he dealt. Everything he says, and everything that independent evidence has taught us, shows that his mistakes and defects—confined to the first three groups—are the mistakes and defects of his predecessors, the writers of previous chronicles and summaries. Greater mistakes and defects may be shown undeniably hereafter in those groups, and may perhaps be corrected.

Among the speculations of M. Troyer about the *Rajatarangini* one is that Cantos VII and VIII are not the production of Kalhana. Dr. Bühler has satisfactorily disposed of the view of M. Troyer, but he admits the correctness of a statement made by the latter that Kalhana, who brings his narrative down to the cycle year 25 or Shake 1072, mentions in the eighth chapter events which took place eight years later, or in the cycle year 33. This fact, if shown to be correct, would go directly to establish two things: first, that Kalhana, though he brought down his narrative to the end of the Laukika or cycle year 25, was really writing his eighth Taranga in the year 33, and second, that he introduced an anachronism into his work by anticipating in the year 25 events which did not take place until

APPENDIX B

Hunger-strike

The economic and moral world is undergoing a cosmic change and traditional values are being judged from new standpoints and by new standards. Nevertheless ancient ideas remain enshrined in the hearts of the people and Kalhaṇa's book furnishes a valuable background for the correct appreciation of the transformations which are taking place in India.

Kalhaṇa mentions the Hunger-strike (Prāyopaveśa—sitting down for a solemn fast) as a weapon of the weak against the strong.[1] It was used as a powerful political weapon by individuals or groups, civil as well as military, for redress of a grievance, or against an obnoxious measure or in defence of the country. In Kaśmīr officials were appointed to watch cases of hunger-strikes which shows that ultimate resort to hunger-strike by the aggrieved and the oppressed must have been common.[2] Kalhaṇa is, however, very satirical about the hunger-strikes organised in a body by the priests—the members of the Temple Purohita Corporation—whom he calls professional fast-mongers.

The Western view about the hunger-strike is that it is a method of coercion.[3] The Indian view has been that the hunger-strike desired not to coerce but to change the heart of the oppressor or the recalcitrant. The hunger-striker was ready to lay down his life in a non-violent manner in order to draw attention to a glaring evil or act of gross injustice.[4] That the motive of the hunger-striker is not coercion although it may well be the result of his act and that the psychological urge which impels him to hunger-strike is different have been explained by Mahatma Gandhi for whose view we find support in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. K. cites a case, where the king himself is on hunger-strike in a temple to seek light and guidance from the deity and as a penance for his own failure to do justice.[5] There is no doubt that the force of public opinion was a mighty one in K.'s time and the rulers recognised their responsibility to the people for acts of state.[6]

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the hunger-strike in Kaśmīr grew out of the Buddhist ideals of self-sacrifice and non-violence. The Buddhist *jātakas* are fond of relating stories of the sacrifice of self to relieve the misery

[1]Taraṅgas IV. 82, 99; V. 468; VI. 25, 336, 343, VII. 13, 1088, 1157, 1611; VIII. 51, 110, 658, 707, 768, 808, 939, 2224, 2733, 2739.

[2]Taraṅga VI. 14.

[3]According to Prof. Norman Brown of Pennsylvania University this method of coercion was known to the Jews and in India is as old as the Upaniṣads.

[4] See VIII. 2899.

[5] Taraṅga IV. 99.

[6] See king Jayasiṁha's instructions to his ministers. Taraṅga VIII 2545.

eight years after that year. The first of these conclusions would go to show that he did not write the history of Jayasimha's reign for the eight years from 26 to 33, which would be unaccountable and inconsistent with Kalhana's language; the second would vitiate the value of his history as a reliable chronicle even of his own time. Professor Bühler meets the charge, which, as I have said, he admits, by saying that Kalhana did not finish his work till the cycle year 33. But this would not remove the fault of anachronism, and that is a fault of the greatest significance, because Kalhana was writing then of his own times. Now there appears available another and less objectionable way of meeting the allegation of M. Troyer. It is this: Kalhana does not mention in his VIIIth book any events which took place in the cycle year 33 or eight years after the year about the history of which he writes towards the close of that Taranga. There is no real foundation for M. Troyer's statement, which I find is based on a mistake made by him, owing to his having misinterpreted the following couplet in verse VIII 3280. 'In this manner he, when nearly thirty-three years of age, was taken by the king on the 10th day of the month Jyeshtha in the year 21.' This refers to the taking of Bhoja, son of Sulhana, by order of king Jayasimha, an event, which Kalhana distinctly says took place in cycle year 21, when Bhoja was nearly thirty-three years old, and not in cycle year 33 or eight years after the date to which he brings down his narrative. I have already shown that the author finished composing his eight Tarangas of the *Rajatarangini* in Laukika or cycle year 25 or just at the close of Shake 1072 or in the early part of A.D. 1151, i.e. two years after he began it in the early part of Laukika year 24.

I have already said that the pre-Karkotaka part of the history in the *Rajatarangini* is not in some parts quite reliable, being marked by a good many inadmissible periods of reigns and by improbable and miraculous events. That does not prove that the whole of the period before A.D. 596 is fabulous or even suspicious. Far from it. The kings appear to be all historical, and the more we approach the commencement of the Karkotakas, the more reliable appear facts and dates given by Kalhana. And as yet no facts and dates have been so undeniably established in regard to the dates and names of the early dynasties as to clearly prove the incorrectness of the accounts contained in the *Rajatarangini*. Even the date of Kanishka, one of the fifty-two kings, whose historical character has been established by coins and inscriptions, is still unsettled, and varies by centuries. The identity of Ashoka, also one of the fifty-two kings, if he be a historical reality in Kashmir, with the Buddhist emperor of that name who reigned at Pataliputra in Magadha, though very probable, is not free from doubts. As yet no inscriptions, coins, chronicles, or independent evidence of any other kind has been found, which has proved beyond doubt that any given part of Kalhana's narrative, though probably containing many faults, is wrong. As yet the unusually long reigns of several of the early kings, the, perhaps, too great antiquity assigned to some of them, and some

flagrant improbabilities, merely raise our suspicions that the early dynasties are not quite correctly given in all their details. Nor has any proof been adduced to show that those faults are the result of Kalhana's handling of the previous contemporary chronicles and other materials which he used, and not of the latter.

Suspicions regarding the duration of the reign or the date of one or more kings in a given list, such as that of the first three groups of Kalhana, ought not to vitiate the whole list, when we know that Kalhana used older chronicles by contemporary writers and other materials of an equally reliable character in making out his lists, and when it is highly probable that there were separate records or other evidence bearing upon separate kings. Even though he may have fixed by guess or computation the dates of one or more obscure kings about whom either there was no detailed history or he was uncertain, the rest of the list must be presumed to have been fixed by means of the previous chronicles, inscriptions, coins, etc. Unless we knew that the whole list was fixed by guess or computation, it would not be right to suspect the whole of the list.

So far as independent evidence has come to light, it has rather gone to prove that Kalhana in his earlier chapters has faithfully handed down the ancient traditions of Kashmir, and that in his later chapters he has given dates which are shown to be correct. Thus, the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Thsang translates legends about the desiccation of the lakes of Kasmir and the first colonization of that country, which closely agree with those given by Kalhana. Again, Kalhana states that the Karkotakas had come into power in succession to the Gonandas in A.D. 596, which is confirmed by Hiouen-Thsang who says that when he visited Kashmir (according to General Cunningham circa 631 A.D.) the Ki-li-to, a nickname by which the Karkotakas were known, had already come into power after many centuries of rule by the philo-Buddhistic Gonandas, and that one of them was on the throne, who had not much faith in Buddhism.

As Professor Bühler truly says, "it may seem" scarcely credible that a book which has engaged the "attention of so many Sanskritists, and of some of the first rank, is, after all the labour expended, not in a satisfactory condition, and that its explanation "leaves a great deal to desire." To this I would only add that at least until the text of that admittedly valuable work—the only historical compilation of any pretensions that has yet come to light—has been carefully edited and restored to its original purity by competent and patient hands, it will be only reasonable to expect that, after all that some great scholars have written about it, we should suspend our judgment as to its historical value, even in regard to its earlier parts, and though, failing independent evidence, we might hesitate to accept its correctness in some parts, and even ignore certain stories as merely mythical, we should not be prepared to reject all it says, even in its earlier portions, until and unless independent evidence proves that everything contained in it is incorrect. Probably Kalhana himself did not expect or even desire

that the same credence should be given to the whole of his narrative in all its details in the first three Tarangas which he expected as of right in favour of the dates and events of the subsequent, and especially the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth Tarangas. He clearly indicates now and then, that as we go back towards antiquity the story becomes more and more traditional and then even legendary, and that as you approach modern times it assumes a truly historical character with as correct details as you can expect in a work of the kind based upon materials like those which were available to him."[4]

From the Introduction to *Gauḍavaho*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1888.

APPENDIX B

Hunger-strike

The economic and moral world is undergoing a cosmic change and traditional values are being judged from new standpoints and by new standards. Nevertheless ancient ideas remain enshrined in the hearts of the people and Kalhaṇa's book furnishes a valuable background for the correct appreciation of the transformations which are taking place in India.

Kalhaṇa mentions the Hunger-strike (Prāyopaveśa—sitting down for a solemn fast) as a weapon of the weak against the strong.[1] It was used as a powerful political weapon by individuals or groups, civil as well as military, for redress of a grievance, or against an obnoxious measure or in defence of the country. In Kaśmīr officials were appointed to watch cases of hunger-strikes which shows that ultimate resort to hunger-strike by the aggrieved and the oppressed must have been common.[2] Kalhaṇa is, however, very satirical about the hunger-strikes organised in a body by the priests—the members of the Temple Purohita Corporation—whom he calls professional fast-mongers.

The Western view about the hunger-strike is that it is a method of coercion.[3] The Indian view has been that the hunger-strike desired not to coerce but to change the heart of the oppressor or the recalcitrant. The hunger-striker was ready to lay down his life in a non-violent manner in order to draw attention to a glaring evil or act of gross injustice.[4] That the motive of the hunger-striker is not coercion although it may well be the result of his act and that the psychological urge which impels him to hunger-strike is different have been explained by Mahatma Gandhi for whose view we find support in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. K. cites a case, where the king himself is on hunger-strike in a temple to seek light and guidance from the deity and as a penance for his own failure to do justice.[5] There is no doubt that the force of public opinion was a mighty one in K.'s time and the rulers recognised their responsibility to the people for acts of state.[6]

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the hunger-strike in Kaśmīr grew out of the Buddhist ideals of self-sacrifice and non-violence. The Buddhist *jātakas* are fond of relating stories of the sacrifice of self to relieve the misery

[1]Taraṅgas IV. 82, 99; V. 468; VI. 25, 336, 343, VII. 13, 1088, 1157, 1611; VIII. 51, 110, 658, 707, 768, 808, 939, 2224, 2733, 2739.

[2]Taraṅga VI. 14.

[3]According to Prof. Norman Brown of Pennsylvania University this method of coercion was known to the Jews and in India is as old as the Upaniṣads.

[4] See VIII. 2899.

[5] Taraṅga IV. 99.

[6] See king Jayasiṁha's instructions to his ministers. Taraṅga VIII 2545.

or pain of others. Kalhaṇa relates the story of king Jalauka[7] which is reminiscent of the famous story of the Śibi Jātaka. Mahatma Gandhi made a statement on the 4th December 1932, while he was fasting in the Yaravda Prison, to the Anti-Untouchability Board. The following extract from it is of considerable interest. "For a man who does not want to commit violence and a man like me who is pledged to non-violence in thought, word and deed, the last resort must be the sacrifice of himself. The greatest weapon I possess is the readiness to fling away my life when there is a desperate cause. The desperate nature of the cause is to be decided by the judgment that is given to a poor mortal like myself. My life has thus been made up of numerous occasions of fasting. It is the sincerest form of prayer. It has been with me for several years though it has come much into the limelight recently. It is not an ill thought out thing. It does not mean coercion of anybody. It does of course exercise pressure on individuals and even on Government but it is nothing more than the natural moral result of an act of sacrifice. It stirs up sluggish conscience and it fires loving hearts to action. Those who have to bring about radical changes in human conditions and surroundings can not do it except by raising a ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this, violent and non-violent. Violent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it as it depresses the victim, but non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering as by fasting works in an entirely different way. It touches not the physical body but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed. This, I think, is enough for the present. Who knows I may have to go through a series of fasts and die by inches, but if that does happen I want you to feel proud of my action and not feel that it was the action of an idiotic man. My life is largely governed by reason and when it fails it is governed by a superior force, viz. faith."

In the middle of the seventh century Kathiawad, the native land of Mahatma Gandhi, produced a Buddhist Saint, Śāntideva, whose hymns are now available in the charming translation of M. Finot. Śāntideva was the son of a ruling prince in Kathiawad. On the day of his Abhiṣeka for the coronation, the Boddhisattva Mañjuśrī, it is said, appeared before him and the prince renouncing his rights and privileges became a monk and retired to the woods. M. Finot thus translates his hymns:—

"O that I might become for all beings the soother of pain!"

"O that I might be for all of them that ail, the remedy, the physician, the nurse, until the disappearance of illness!"

"O that by raining down food and drink I might sooth the pangs of hunger and thirst, and that in times of famine I might myself become drink and food!"

"O that I might be for the poor an inexhaustible treasure!"

"All my incarnations to come, all my goods, all my merits past, present

[7]Taraṅga I. Verses 131-147.

and future, I renounce with indifference, that so the end of all beings may be attained."

"I give up my body to all beings to do what they will. Let them always strike it, treat it with despite, cover it with dust. Let them make of my body a plaything, a thing of mockery and jesting. I have given them my body. What matters it to me! Let them make it do whatever may please them. If their hearts are wroth against me and bear me ill-will, let this help me to bring about the ends of all. May those who calumniate me, harm me, and jeer at me, may these and all the others win the Bodhi!"

Kalhaṇa describes the Bodhisattvas as follows:—

"In this world beginning from the blessed Lord of the worlds some few persons have conquered sorrow; know them to be Bodhisattvas." "Against even a wrong-doer they do not grow angered but, through forgiveness, return good for evil; they who desire enlightenment not for self alone are bent on the salvation of the world."[8]

Buddhist ideals of charity and love of living beings led Śāntideva in his 'Journey towards the Light' to sing with fervour as follows:—

"This insignificant particle which causes to arise in us the virtues of a Buddha is present in all creatures, and it is by reason of this Presence that all creatures are to be revered."

"Moreover, what other means have we of acquitting ourselves towards the Buddhas, those sincere friends and incomparable benefactors, than to please creatures?"

"For creatures they lacerate their bodies, they enter into hell. What is done for creatures is also done for them. Therefore we must do good even to our worst enemies."

"Seeing that our masters devote themselves unreservedly to their children's welfare, how could I, even I, show these sons of our masters pride instead of the humility of a slave?

"From to-day, therefore, in order to please the Buddhas, with my whole soul I make myself a servitor of the world. May the mass of mankind set its foot on my head and kill me, if so be that the Protector of the world is satisfied!"

"To serve the creatures is to serve the Buddhas, it is to realize my end, to eliminate pain from the world, it is the vow by which I bind myself!"

"If the suffering of many is to cease by the suffering of a single one, the latter must invite it out of compassion for others and for himself."

Buddhism was absorbed in the later philosophic systems of Kaśmīr but the principle of self-sacrifice remained as the spring of action. The youth Vijayarāja, Kalhaṇa's contemporary, of an educated high class Brahman family, who follows the terrorist method argues thus: "If by the sacrifice of this body endless lives could be rendered happy, O brother!

[8] Taraṅga I. 138-139.

is not that the higher bargain?"[9]—words which recall the last lines of Śāntideva's hymn of the seventh century. That Vijayarāja was inspired by the Buddhist ideal of self-sacrifice though he erred grievously in citing it in support of terrorism is shown by his talk with his brother. "To destroy one vile individual for universal benefit would be pronounced a righteous act; even the Jina slew the dragon who put an end to living beings."[10] Vijayarāja disdained to flee although he could have done so, announced that he had stabbed the minister, and was killed bravely fighting against odds as an act of supreme self-sacrifice. On his arm was discovered a note with a verse of the Bhagavad-Gītā.[11] This remarkable episode relating to terrorism is contained in Taraṅga VIII. verses 2224-2257. The episode of the brave men of Bengal who sacrificed their lives is described by Kalhaṇa in Taraṅga IV. verses 322-335.[12]

[9] Taraṅga VIII. 2236.
[10] VIII. 2234.
[11] Chapter III. 8, which is verse 2256 of the eighth Taraṅga. See VIII. 2224 n.
[12] For acts of self-sacrifice of Kaśmīrī Brahmans, see Taraṅga IV. 638 and VIII. 2225.

APPENDIX C

Indian mythology illustrates the eternal struggle between the powers of darkness and the shining ones, the Titans (Āsuras) and the gods (Suras, Devas), by the following story of the Kūrmāvatāra. Once upon a time after a prolonged war, the belligerents agreed, upon the advice of Viṣṇu, to work together to churn the ocean of milk and to discover ambrosia (Amṛta), the drink of immortality.[1] The Great Powers uprooted Mount Mandāra and sank it into the depths of the ocean to serve as the dasher of the churn. As a support for Mount Mandāra Viṣṇu became a giant tortoise and kept it from submerging. The mighty serpent Vāsuki was passed round the mountain dasher to serve as a cord; the gods at the tail end and the Titans at its head then commenced hauling, each team, in rhythmic succession. Suddenly from the seething waves the terrible poison Hālāhala was thrown up, capable of destroying the whole world including the gods, had not Śiva swallowed it in his infinite compassion for all living beings. Thereafter, inter alia, came up, marvellous creatures such as the horse Uccaiḥśravas with his moon-coloured coat, the lordly elephant Airāvata, the divine Apsarās (nymphs) and the lovely Śrī or Lakṣmī (Fortuna) who became the consort of Viṣṇu. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa thus describes her: "Holding in her hand a lotus garland round which hummed the bees, she turned her gracious face made lovely by the smile of modesty, and against whose cheeks sparkled beautiful ear-rings; her two breasts perfectly matched and close together, were covered with powdered sandalwood and saffron, her waist was so slight that it was scarcely visible; her every step was accompanied by the tuneful jingle of the anklets which adorned her feet, and her whole body was like a golden liana." At last there arose from the waves a dark youth bearing a vase filled with ambrosia, the drought of immortality. At the banquet which followed, the Titans Rāhu and Ketu served the ambrosia to the assembled gods. Śiva cut off the head of Rāhu while the latter was taking a deep drought from the vase. The feast broke up and war was renewed which the gods, now become immortal, won.

The story of the descent of Gaṅgā, the river of the immortals, to the earth is related in the ninth chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.[2] The sons of Sagara had been turned into ashes in Hades (Pātāla) during an expedition for conquests. Beseeched by prince Bhagīratha the river of the immortals, Gaṅgā in the sky (Viyat-Gaṅgā=Via Lactis) agreed to come down to earth to revive them. To preserve the earth from inundation Śiva, who resides on Mount Kailāsa (Everest), became the breakwater. The mighty

[1] See Taraṅga VIII. 1591, 1780.

[2] See Taraṅga III. 530. VIII 2280.

floods, however, disappeared in his matted hair until at the further prayers of Bhagīratha Śiva released Gaṅgā, when her pride had been sufficiently humbled, to flow down the slopes of the Himalayas.

These episodes inspired the artists who created the frescoes and wrought in stone the magnificent sculpture of Southern India and distant Cambodia. There is no doubt that Kalhaṇa had travelled extensively in India; his verses show a deep interest in the Dekhan which under the Calukyan kings was the home of the fine arts and which attracted renowned poets from distant lands including the Kavi Bilhaṇa from Kaśmīr. Kalhaṇa's graphic description of the fashions of the Dekhan at the court of Harṣa is very interesting and accurate. It is not unlikely that Kalhaṇa had seen the masterpieces of Southern sculpture portraying the beneficent waters of the Gaṅgā through the Nāgas and the Nāga-kanyās, the familiar tutelary deities, of his alpine home-land.

APPENDIX D

'The language of the gods'

According to one theory the eastern part of Iran was the region where the Aryans lived as long as they formed one people, and whence they separated into Indians and Iranians. The oldest specimens of the Indo-Aryan speech which we possess very closely resemble the oldest Iranian. There are passages in the Iranian *Avestā* which can be turned into good Vedic Saṁskṛta by the application of a few phonetic rules. The Indo-Aryans after their arrival in Afghanistan took route for a while in Eastern Afghanistan which they called Udyāna or the Garden-land migrating in due course to the Panjab and later to the Gangetic Mesopotamia. The *Ṛg Veda* is believed by some scholars to have been compiled in the latter region and the Aryan clans which spoke this language to have extended from Eastern Panjab to Prayag.[1] The language spoken here received constant literary culture and a refined form of its archaic speech became fixed by the labours of scholars and grammarians receiving the name Saṁskṛta[2] in contradistinction to the folk speech of the same territory and to the different Indo-Aryan dialects of other parts of India which are grouped under the name of Prākṛta.[3] Saṁskṛta developed as the language of religion and polite literature and the native land of this mother tongue became accepted as the true pure home of the Indo-Aryan people, the rest being, from the point of view of educated India, more or less barbarous. The literary records of the later periods of Aryan migration show us one Indo-Aryan tribe complaining of the unintelligible speech of another, and even denying to it the right of a common Aryanhood.

In the age of Aśoka of which we have accurate historical record we find that the Kharoṣṭhī script, written from right to left, as well as the Brāhmī alphabet, the precursor of the modern Nāgarī, written from left to right were both in current use. The Kharoṣṭhī was an adaptation from the Armaic script introduced into India during the reign of Darius at a time when Gandhāra and Western Panjab formed an Iranian satrapy. In the empire of Aśoka and during the Kushan period both the scripts continued to be used in Eastern Panjab as is evidenced by the coins bearing Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī legends which are found in the different districts of the Jullunder Division and by the rock cut inscriptions of Pathyar and Kanhiara in the

[1] In later times the great lingua franca, Hindustani, also developed in this region. See. App. I Foot-note 34; IV. 132n.

[2] Meaning 'refined.'

[3] Natural, Unrefined. The grammarian Patañjali mentions the existence of several dialects.

Kangra valley. The Kharoṣṭhī was notably current in Afghanistan[4] and in Central Asia where in recent years French and German archaeologists and scholars have brought to light numerous Prākṛta MSS. written in that script. In India the Kharoṣṭhī appears to have continued in use until the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era. Brāhmī was in use in the remainder of India but it must have been current in learned circles even in the territory where popular use favoured the other script.

The Maurya empire inherited and incorporated many Iranian traditions of the Achaemenid empire and administrative terms of the Iranian period thus continued to be used for several centuries in India. The language of Iran, however, which must have been dominant in the Indian Satrapy,[5] gradually disappeared. In the succeeding centuries when the Greeks, Parthians and Scythians in turn established their rule in the north-west of India, Iranian influence was once more revived through the influence of the religion and language of Iran. Then came the Turco-Mongolians from Central Asia who accepted the culture of Iran and the religion of India. In the first century of the Christian era, the Central Asiatic people whom Kalhaṇa rightly calls the Turuṣka (Turks) had founded a great empire in India under Kaniṣka who was perhaps a contemporary of Trajan. Kaniṣka was a devout Buddhist and as Aśoka had sent missionaries to the West, he sent missionaries to the East to spread Buddhism. It was under these Turks known in Indian history as the Kushans who had become Buddhists that Saṁskṛta which until then was the monopoly of a literary caste became the language of the empire and the medium of international communication.[6] In the Turkish empire of the Kushan dynasty, Saṁskṛta gradually replaced Pāli and Buddhism, the religion favoured by the Turks, spread in Central Asia and China through the medium of Saṁskṛta. In the fourth century Fa-hien, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, travelled through Central Asia and Afghanistan which was all Buddhist territory[7].

The Tokhara country is mentioned by Kalhaṇa. In Tokharistan the city of Kucha[8] became the centre of Saṁskṛta learning. Kumārajīva (344-413 A.C.) who was the son of an Indian, who lived in Tokharistan, by a princess of that country came to Kaśmīr and studied the *Vedas* and the Hīnayāna Buddhist doctrine. On his return to Central Asia he was converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism by the ruling prince of Yarkand. In

[4]Which ethnically has always been an integral part of India. See Foot-note 13 infra.

[5]521-485 B.C.

[6]Centuries afterwards when the Turko-Mongols had accepted the culture of Iran and the religion of Arabia, they adopted the language of Iran as their official language in India, while their own mother-tongue was Turkish.

[7]The accounts of Chinese pilgrims to Afghanistan, Gandhāra and India from the fourth to the tenth century prove that Saṁskṛta was pre-eminently the language of culture and the lingua franca which they studied and used.

[8]Called by the Chinese Po-lu-ka which according to M. Pelliot was derived from the Saṁskṛta Bhāruka.

383 A.C. he was carried away from Kucha as a prisoner to China where he translated a large number of books from Saṁskṛta into Chinese and through these translations transmitted the spirit of Indian Buddhism to China and the neighbouring countries. When Hsüan-Tsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim, arrived at Kucha two and a half centuries later that city was still the centre of Saṁskṛta learning. The Kuchan alphabet was borrowed from India and Mokṣagupta, a Hīnayānist, was then the leading doctor of the Law in Kucha. The king of Kucha, of the Tokharist dynasty, named Suvarṇa Deva,[9] son of Suvarṇa Puṣpa, was a devout Buddhist. Buddhism had spread among the upper classes of Turks and their Khan T'o-po had been converted to Buddhism about 580 A.C. by the Afghan monk Jinagupta and the Khan's successor T'ung, the Yagbu, was a Buddhist when Hsüan-Tsang visited him. Indeed four years before the arrival of that learned Chinese traveller in Central Asia, Prabhākaramitra with ten companions had visited the court of the Khan and had proceeded from there in 626 A.C. to China to carry on missionary activities. Saṁskṛta also served as the religious and literary language to the people of Khotan[10] which country was profoundly Buddhist. The Khotanese ascribed their conversion to a Bodhisattva called Vairocana who had come from Kaśmīr.

The birch-bark manuscripts discovered in Central Asia show the close cultural relations between Kaśmīr and Turkistan. In 1890 near Kucha a birch-bark manuscript was found in a Stūpa by two Turks who sold it to Col. Bower who was then at Kucha. The Bower manuscript is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The manuscript which belongs to the second half of the 4th century is written in Gupta characters in Saṁskṛta. The author who was Buddhist dealt with medicines and drugs in three out of seven texts and cites a number of well-known Indian writers on medicine. The German mission discovered in Central Asia still earlier Saṁskṛta manuscripts including the plays of the celebrated Aśvaghoṣa[11] of which no copy was extant in India. The German mission found the manuscript on palm-leaf in Turfan. It was written in the Indian script of the Kushan period. Buddhist dramas were also composed in Saṁskṛta in Central Asia. The labours of Prof. Levi and M. Pelliot have revealed to us the extent of the influence of Saṁskṛta learning and Indian culture in Central Asia.

In 1892 the French traveller Dutreuil de Rhins acquired a birch-bark manuscript thirteen miles from Khotan. M. Grenard has identified the place where the manuscript was found with the Gośṛṅga-Vihāra mentioned by Hsüan-Tsang and the Gośīrṣa of the Tibetan records. In 1904 the German expeditions under Doctor Von Le Coq and later under Doctor Grünwedel made valuable discoveries of Buddhist art and Saṁskṛta manuscripts in the old Tokhara country including Kucha, Karashahr, Turfan

[9]In Tokharish Svrnatep.

[10]Sk. Kustana.

[11]Aśvaghoṣa is the celebrated author of the *Buddha Carita* (Life of Buddha).

and three other sites. The French Sinologist M. Pelliot visited Turkistan in 1906–8 and he discovered Saṁskṛta manuscripts written in the T'ang period. At Niya manuscripts written on wood in the Kharoṣṭhī script in Prākṛta dating from the 3rd century were discovered. In January 1907 M. Pelliot arrived in Kucha. Excavations were begun at Ming-ois which in Turkish means 'a thousand habitations.' The place has been famous for the Grottos of the Thousand Buddhas which contain Buddhist mural paintings of the period from 7th–10th century. M. Pelliot thus describes the discovery made by him:—"At our departure from Paris", says the French savant, "Tun-huang was fixed as one of the big stages of our travel. It was known that there was about 20 kilometres to S. E. of the city, a considerable group of caves known as Ts'ien-fo-tong or the 'grottos of the 1000 Buddhas,' dug out at dates not precisely known till then, but which were covered with mural-paintings which Islam had not yet disfigured. We wanted to devote ourselves to their study, which no other archaeologist had done till then, though their importance was known all the time . . . We were not deceived in our expectation and found that the caves of Tun-huang preserved some of the most precious monuments of Chinese Buddhistic art between 7th and 10th centuries. But another interest was added to the visit in course of our travel. At Urumtsi I heard about a find of Mss. made in the caves of Tun-huang in 1900 . . . I came to know gradually how this discovery was made. A Taoist monk Wang-tao digging one of the big caves, had by chance opened a small cave, which he had found quite full of Mss. Although our colleague Stein had passed Tun-huang a little before us, I had the hope of still reaping a good harvest. Just after our arrival there, I made enquiries about Wang-tao. It was easy to find him and he decided to come to the caves. He opened for me at least the niche, and at once I found a small cave which was not even a metre in every direction, crammed with Mss. They were of all sorts, mostly in rolls but some in folios too, written in Chinese, Tibetan, Uigur and Sanskrit. You can imagine easily what an emotion had seized me: I was in front of the most formidable discovery of Chinese Mss. the like of which was never recorded in the history of the Far East. I asked to myself, have I only to be contented with having a glance at them and then go away empty-handed, and let these doomed treasures go to destruction little by little. Fortunately, Wang-tao was illiterate and needed money for the reconstruction of the shrine . . . everything was arranged and I sat down in the cave with feverish excitement. Devoting three weeks I made an inventory of the Library. Of the 15,000 rolls, which had thus passed through my hand, I took all that had, by their date and contents, struck me as of primary interest—about one third of the whole. Amongst these I put in all texts in Brāhmī writing and Uigur, many Tibetan but mostly Chinese. There was for the sinologist some invaluable treasure. Many of these were on Buddhism without doubt but some also were on history, geography, philosophy, classics, literature proper and again deeds

of all sorts, accounts, notes, taken from day to day and all were anterior to the 11th century. In the year 1035 the invaders came from the East and monks had stocked books and paintings in a hiding place which they walled up and plastered and the opening was adorned with decorations. Massacred or dispersed by the invaders, the knowledge of the library perished with the monks, to be rediscovered by chance in 1900."[12]

Under the later Kushans the official language of Central Asia was Prākṛta and it seems to have retained its position until the 4th century A.C. A large number of manuscripts have been discovered over a wide area in south-eastern Turkistan. The finds include documents not only on paper but on wood, leather and silk as well as inscriptions on the frescoes and mural paintings in the shrines. The propaganda of the Emperor Kaniṣka thus bore ample fruit and in the succeeding centuries resulted in the spread of Saṁskṛta in Afghanistan,[13] Central Asia and China.

When Bactria was threatened by the Arabs, the Chinese scholars and pilgrims preferred the sea route and their accounts show that the Indian colony of Campā (now French Annam) whose capital was Indrapura was the centre of Śivaite religion and Saṁskṛta learning. So, too, was Cambodia with its capital Vyādhapura. Various Chinese pilgrims and students, chief among whom was I-ching, on their way to India studied Saṁskṛta in the great University of Śrīvijaya in Sumatra. The Indo-Malay state of Sumatra under the dynasty of Śailendra had established its hegemony over all the South Seas from Java (Yava-dvīpa) to the Gulf of Siam and it had caused the famous Buddhist reliefs of Borobudur to be sculptured in Java and at Dvāravatī in Southern Siam. Kaśmīr at this time was famous for Saṁskṛta learning and the universities of Kaśmīr attracted students from Gandhāra, South India and Bengal.[14] With the rise of Śivaism in the Dekhan there was a revival of Saṁskṛta learning. The poets of Kaśmīr were in demand in India and the Kāśmīrī Bilhaṇa, the poet laureate at the court of the Cālukya king of the Dekhan,[15] gives us a charming account of his arcadian home-land. In describing the women of Kaśmīr, their beauty and accom-

[12] M. Pelliot was the leader of the mission organised by La Comité française de l'Association Internationale pour l'exploration de l'Asie Centrale. Recently M. Hackin has visited this region as a member of the Citroen expedition led by M. Haardt. In his story of the expedition M. Le Fèvre has referred to M. Hackin's work at Turfan; we must, however, await that eminent archaeologist's own report which will help to preserve from oblivion the Dead Cities of the Gobi.

[13] For a summary of the Buddhist period of a thousand years in Afghanistan see two illustrated articles by R. S. Pandit in the *Modern Review* of January 1927 and July 1929 entitled '*Buddhist Relics in Afghanistan*' and "*Greek Artists of Buddhist Afghanistan*" respectively. The illustrations were the gift of M. Hackin of the Musée Guimet who had courteously permitted their reproduction.

[14] Kṣemendra, who is mentioned by Kalhaṇa and who lived about a century before Kalhaṇa, has given us in his inimitable style, in the *Deśopadeśa*, humorous sketches of Bengali students at the university of Śrīnagar.

[15] See VII. 937.

plishments, he tells us that they spoke Saṁskṛta fluently.[16] Until the 11th century Saṁskṛta was undoubtedly dominant in Gandhāra and the Panjab as the language of culture and Mahmud of Ghazni must have been aware of its importance since the first coins he struck in Lahore bear the legend in Saṃskṛta.[17] In Kaśmīr it remained the official language even during the rule of the early Sultans in the 14th century.

Kalhaṇa thus wrote in 'the language of the gods' and ignored the Apabhraṁśa[18] not merely because he was sure of a large audience in Kaśmīr but for wider publicity abroad.

[16] *The life of king Vikramāṅka.* Canto XVIII. 6.

[17] These coins are in the British Museum and the legend on them is the rendering in Saṁskṛta of the Islamic creed. See App. K, Para. 21.

[18] See V. 206 n. Apabhraṁśa means 'corrupt' or 'decayed' and was applied to the dialects in contrast to the Prākṛta par excellence, which in its turn, like Saṁskṛta and Pāli became stereotyped by being employed for literature. The various Apabhraṁśas have since become the parents of our modern provincial languages. The Apabhraṁśas mentioned in Saṁskṛta literature are as follows:—Paiśāca (Pushto, Kaśmīrī), Śaurasena (Panjabi and Western Hindi), Āvanta (Rājasthānī), Gaurjara (Gujerati), Ardha-māgadha (Eastern Hindī), Vracala (Sindhī), Mahārāṣṭrī (Marathī), Māgadha (Behari, Oriya, Bengali).

APPENDIX E

Names of women mentioned by Kalhaṇa are still current among the Kaśmīrī Brahmans both in Kaśmīr and the plains of India. Some of the names such as Valgā, Nonā, Sillā are of interest. Valgā, the favourite of queen Diddā, grand-daughter of the Śāhi, was probably an Aryanized Turk and Sillā and Sullā are Iranian names. Among the names of men Daryaka (VIII. 5457) and Toramāṇa (III. 102) are respectively Iranian and Turkish in origin.

Ambikaputrikā=VIII. 1648. Amṛtalekhā=II. 148. III. 463. IV. 659. Anaṅgalekhā=III. 484. Añjanā=III. 105. Āśamatī=VII. 1487; 226. Bappaṭadevī=V. 282. Bappikā=VII. 1128. Bhinnā=III. 464. Bhuvanamatī=VII. 582, 680. Bijjā=VIII. 3343. Bijjalā=VIII. 287. Bimbā=III. 482. Cakramardikā=IV. 213. Candalā=VII. 1121; VIII. 3320. Candrāvatī=I. 321. Cāndrī=VII. 1490. Cintā=VIII. 3352. Devalekhā=VIII. 1443. Diddā=VI. 177. Dilhā=VII. 331. Gaggā=V. 251. Gajjā=VII.1380. Guṇadevī=IV. 696. Guṇalekhā=VIII. 459. Haṁsī=V. 360. Indradevī=III. 13. Irāvatī=I. 218. Īśānadevī=IV. 212. Jajjalā=VIII. 1444. Jayādevī=IV. 690. Jayalakṣmī=VII. 124. Jayamatī=VII. 1460. Kalhaṇikā=VIII. 1648. Kalyāṇadevī=IV. 462. Kamalā=IV. 424, VIII. 3380. Kamalāvatī=IV. 208. Kāvyadevī=V. 41. Kayyā—VII. 725 Khādanā—III 14. Kṣemā =VII. 102. Kṣillikā=V. 290. Kumudalekhā=VII. 1486. Loṭhikā=VII. 11. Mallā=VIII. 445, 1915. Mammā=IV. 400. Mammanikā=VII. 724. Mañjarikā=IV. 399. Maṅkhanā=VII. 105. Meghāvalī=IV. 689. Menilā=VIII. 3380. Mṛgāvatī=V. 284. Nāgā=VII. 293, 1148. Nāgalatā=V. 360. Nāgalekhā=VIII. 1649. Nandā=V. 245. Narendraprabhā=IV. 17. Nonā =VIII. 3061. Nonikā=VII. 481. Padmalekhā=VIII. 1844. Padmaśrī=VII. 731. Padmāvatī=III. 383. Prakāśadevī=IV. 79. Raḍḍā devī=VIII. 3241. Rājalakṣmī=VIII. 459. 3380. Rājyaśrī=VIII. 3399. Rāmalekhā=VII. 256. Ramaṇyā=I. 263. Raṇārambhā=III. 391. Ratnādevī=VIII. 2402. Ratnaprabhā=III. 379. Ratnāvalī=III. 476. Raṭṭā=IV. 152. Sahajā =VII. 674, 1487. Sāmbavatī=V. 296. Sammā=III. 14. Śāradā=VIII. 1823. Sillā=VIII. 1069. Somaladevī=VIII. 1923. Śrīlekhā=VII. 123. Subhaṭā=VII. 180. Sugalā=VII. 685. Sugandhā=V. 157. VIII. 3431. Sullā=VIII. 248. Surendravatī=V. 226. Sūryamatī=VII. 152. VIII. 2342. Sussalā=VIII. 2410. Suyyā=V. 74. Śvetā=VIII. 373. Tejalādīnā=VIII. 1940. Ṭhakkanā=VII. 1252. Tilottamā=VII. 120. Trailokyadevī=VI. 107. Uddā=VII. 481. Valgā=VI. 308. VII. 481. Vallabhā=VII. 1486. Vimalaprabhā=III. 384. Yaśomatī=VIII. 3408. Yaśovatī=I. 70. Yūkadevī=III. 11.

APPENDIX F

Some of the poets, scholars and distinguished men mentioned by Kalhaṇa:—

Ānandavardhana, poet=V. 34. Bappaṭa=IV. 214. Bhartṛmeṇṭha, poet =III. 260. Bhavabhūti=IV. 144. Bilhaṇa, poet=VII. 937. Candaka, poet=II. 16. Cātaka, poet=IV. 497. Chavillākara=I. 19. Dāmodaragupta=IV. 496. Helārāja=I. 17. Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa=V. 66. Kṣemendra, poet=I. 13. Kṣīra, grammarian=IV. 489. Mamma, musician=VII. 299. Maṅkha, poet=VIII. 3354. Manoratha=IV. 497. Mātṛgupta, poet=III. 129. Nāyaka=V. 159. Pāṇini, grammarian=IV. 635. Ratnākara, poet=V. 34. Saṁdhimat, poet=IV. 497. Śaṅkhadanta, poet=IV. 497. Śaṅkuka, poet=IV. 705. Śivaratha, scholar=VIII. 111. Suvrata=I. 11. Thakkiya= IV. 494. Vākpatrirāja=IV. 144. Vasunanda, author of the *Art of Love*= I. 337.

APPENDIX G

The official titles and political terms found in Kalhaṇa have come down from antiquity although a few of them are peculiar to Kaśmīr. Most of them are to be found in the Epics, the Purāṇas and in the ancient books on political science such as the famous *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, a work which is like Aristotle's book on *Politics* and Macchiavelli's *Prince* at the same time. Among other works on polity are *Cāṇakya-Sūtrāṇi*, *Śukra-Nīti*, *Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra*, *Nīti-Prakāśikā* of Vaiśampāyana, *Nīti Vākyāmṛta* of Somadeva and *Bṛhaspati-Sūtra* which contain many of the administrative terms found in Kalhaṇa.

The Mughals copied the imperial system of India to which they added a few of the forms and ceremonies of the court of Zoroastrian Iran. We find many of the main features of the court of the Mughal emperors in Kalhaṇa's book. The assembly or Darbār (Āsthāna) and the division of the court into the Dewān-i-Ām (Bāhya=Outer Court) and Dewān-i-Khās (Sk. Ābhanytara=Inner Court) are characteristic features of the Indian court. Many of the old Saṁskṛta terms are still part of political parlance and are current in the organizations of political parties in modern India such for instance as the Sabhā, Sabhāpati, Koṣādhyakṣa, etc.

Some of the political terms, titles and offices mentioned by Kalhaṇa are as follows:—

Abhiṣeka	= Coronation.
Ābhyantara	= Court of the Interior.
Adhikaraṇa lekhaka	= Official recorder. VI. 38.
Adhikārasraj	= Garland of office. VII. 1363.
Akṣapaṭala	= Accounts office. V. 301.
Amātya	= Minister.
Aśvaghāsa Kāyastha	= Official-in-charge of cavalry stores. III. 489.
Āsthāna	= Court, Assembly. VII. 85-86.
Aṭṭapatibhāga	= Revenue office. V. 167.
Bāhya / Bāhyāli	= Court of the Exterior. IV. 62.
Calagañja	= Mobile treasury office. IV. 589.
Dānapaṭṭaka	= Deed of gift, grant. V. 397.
Daṇḍa Nāyaka	= Prefect of Police.
Dhanādhyakṣa	= Superintendent of revenue.
Dharmādhikaraṇa	= High Court of Justice.
Dharmādhyakṣa	= Chief Justice. I. 119, IV. 588.
Divira	= Clerk. V. 177, VII. 119, VIII. 131.
Draṅga	= Observation post, watch-station.

Dūta	= Envoy, Plenipotentiary.
Dvāra	= Gate, frontier.
Dvārādhikārin Dvārapati, Dvārādhipa	= Warden of the frontier (Lord of the Gate).
Ekāṅga	= Praetorian Guard
Gaṇanā patrikā	= Account book, VI. 36.
Gañja	= Treasury IV. 589, VII. 125-126.
Gañjavara	= Treasurer V. 177.
Grāmakāyastha	= Village official, a Pāṭvāri.
Gṛhakṛtya	= An office for collection of imposts or levies.
Kampana	= Chief command of the military.
Kampaneśa, Kampanādhīśa, Kampanādhipati	= Commander-in-chief, supreme commander of the army.
Kampanodgrāhaka	= Recruiting officer for the army.
Kaṭaka Vārika	= Military orderly.
Kañcuki	= Chamberlain of the royal household.
Kāyastha	= Civil servant, government official.
Koṣādhyakṣa	= Treasury superintendent. I. 119.
Lekhādhikārin	= Official-in-charge of documents; a secretary. III. 206.
Lekha hāraka	= Letter carrier. Despatch rider.
Mahāśvaśālā Mahābhāṇḍāgāra Mahāsādhanabhāga Mahāpratihārāpīḍā Mahāsandhivigraha	= Five high designations. IV. 142-43.
Mahāśākya	= Buddhist designation of king.
Mahattama	= Official title VII. 438. (The Mehtar of Chitral is known by the old Kaśmīrī title Mahattara.)
Mantrin	= Minister.
Nagarādhipa	= Prefect or commissioner of the city of Śrīnagar.
Niyogabhāk	= Commissar; one who is commissioned. VII. 1481.
Pādāgra	= Office of State.
Parivārāṅganā	= Maid of the entourage; Maid of Honour. VIII. 1488.
Pārṣadya or Pārṣada	= Member of Pariṣad = Assembly or corporation.
Praśasti Paṭṭa	= Laudatory inscription.
Pratīhārin	= Chamberlain.

Praveśabhāgika	= Official post.
Purohita	= Pontiff, chancellor.
Rājasthāna	= Ministry of Justice.
Rājānaka	= A high title (Rāzdan).
Sabhā	= Assembly, association, public meeting.
Sabhāpati	= President of the Assembly. IV. 495.
Saciva	= Minister—(Dhīsaciva=political adviser).
Sahāya	= Secretary, Assistant. VII. 39-40.
Sandhi-Vigrahika	= Minister for Peace and War. IV. 137, 142-43.
Sarvādhikārin	= Prime minister.
Sthāma	= Bivouac VII. 1542, or barracks.
Stheya	= Judge. I. 7.
Sūta	= Equery VII. 1603.
Tantrin	= A military organization mainly infantry.
Velāvitta	= Time-keeper, augur.
Yāṣṭika	= (Sk. Yaṣṭi = stick). Usher, Steward modern Chobdar.
Yuvarāja	= Crown Prince.

APPENDIX H

The Horse

The twelfth century was pre-eminently the century of the knight and the steed both rider and mount being protected by armour in Kaśmīr as in other lands. Kalhaṇa's numerous references to the horse and to Fox-hunting[1] which apparently was popular in Kaśmīr show that he himself must have been a horseman. "The muse fearing contact with the sin of his tale has faltered; like a nervous mare she is with difficulty urged forward by me."[2] Apparently he belonged to a horsy family for he tells us that his father Canpaka had a dispute over a mare with the crown prince Bhoja.[3] Kalhaṇa loves to describe the cavalcade of horsemen, the escort of kings who entered Śrīnagar in triumph and the Saṁskṛta word he uses, Aśvavāra, still survives as Sowar[4] for mounted troops. As in the days of the Crusades steel-clad knights met their antagonists in a mêlée when in the words of Kalhaṇa "the mighty clash of their arms provided the thunder of applause." The word painting[5] of Kalhaṇa recalls the stories of Norman French chivalry and the battle of Taraori,[6] near Karnal, where Pṛthvī Rāj Chauhān defeated and drove the invaders under Muhammad Ghuri.

According to some authorities, the horse burst upon Western Asia in the days of the Sumerians and gave military victory to those who employed it in preference to the ass. The Parthians and Scythians and later the Turks acquired ascendancy in Central Asia owing to the superiority of their horses. The pasture lands of Quara-Darya nourished a race of famous stallions which were well-known to the Chinese in the seventh century and it was their descendants, the chargers of Transoxiana, who furnished the squadrons of Seljuq for his march to the sea of Marmara and those of the Ghaznavite Turk Mahmud and later of Timur and Babar for the distant plains of India. The horse was the aeroplane of those days. Kalhaṇa's account shows that the stability of the ruler of Kaśmīr depended upon the superiority of his cavalry and large treasure was expended in the purchase

[1] See e.g. VI. 183. VIII. 699.
[2] Taraṅga V. 416.
[3] VII. 1592.
[4] From Hindi Āsvār.
[5] See VIII. 1159-1161.
[6] 1190-91 A.C. The Sultan led a furious cavalry charge against the Rajput centre and personally encountered Pṛthvī Rāj's brother Govind Rai and shattered his teeth with the lance, but Govind Rai drove his javelin through the Sultan's arm, and Muhammad, fearing to sacrifice his army by falling, turned his horse's head from the field and fled (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III. p. 40).

of thorough-breed horses. There can be little doubt that these were the thorough-breeds of Central Asia and Afghanistan.[7]

The Scytho-Turkish horse survives in the Peninsula of Kāthiawāḍ. Their Scythian owners the Kāṭhis—who are now land-holders and ruling chiefs—brought the special breed of horse from their original home on the Oxus. The Kāṭhis still largely retain their taste for adventure and the nomadic life; they love freedom and equality and closely resemble their cousins the people of the Frontier Province in feature and physique. The Kāṭhis are sun-worshippers; their names are the same as the pre-Muslim names which still survive in Afghanistan and the Frontier Province. A fine specimen of their special breed of horse was given to me by Colonel Zoravarsingh, officer commanding the Bhavanagar State Lancers. In his letter which was delivered with the colt—named 'Kāṇhāiyā'—he wrote that its dam had saved the writer's father from drowning in a flooded river, that the colt was dear to them like a member of the family and that he hoped I would treat him with the same affection. I was reminded of this interesting letter—which unfortunately not being in my possession here can not be quoted—while I was translating the thrilling episode of the brave fight of Prince Vijayamalla, who cut his way on horse-back through the royalist force with his wife clinging to him. "The gallant prince had plunged into the waters with his wife when pressed by the enemy and his horse, too, followed him by crossing the river in flood."[8]

Horses, arms—the favourite Rajput Katar[9] and armour used by men—real men—what fascinating things to dream about! Like Kalhaṇa most of us still regard killing and being killed as the display of virile action and we have a deep-set, though generally unavowed attraction, for them unless we ourselves happen to be the victims! This feeling is reflected in all epic poetry, literature and adventure which are survivals of the Middle Ages with us. In the solitude of my present abode, Kalhaṇa's descriptions of fighting make me yearn for action! I often wonder, however, whether it is true that the love of fighting is part of our nature. Even if it is what really matters is what we fight about and that is part of our nurture, education, and way of thought.

[7] The horses of the Afghans, the Kambojas, are refererd to in IV. 165.
[8] Taraṅga VII. 910.
[9] Kattāraka VIII. 312.

APPENDIX I

Gandhāra

Gandhāra, the corridor of India, has been one of the world's most effective melting pots. Alternately it has been the master and vassal of Kaśmīr and the Panjab. The early history of their cultural contacts is of considerable interest in view of the national revival in Gandhāra which is now known as the Frontier Province of India.

The opening scene of his history, Kalhaṇa places in Gandhāra to which country and to the Brahmans of Gandhāra he makes frequent references.[1] King Meghavāhana, the apostle of non-violence was brought to Kāśmīr from Gandhāra.[2] There can be no doubt that Kalhaṇa's references to the expeditions of Kaśmīri kings into the north-west frontier of India and to their repeated interference in Udabhāṇḍa are historical facts. We know from Hsüan Tsang that when he visited Takṣaśīlā,[3] that celebrated city was part of the dominions subject to Kaśmīr. We also know that in the seventh century Śāhityagin,[4] the Sun-worshipper, king of the Western Turks, was prevented from crossing the Indus by the then king of Kaśmīr. Kalhaṇa's account, corroborated by Muslim historians, of the despatch of a Kaśmīrī contingent in aid of Trilocanapāla, the last Śāhi king, who had sought the help of Kaśmīr against the Mahomedan Turks of Ghazni supports the author's earlier references to the influence of Kaśmīr in the political affairs of Udabhāṇḍa.[5]

The famous city of Udabhāṇḍa, the ruins of which are now known as Ohind or Und, was a flourishing place when Alexander the Great occupied it in the spring of 326 B.C. It was at Udabhāṇḍa that the Macedonian conqueror received the embassy of the king of Takṣaśīlā named Āmbhi[6] who was at enmity with Purūravas,[7] the ruler of the state on the further side of the Vitastā, and with the rajah of the hill State of Abhisāra.[8] Gandhāra was known to the Greeks as Gandharites and its celebrated capital

[1]I. 66, 68, 307; II. 145; III. 2.

[2]III. 2. Like Meghavāhana, Udayana Deva, too, a refugee in Gandhāra was restored to the throne of Kaśmīr in the 14 century.

[3]Gk. Taxila.

[4]Tigin in old Turkish meant chief or leader. For names of Mahomadan Turks, see V. 152-155n.

[5]In the 14th century Sikandar But-Shikan conquered Gandhāra and married the princess of Udabhāṇḍa, whose son, the celebrated Zain-al-abidin, was the Akbar of Kaśmīr.

[6]Gk. Omphis.

[7]Gk. Porus.

[8]For Abhisāra See I. 180; V. 217.

Puṣkalāvatī, a large and prosperous city, was called by them Peukelaotis.[9]

From the plains of Makran, the shores of which are washed by the Arabian Sea, up to the pine-clad highlands of Kaśmīr, broadly speaking, runs the north-west frontier of India. The road from Peshawar to the formidable wall of the trans-Indus mountains, connecting the Kabul river valley with the plains of India, passes through the Khyber Pass. Through this inlet have flowed successive waves of Aryan, Assyrian, Median, Iranian, Greek, Scythian, Turkish and Turco-Mongol migrations into India.

The frontier region, north of the Gomal Pass, consists of a long strip of uninterrupted mountain of varying width and is inhabited by tribes whose mother-tongue, Pushto, is the cousin-german of the Kaśmīrī language. It is said that after the great fission which separated the main body of the Indo-Aryans from the Iranians, but before all the special phonetic characteristics of Iranian speech had developed a migratory wave passed from the Pamirs through the Hindukush, journeying directly south. They occupied the submontane tract including the country round Kafiristan, Chitral, Gilgit and Kaśmīr. It is interesting to compare with Iranian mythology the ancient Kaśmīri legend preserved in the Nīlamata Purāṇa and referred to by Kalhaṇa regarding the Piśācas, who made Kaśmīr uninhabitable in winter and the Nāgas or Dragons who originally ruled the land.[10] The Iranian tradition preserved in the *Avestā* and in Firdausi's *Shahnameh* localises the heroes and myths in the east of Iran and has transformed the old gods, who fight with the great snake, into kings of Iran who fight with the Turanians. But this historical aspect of the myth in Firdausi's poem is of late origin and is but a reflex of the mighty Iranian empire founded by the Achaemenids and restored by the Sassanids.

The first tide of the migratory Aryan stock from the highlands of Khokand and Badakshan had already settled in territory (now Eastern Afghanistan and the Frontier Province) which remained its homeland until the Aryans entered the Panjab by the valley of the Kabul river and before it eventually took root in the fertile regions of the Gaṅgā. It is this country, to which Kalhaṇa refers as Gandhāra and the Indus region (Saindhava) whose people, he tells us, were in demand for the army in Kaśmīr. Indeed we find from the *Manu-Smṛti* and the *Arthaśāstra* that, ruling princes were advised to enlist as soldiers in their armed forces the virile men of the Indian frontier.

Although Alexander's conquest in the North-West made no permanent impression upon India, his conquest of neighbouring countries was indirectly responsible for the subsequent establishment of Greek art and

[9]Arrian mentions that this capital city was taken by Alexander's general Hephaistion. The site of Puṣkalāvatī has been identified with Charsadda where extensive mounds of ancient debris are still prominent. In Alberuni's time the city was known as Pukāl.

[10]I. 27 n.

culture in Gandhāra. The Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra profoundly reacted on the plastic art not only of Kaśmīr and India, but of Central Asia, China and distant Japan. The history of our early contact with Europe is interesting, for, the Greeks have left an indelible mark on the arts, sciences and literature of India.

Between the fifth century B.C. and the fifth century A.C. Gandhāra was under the dominion successively of seven different rulers—the Iranians, the Macedonians, the Mauryas, the Bactrian Greeks, the Parthians and the Kushans—whose culture, in turn, reacted profoundly on the history of Kaśmīr and the civilization of India. Numerous passages in the Buddhist *Jātakas* mention Takṣaśilā as the capital city of Gandhāra. The testimony of the *Jātakas*, corroborated by Greek historians, shows that for several centuries, it enjoyed a great reputation as a university town, famous for the arts and sciences of the day. We are told that Candragupta was a youthful student at the university of Takṣaśilā at the time of the Macedonian invasion. He drove out Alexander's Greek garrisons east of the Indus and with the assistance of Cāṇakya, the Indian Machiavelli and celebrated author of the *Arthaśāstra*, he founded the great Maurya empire at Pāṭaliputra[11] and incorporated Takṣaśilā and the other states of the Panjab into the empire of Magadha. Seleucus Nicator invaded India[12] seeking to reconquer the lost possessions of Alexander, but was compelled to conclude a humiliating peace by Candragupta, under the terms of which all the former Macedonian possessions including Afghanistan were ceded to the Indian Emperor. During the reign of Bindusāra, Candragupta's successor, Taxila revolted, but was brought under submission by the crown-prince Aśoka who ruled there, as viceroy, on behalf of his father. It was during Aśoka's efficient viceroyalty of the North-West that Buddhism gained in strength in these parts and spread to Kaśmīr and Afghanistan. He covered these countries with Saṅghārāmas and monuments, some of which still survive such as his inscriptions at Shahbazgarhi and his celebrated tower near Kabul known as the Minar Chakri. Apparently Aśoka's influence extended far beyond Kaśmīr. There is a central Asiatic tradition recorded by Hsüan Tsang that, Khoten[13] was first colonized by exiles banished by Aśoka from Taxila after the blinding of Kuṇāla.[14]

The successors of Alexander, Seleucus I and his son Antiochus I founded a great many towns in Eastern Iran and the Greek language, for some time, became dominant there. Diodotus, the Satrap of Bactria, conquered Sogdiana, declared his independence in about 255 B.C. and became the

[11]Gk. Palimbothra; the modern Patna.

[12]305 B.C.

[13]Sk. Kustana.

[14]The story of the passion of queen Tiṣyarakṣitā for her step-son Kuṇāla is a replica of the Greek legend of Hippolytus and Phaedra and is no doubt the source of the medieval story of Puran Bhagat still popular in the Panjab.

founder of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.[15] The decline of the Maurya power tempted the Greek colonists of Bactria to invade Gandhāra. The Bactrian king Euthedemus[16] and his son Demetrius crossed the Hindu-Kush and entered Gandhāra and the Indus Valley.

For a time a great Greek Empire seemed to arise in the East. When, however, Demetrius advanced into India, one of his generals, Eucratides, proclaimed himself king of Bactria and soon in every province there arose usurpers who proclaimed themselves kings and fought one against the other. Twenty years later Eucratides, who had seized Bactria, invaded India and deprived Demetrius of part of his Indian possessions. From Demetrius and Eucratides there sprang two rival lines of Indo-Greek rulers and between the two royal Houses the feud, which had begun in Bactria, continued in India. After Demetrius and Eucratides, the Greeks rapidly succumbed to the seductive influence of Indian culture which is evidenced by the adoption of Indian religious figures by the Greek kings. We have a large number of coins of the Greek kings on which the Brāhmī alphabet, the precursor of the Devanāgarī, is used. In Afghanistan and Western Panjab the Kharoṣṭhī, derived from the Armaic and written from right to left was used. We find this script in the inscriptions of Aśoka and in the recently discovered Mss. in Eastern Turkistan. The most famous of the Indo-Greek dynasts of Gandhāra and the Panjab were Appollodotus and Menander. They conquered a great part of India. Strabo tells us that Menander "conquered more tribes than Alexander" and among his conquests were included Ayodhyā, Pāṭaliputra and Saurāṣṭra. Menander appears in Indian tradition as king Milinda who became a convert to Buddhism. His dialogue with the celebrated Buddhist philosopher Nāgasena is known as the *Milinda-Panho* or *Questions of Milinda*. The *Milinda Panho* was originally written in old Pushto of which no copy is now extant; it is, however, preserved in Pāli in Ceylon, Burma and Siam and the earliest extant Pāli copy of the 4th century A.C. was discovered in a Buddhist shrine in Japan.[17] Buddhaghoṣa repeatedly refers to this celebrated dialogue as an authoritative work though not in the canon. After his death, Menander appears to have been treated with honour which recalls the passing of the Blessed One. According to Plutarch "when Menander, one of the Bactrian kings, died on a campaign after a mild rule, all the subject towns disputed about the honour of his burial, till at last his ashes were divided between them in equal parts."

[15]Bactria was the fertile country, bounded by hills beyond which lay the desert of Turan, where the Prophet Zarathuṣtra gained his first adherents and preached under the protection of one of its petty kings, Viśtasp.

[16]Son-in-law of Antiochus the Great (190 B.C.).

[17]M. Sylvain Lévi tells us that there are two Chinese works written between the 5th and 7th centuries on the *Dialogue of Milinda* which although they purport to be translations are not, however, translations of the Pāli text, but are probably derived from a recension which is older than Pāli.

Greek rule in the North-West lasted for over a century when it was ended by the invasion of the Śakas,[18] who had settled in the Parthian Province of Seistan[19] and had then mingled and freely intermarried with the Parthians. These invaders, the Śaka-Pahalava[20] overran Arachosia[21] and thence passed across the Indus to the conquest of the Panjab. One of their chiefs, the Parthian Vonones, established himself in Arachosia while the leader of another section under the Śaka Maues conquered Takṣaśilā.[22] His successor Azes I consolidated the Śaka power throughout the North-West and extended it as far as the Jamna. He followed the ancient Iranian system of administration by Satraps which had long been established in the Panjab and it was continued by his successors Azilise and Azes II whose local satraps in the Panjab and Mathurā, also of the Śaka race, were connected with one another by family ties. After the death of Azes II, the kingdoms of Arachosia and Takṣaśilā were united under the Parthian Gondophares and Kabul and the Panjab were overrun by the Parthians; and the Indo-Greeks had meanwhile been wedged in the Kabul valley.[23] Gondophares, the fame of whose power spread to the Western world and who figured in early Christian writings,[24] overthrew the last Greek ruler Hermaeus and annexed the Kabul valley.

It was during the Śaka Pahalava regime that the traveller Apollonius of Tyana is said to have visited the North-West of India. According to his biographer Philostratus, the king who then ruled in Takṣaśilā was named Phraotes who held undisputed sway over Gandhāra and who was independent of Vardanes, the Parthian king of Babylon. Appollonius tells us that Takṣaśilā was of the same size as Nineveh and fortified like the cities of Greece on a symmetrical plan. The streets were narrow and irregular like those of Athens and the houses had the appearance of being one-storied but had in fact underground basement rooms. The city had a temple of the Sun; and the royal palace which was characterised by simplicity and lack of ostentation was a contrast to the splendour of the court of Babylon. The Indo-Parthians in their turn were destroyed by the Kushans whose aid was sought by the ex-king Hermaeus. Hermaeus invited the powerful

[18] Scythians.
[19] Sk. Śakasthāna; Sijistan of Alberuni.
[20] Scytho-Parthians.
[21] Modern Ghazni or Ghazna; Ho-si-na of Hsüan Tsang.
[22] About 80 B.C.
[23] History repeated itself when the empire of the Śāhis in the Kabul valley was finally destroyed by Mahmud after the Gazhnavite Turks had first overrun Kabul and later the Panjab.
[24] The date of Gondophares is fixed by an inscription from the Kabul Valley dated the year 103 of the Saṁvat era (46 B.C.). In the legend of St. Thomas, the Apostle, which is connected with this king he is referred to as the king of India under the name of Gundaphar. Soon after this, the Mongolian Scyths invaded India and founded the great Indo-Scythian empire of the Kushan dynasty.

Kushan chief Kajula Kadphises and in alliance with him conquered Kabul and subsequently Gandhāra and Takṣaśilā.

The Kushans were a tribe of the people called by the Chinese historians Yueh-chih or the Moon Tribe who originally emerged from the extreme north-west of China. From China they were driven westward about 170 B.C. They first conquered Bactria and the region of the Oxus Valley; then the Kabul Valley and finally Northern India. The successor of Kajula and Wima Kadphises was the mighty emperor Kaniṣka whose winter capital was Puruṣapura[25] and whose empire extended from Central Asia to the borders of Bengal.[26]

Thus in the middle of the first century B.C. the whole of Eastern Iran and Western India belonged to the great Indo-Scythian empire. The ruling dynasty had the name Kushan, by which they are called on their coins and in the Iranian sources. The principal seat of these people, who conquered the Greeks, was Bactria but their kings mainly resided in Gandhāra. Like Menander and the Indo-Greeks they, too, became converts to the religion of India. The most famous of these kings was the Kushan Emperor Kaniṣka, the Clovis of Buddhist Afghanistan.

The empire of the Kushans merits special mention on account of its peculiar religious attitude which we may gather from the coins of its kings, particularly those of Kaniṣka and of his successor Haviṣka, on which an alphabet adopted from the Greek is used. Kaniṣka's coins bear the image and name of Buddha. Iranian deities also figure on his currency such as Mithra, Athro, Verethragna. Buddhism and Zoroastrianism appear to have formed the state religion by a perfect syncretism and different religions were, in characteristic Indian fashion, on the best terms with one another precisely as in China where we find the most varied religions side by side and on equal footing.

The greatness of Kaniṣka may be gauged from the stories related about him in the 6th century by the Chinese pilgrim Sun-Yun,[27] who mentions his marvellous 400 ft. tower at Puruṣapura and in the seventh century by Hsüan-Tsang, who found Afghanistan full of the legends of Kaniṣka. We learn from this learned pilgrim that the princes of the Hindu Kush prided themselves on their descent from that emperor. He mentions the splendid Saṅghārāmas built in the district of Kabul[28] by the emperor for the accommodation of his hostages, the princes of China.[29] Hsüan

[25]The old name of Peshawar and Purushāvar of Alberuni.

[26]I. 168-171. The founder of the Mughal expire in India and his Chagtai Turks were descendants of Ginghiz's Mongolians, who intermarried with the people of Central Asia. Thus Akbar, like Kaniṣka, was a Turko-Mongol.

[27]518 A.C.

[28]Sk. Kapiśā; Kāybish of Alberuni.

[29]The Chinese princes were sumptuously housed by the Emperor near Kabul in summer and at Peshawar during spring and autumn. During winter, they resided in the Panjab at a town known as Cīnabhukti (the Chinese Assignment). These princes are reputed to have introduced the pear and the peach during their residence at Cīnabhukti.

Tsang tells us, "Afterwards when they were permitted to return to their old abode, and notwithstanding the intervening mountains and rivers, they were without cessation reverenced with offerings, so that down to the present time the congregation of priests on each rainy season frequent this spot; and on the breaking up of the fast they convene an assembly and pray for the happiness of the hostages,—a pious custom still existing." The Chinese knew this emperor by a term which has been interpreted to mean, Kaniṣka of Gandhāra and the intercourse between the frontiers of China and India via Gandhāra lasted till the destruction of the empire of the Śāhis of Udabhāṇḍa.[30] Various legends of Kaniṣka survived as late as 1030 A.C. in Gandhāra in the time of Alberuni who also relates them. Tracing the history of the Hindu Turks of Kabul, Alberuni says, "The Hindus had kings residing in Kabul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin." The first of them was Barhātikin. "He wore Turkish dress, a short tunic open in front, a high hat, boot and arms . . . he brought those countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of a Shāhiya of Kabul. The rule remained among his descendants for generations, the number of which is said to be about sixty . . . one of this series of kings was Kanik the same who is said to have built the Vihāra of Purushāvar. It is called after him Kanik-Caitya."[31]

The main contribution to history of the Indo-Scythians was the continuation of the Graeco-Buddhist civilization of Afghanistan and Gandhāra. The Greeks had taught the Gandhārans to work in stone and had given an impetus to Indian art by creating an image of Buddha, of whom until their arrival, there had never been any representation as being contrary to the philosophic conceptions of Buddhism. The Greeks made a statue of Buddha in the shape of a radiant and youthful Apollo draped in peplum! Greek plastic art inspired by the philosophic ideals of India created an image of Buddha—as a Symbol of Faith and Love, inducing contemplation and soothing dreams of the Infinite—which has ever since dominated Asia. It was in the crucible of Gandhāra that this new art was born and developed and it was from there that Buddhism reacting to Greek and Iranian influences passed it on to China, Korea and Japan thus forming a link between all the civilizations of the ancient world.

The power of the Kushans gradually declined in Afghanistan and Gandhāra, although in the Panjab it appears to have survived until the invasion of the Epthalite or White Huns. Kalhaṇa mentions as a king of Kaśmīr the mighty conqueror Mihirakula, the Indian Attila, and describes him as 'the slayer of three crores'[32] of humanity.

[30] See V. 152–155n.

[31] Vol. II. pp. 10-11; The Indian Archaeological Department excavated the site indicated by M. Foucher, the most notable discovery being the now celebrated relic casket bearing an image and inscription of Kaniṣka whose Superintending Engineer had the Greek name of Agesilaos.

[32] I. 289-324.

As the Greeks were driven out of India by Candragupta, and as Vikramāditya 'the enemy of the Śakas'[33] in a later age is said to have vanquished them and saved India, so in the seventh century king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj destroyed the remnants of the Huns in the Panjab and drove them back to the Oxus. The glory of Kanauj[34] is reflected in Arab traditions and four centuries later in the *Shahnamah* of Firdausi and there are echoes of it in Kalhaṇa.[35]

After consolidating their conquest of Iran, the Arabs invaded Afghanistan and Central Asia. During the Omayyade Khilafat of Damascus both Kabul and Sijistan bravely fought against the Muslims. During certain years they were subdued and had to pay tribute, but Kabul always remained under the sway of its Hindu kings. It was incorporated in the Khalif's empire under the Abbasid Ma'mūn; the city was compelled to receive a Muslim governor, but the Hindu Shah remained. The same double rule existed in Khwarizm.[36] The Hindu official who ruled the city on behalf of the Śāhi king is referred to by Alberuni as the Ispahbad,[37] a title of the Sassanian empire. About 950-975 the Muslims lived in the citadel of Kabul while the suburbs were inhabited by the Hindus and the Jews. Kabul was the coronation city of the kings of the Śāhi dynasty, as Königsberg in Prussia was that of the Hohenzollerns. Even when they had ceased to reside there and had made Udabhāṇḍa the capital of their empire, they had to be crowned in Kabul.[38]

The might of the Arabs declined and their rule ended in Kabul as it had ended in Sindh. Though they achieved no permanent religious gains in India, which then included Kābulistān and Gandhāra, their conquest of the countries adjacent to India ultimately resulted in far-reaching cultural reactions as in the case of the conquests of Alexander.[39]

[33] II. 6.

[34] "The middle of India is the country round Kanoj (Kanauj), which they call Madhyadeśa, i.e. the middle of the realms. It is the middle or centre from a geographical point of view, in so far as it lies half-way between the sea and the mountains, in the midst between the hot and the cold provinces, and also between the eastern and western frontiers of India. But it is a political centre too, because in former times it was the residence of their most famous heroes and kings." *Alberuni*, Vol. I. p. 198. Also IV.132n.

[35] See I. 117n; IV. 133; V. 266; VII. 237.

[36] Modern Khiva.

[37] "Thus when Kabul was conquered by the Muslims and the Ispahbad of Kabul adopted Islam, he stipulated that he should not be bound to eat cow's meat nor to commit sodomy which proves that he abhorred the one as much as the other." *Alberuni*, Vol. II. p. 157.

[38] *Dr. Sachau*, Vol. II. p. 394.

[39] During the rule in Sindh of the Khalif Mansur (753 to 774 A.C.) Indian embassies and scholars took Saṁskṛta books to Baghdad. It was then that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. They learned astronomy from Brahmgupta earlier than from Ptolemy. Al Fazari and other Arabian scholars translated the *Brahmasiddhānta* and *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* into Arabic with the help of Pandits. Another influx of Hindu learning took place under Harun (786-808 A.C.). The ministerial

From the year 1000 to 1258 is the period in Asia marked by the decline of Arab Imperialism, when Islam was on the defensive in Palestine against the aggressive Christian Powers of Europe. The Hindus had recovered their independence in Kabul and we learn from Alberuni that "Kabulistān and Gandhāra" were in his time partly Buddhist and mainly Hindu. The Turks of Central Asia, who had succumbed to the cultural influence of Arabicized Iran, had meanwhile succeeded in establishing themselves at Ghazna in the ancient Arachosia. The Ghaznavite Turks defeated and destroyed their civilized brethren, the Hindu Turks. This was a repetition of the historic process we have seen before, viz. the usurpation of the rule and territory of the earlier emigrés by subsequent invaders from Central Asia.

These Turks of Ghazna, under Arabian influence, acted in their religious zeal somewhat like the earlier Turks had done under Iranian influence in the interest of sun-worship in northern India. Alberuni tells us: "In former times, Khurāsān, Persis, Irāk, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathuṣtra went forth from Ādharbaijān and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with King Gushtasp and his son Isfendiyād spread the new faith both in east and west, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (i.e. Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irāk. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh. There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called Maga."[40] Neither the vandalism of Mahmud nor his iconoclastic zeal was new. Mihirakula and his Huns had similarly destroyed Buddhist convents and universities in Afghanistan in favour of Saivism and king Harṣa of Kaśmīr, who like Mahmud is said to have been a patron of learning, we learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* was a relentless iconoclast. Mahmud was a great soldier and he out-generaled his opponents; he mainly owed his victories to the organization of his

family Burmak had come with the ruling dynasty from Balkh, where an ancestor of theirs had been the superintendent of the Buddhist convent Naubehar (Sk. Nava-Vihāra). The name Burmak is said to be of Indian origin. The Burmak family had been converted but their contemporaries never thought much of their profession of Islam nor regarded it as genuine. They also engaged Hindu scholars to come to Baghdad, made them the chief physicians of their hospitals, and got them to translate, from Saṁskṛta into Arabic, books on medicine, toxicology, philosophy and other subjects.

[40] Vol. I. p. 21. Alberuni tells us that the Maga were a class of Brahmans specially devoted to the worship of the sun in the famous Sun-temple of Multan. Vol. 1 p. 121. Also see Hsüan Tsang for an account of this Temple. *Beal*, Vol. II. p. 274. The researches of Prof. Hodiwala have proved that the Maga were the descendants of the Magians of Iran and their sacred books written in Saṁskṛta contain numerous Iranian words. They were the first Parsis who settled in India and were later recognised as Brahmans. This celebrated temple was finally destroyed by Aurangzeb.

military machine. His victories on the Oxus and in India were gained with the help of Hindu batallions under Hindu officers[41] and above all, the strength of his army lay in the superiority of his cavalry of which the supply centres were the famous horse breeding grounds of Central Asia. His cavalry, however, was useless in mountainous regions and he failed twice in his invasions of Kaśmīr. Besides being a soldier, Mahmud was a great lover of architecture and the conqueror of India was, in turn, conquered by the beauty of Indian temples and edifices.[42] He must have been keenly aware of the value of propaganda, for, his first coins struck at Lahore bear as legend the creed of Islam in Saṁskṛta translation. We may conjecture that, Hindu scholars of the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy co-operated with him in translating the Arabian creed.[43]

The age of Mahmud was one of religious bigotry in Christian and Islamic countries and abduction and kidnapping of innocent people to be sold into slavery[44] was carried on on a large scale by the Turks in India, which recall similar raids of the Saracens on the coast of Greece and Italy. Even in this age there lived the tolerant and learned Alberuni, or, as his compatriots called him Abu Raihan, who was born in 873 A.C. in Khiva. He was a contemporary of the conqueror Mahmud, in whose train he visited India. Alberuni studied Saṁskṛta and translated several books from the Saṁskṛta into Arabic. His translator Dr. Sachau says: "The author has nothing in common with the Muhammadan Ghāzi, who wanted to convert the Hindus or to kill them, and his book scarcely reminds the reader of the incessant war between Islam and India, during which it had been prepared, and by which the possibility of writing such a book had first been given. It is like a magic island of quiet, impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns, and plundered temples. The object which the author had in view, and never for a moment lost sight of, was to afford the necessary information and training to "any

[41]Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 109; The Hindus fought at Karman, Khwarizm and Merv, Vol. II. pp. 130, 131. See the case of Tilak, Vol. II. pp. 117 and 123. And Taraṅga VIII. 965 n.

[42]The city of Ghazni its mosques and places were built by Hindu captives who were expressly collected and carried away by Mahmud. This led to the introduction of Hindu architectural styles in Iraq and Central Asia, which a few centuries later were reintroduced in India and attained perfection under the Mughals.

[43]The coins are in the British Museum. The Saṁskṛta rendering is:—Avyaktam-ekam, Avatārah Muhammad=The Unmanifest is One, Muhammad is the Avatara. Bismillah is rendered Avyaktīya name='in the name of the Unmanifest.' The Avyakta of the Sāṅkhya philosophy was the nearest to the Arabian idea of Allah.

[44]"Large numbers of the natives of the country, guilty of no crime but that of following the religion of their fathers, were carried off to Ghazni as slaves, and the remarks of one historian probably reflect contemporary Muslim opinion on this practice: 'Slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap and men of respectability in their native land were degraded to the position of slaves of common shopkeepers. But this is the goodness of God, who bestows honour on His own religion and degrades infidelity.' *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III. p. 17.

one (in Islam) who wants to converse with the Hindus, and to discuss with them questions of religion, science, or literature, on the very basis of their own civilization."[45] Dr. Sachau writes in his Preface, "To Alberuni the Hindus were excellent philosophers, good mathematicians and astronomers"[46] and he believed that the ideas of the philosophers of India and ancient Greece were the same as his own viz., those of a pure monotheism and he distinguishes the educated from the ignorant, image-loving crowd in India. Alberuni wrote: "Since, however, here we have to explain the system and the theories of the Hindus on the subject, we shall now mention their ludicrous views; but we declare at once that they are held only by the common uneducated people. For those who march on the path to liberation, or those who study philosophy and theology, and who desire abstract truth which they call *Sāra*, are entirely free from worshipping anything but God alone, and would never dream of worshipping an image manufactured to represent him."[47]

The Arabian religion split up into schisms which ran along the lines of racial and cultural cleavage between the Arabs and the Iranians. In Afghanistan and Gandhāra, the people were similarly divided. Multan, the centre of Iranian sun-worship, became the centre of the Ismaili sect,[48] and Iranian Sufism influenced the educated among the Muslims. The conquests of the Gaznavite Turks drove the scholars of Gandhāra to seek shelter in Kaśmīr which led to a renaissance similar to the renaissance in Italy after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks. Saṁskṛta literature and learning flourished in Kaśmīr until the period of king Zain-al-abidin.[49] Some of the people of Gandhāra migrated to the north retaining

[45]Vol. I. Preface XXIII.

[46]Dr. Sachau adds:—"though there can hardly be any doubt that Indian philosophy in one or other of its principal forms had been communicated to the Arabs already in the first period, it seems to have been something entirely new when Alberuni produced before his compatriots or fellow-believers the Samkhya by Kapila, and the Book of Patanjali in good Arabic translation. The philosophy of India seems to have fascinated his mind, and the noble ideas of the Bhagavadgītā probably came near to the standard of his own persuasions. Perhaps it was he who first introduced this gem of Sanskrit literature into the world of Muslim readers." Preface XXXVIII.

[47] Vol. I. p. 112. Dr. Sachau writes:—"his recognition of Islam is not without a tacit reserve. He dares not attack Islam, but he attacks the Arabs. In his work on chronology he reproaches the ancient Muslims with having destroyed the civilisation of Eran, and gives us to understand that the ancient Arabs were certainly nothing better than the Zoroastrian Eranians. Whenever he speaks of a dark side in Hindu life, he at once turns round sharply to compare the manners of the ancient Arabs, and to declare that they were quite as bad, if not worse. This could only be meant as a hint to the Muslim reader not to be too haughty towards the poor bewildered Hindu, trodden down by the savage hordes of King Mahmud, and not to forget that the founders of Islam, too, were certainly no angels." Preface XIX.

[48] An Iranian heresy, which Mahmud considered it necessary to endeavour to destroy, equally with idolatry. (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III. p. 15).

[49] "This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from these parts of the country conquered by us, and have fled to places which our hand cannot

in part the old religion as in Kafiristan[50] and in part accepted the Shiah and the Ismaili faith of Iran.[51] In the 14th century Kaśmīr was converted to Islam. Sun-worship was, however, revived among the Kasmirī Muslims by Teachers who came from lands formerly under the influence of the ancient Iranian religion.[52] The religion of the Arabs spread in the north-west of India through the medium of the language of Iran like Christianity in the Roman empire through the medium of Greek. After the 14th century, the Brahmans of Kaśmīr easily acquired proficiency in the language of Iran so nearly akin to Saṁskṛta, the language familiar to the Aryans.

In a few years after the death of Mahmud, his descendants having been deprived of all their possessions in Iran, Transoxiana and *Afghanistan* by the Seljuq Turks, sought shelter in the Panjab and eventually the Gaznawid kingdom was destroyed by the princes of Ghur.[53] The kingdoms of the Mahomadan Turks of Central Asia were, in turn, swept away by the world's greatest conqueror Chengiz Khan whose descendants wiped out the Arab Empire of Baghdad. These proud Pagans, the invincible saddle-loving nomads of the high altitudes, levelled to the dust the empire of the low-lying Arabian nomads so that it became "a tale of old in the mouth of the people."[54] The Golden Horde of Chengiz, like the Yue-chi of old, brought together in Central Asia the civilizations of Iran and China. The conquerors succumbed to the culture of the people of Iran whom they conquered. In the past, India had converted her Turko-Mongolian conquerors to Buddhism and Hinduism, and Iran had converted them to her own religion; in the 5th century, Christianity converted the Pagan conquerors of Europe; so, too, Islam, humiliated and destroyed in Central Asia and Baghdad got a new lease of life after the conversion of its pagan conquerors.[55] The descendants of these Turko-Mongols once more founded

yet reach, to Kaśmīr, Benares and other places. And there the antagonism between them and foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources." *Alberuni*, Vol. I. p. 22. For the age of Zain-al-abidin see Kāk's *Ancient Monuments of Kaśmīr*, pp. 33-39. The Hindu king of Kabulistan took refuge with Bhīma, king of Gujrat.

[50] Taraṅga VIII. 2763-64. Note.

[51] Appendix K. See *The Religion of Chitral*, Hunza and Nagar.

[52] See VII. 709. Note.

[53] Allahuddin of Ghur "captured Ghazni and burnt it to the ground. The flames raged for seven days and the outrage earned for its author the name of Jahan-suz 'the world-burner.'" *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III. p. 36.

[54] To quote the words of Alberuni describing Mahmud's destruction of the Śāhi empire.

[55] Six Periods of Islam. The First lasts from the Hijira (622-750 A.C.) and is the age of conquest, when the rule of the Khaliphs of Medina and Damascus was extended to the Atlantic, the Oxus and the Indus. The Second (750-1000) began with the establishment of a new dynasty of the Commander of the Faithful, ruling from Baghdad, in Babylonia, the seat of the ancient Empires of the East. It was the age of Arabic Literature and Science. The Third lasted from 1000 A.C. to 1258 and was marked by the ascendancy of the Turks and the rise of Persian Literature; it was the age of reli-

in India an empire known as the Mughal Empire. The descendant of the Yue-chi, the emperor Kaniṣka, was the patron of the arts and sciences and the Kushan period was noted for its schools of painting of China and Iran, and for its architecture. The descendants of Chengiz likewise encouraged a new school of painting which derived its inspiration from Iranian and Chinese sources and revived Indian architecture. History repeated itself and the real founder of the Mughal Empire, Akbar, was the prototype of the great Kaniṣka. He renounced Islam and adopted a religious ceremonial which was a mixture of Hindu and Zoroastrian ideals. Thus we see once more the influence of Indo-Aryan philosophy and thought reasserting itself. It recalls the case of the Greeks, the Scytho-Parthians and the Mongolo-Turkish kings of early Indian history. And the striking feature of this influence is that in each period it is a blend of the culture and religious ideas of India with those for the time being prevalent in Iran. So complete was the transformation of Akbar that he preferred vegetarian food to meat.[56]

Akbar's friend, Abu-l-Fazl, was an Internationalist. In his brief autobiography at the end of the *Ain-i-Akbari* he thus speaks of his early days: "I passed the nights in lonely spots with the seekers after truth and enjoyed the society of such as are empty handed but rich in mind and heart. My heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or to the Hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the Lamas of Tibet or with the Padres of Portugal; I would gladly sit with the priests of the Parsis and the learned of the Zendavestha. I was sick of the learning of my own land." Akbar's memorable Thursday discussions had, at first, dwelt on single points connected with the life of the Prophet, but later they turned on the very principles of Islam. Referring to these discussions Abu-l-Fazl says in the *Akbar*

gious wars, defensive mainly against Latin Christendom in the West, offensive against Hinduism in the East. The Fourth period (1258-1500) began with a great catastrophe, the Mongol Invasion and the Fall of Baghdad. Islam, however, like Christendom in the 5th century, converted her conquerors and she emerged from the invasions with her frontiers immensely extended towards the East and North, but with her civilization severely damaged. The Fifth period was the age of the great Monarchies, the Turkish, the Persian and that of the Great Moghuls in India and witnessed the second Mohamadan offensive against Europe under the Ottaman Sultans. During the last period which began with the peace of Carlowitz (1699) which marked the end of Turkey as a conquering power, Islam was first thrown back, and then in great part subjugated by the European powers.

[56] Akbar "ate sparingly, taking flesh only during three or four months of the year, his diet at other times consisting of milk, rice and sweetmeats"—*Pére du Jarric.* p. 206. "His Majesty abstains much from flesh, so that whole months pass away without his touching any animal food, which, though prized by most, is nothing thought of by the sage." (Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I. p. 155) Abu-l-Fazl adds: "It is indeed from ignorance and cruelty that, although various kinds of food are obtainable, men are bent upon injuring living creatures and are lending a ready hand in killing and eating them; none seems to have an eye for the beauty inherent in the prevention of cruelty but makes himself a tomb for animals."

Nāmā—"The court became a gathering place of the learned of all creeds; the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognised and their defects were not allowed to affect their good features. Perfect toleration (Sulh-i-kul or 'peace with all') was established." This passage is reminiscent of the rock cut inscription of the Emperor Aśoka at Shahbaz Garhi in Gandhāra.

The conflict of religious ideals of India and Arabia had led to a new spiritual path which was found by Guru Nanak. His disciples later developed a political organisation called the Khālsā which acquired sovereign power and ruled over the Panjab, Gandhāra and Kaśmīr. The Maharaja Ranjit Singh was one of the great rulers of India who, at different periods since the age of Candragupta, evolved order out of chaos and restored and maintained the independence of the Motherland.

Since the middle of the 19th century, the gates of India have become water gates; the landward gates of North-west India have been closed. Yet Gandhāra remains, as it has ever been, equally with Kabul, open to the influence of Central Asia and Iran. As in the past, however, the influence which predominates is that of the mother country. The Risorgimento in Italy has shown that even long subjection to alien rule and the corruption of the higher classes do not destroy the recuperative powers of a nation. It would seem that the past does not die. It survives in our philosophy, the arts, music and literature and it survives in individual and national character and purposes. The Anti-War[57] and Tolerance edicts

[57] The Anti-War edict is the 13th edict promulgated by the Emperor after the war in Kaliṅga. The Tolerance edict is the 12th edict which was first discovered at the foot of the Girnar Hill in Kāthiāwāḍ. It is also inscribed on rock at Shahbaz Garhi (north of Peshawar). It is in Brāhmī script at Girnar and in Kharoṣṭhī script in Gandhāra. This edict is as follows:—

"His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics or householders, by gifts and various forms of reverence.

His Sacred Majesty, however, cares not so much for gifts or external reverence as that there should be a growth of the essence of the matter in all sects. The growth of the essence of the matter assumes various forms, but the root of it is restraint of speech, to wit, a man must not do reverence to his own sect or disparage that of another man without reason. Depreciation should be for specific reasons only, because the sects of other people all deserve reverence for one reason or another.

By thus acting, a man exalts his own sect, and at the same time does service to the sects of other people. By acting contrariwise, a man hurts his own sect, and does disservice to the sects of other people. For he, who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own, with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect.

Concord, therefore, is meritorious, to wit, hearkening and hearkening willingly to the law of Piety as accepted by other people. For this is the desire of His Sacred Majesty that all sects should hear much teaching and hold sound doctrine.

Wherefore, the adherents of all sects, whatever they may be, must be informed that His Sacred Majesty cares not so much for gifts or external reverence as that there should be growth in the essence of the matter and respect for all sects.

For this very purpose are employed the Censors of the Law of Piety, the Censors

of Aśoka cut in the rock at Shahbaz Garhi are once more echoed and recalled by the message of Mahatma Gandhi which has reached the heart of Gandhāra. And in the district of Charsaddah, the ancient capital of Gandhāra, the people have organized themselves into a mission of non-violence and good-will to share whole-heartedly in the great national revival in India. Perhaps the grain of wheat had to fall into the ground and die that it might bring forth much fruit. Has the soil of Gandhāra been fertilized to produce after the long fallow season a richer crop?

Fifteen-hundred years ago a Zoroastrian poet wrote:—

"Swept away, O Iran, as the leaves of the plane tree by the desert wind, thy masters succeed one another.

"But thou, ancient land of our ancestors, bowed down with suffering, yet proud of thy long history, remainest eternal!"

of the Women, the (?) Inspectors, and other official bodies. And this is the fruit thereof —the growth of one's own sect, and the enhancement of the splendour of the Law of Piety." (V. Smith's *Aśoka*)

APPENDIX J

Hindu Armour and Costume

The Greeks have left us a detailed description of the Indian army and its equipment. Each horseman carried two lances resembling the kind called *Saunia* by the Greeks and a buckler. The infantry was armed with a broad sword and long buckler of ox-hide. In addition, each man carried javelins or a bow. The bow is described as being "made of equal length with the man who bears it." This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string backwards: for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot—neither shield nor breast-plate nor any stronger defence, if such there be."[1]

The early Greek accounts may be supplemented by a mass of contemporary evidence furnished by coins and sculptured bas-reliefs from the 3rd century B.C. to the 12th century A.C. The coins of the Indo-Greek kings and of the Kushans found in Kaśmīr and elsewhere afford interesting illustrations of the arms, costumes and coiffeur of the period. The Indo-Scythian kings are represented as wearing coats of chain-mail with a short sword sheathed by their side and a lance. The sculpture of Sanchi accurately represents the early Indian arms. "In one of them", says Cunningham, "there is the representation of a siege probably undertaken to recover possession of some holy relic. The soldiers wear a tight fitting dress and kilt; the arms are a sword and bows and arrows. The swords are short and broad, and tally exactly with the description of Megasthenes." The Bas-reliefs represent nearly all the soldiers as archers. The arms represented on the Stūpas at Bhilsā are bows, arrows, dagger, sword, battle-axe, trident, infantry and cavalry shields and at Udayagiri we find similar accurate representation of military accoutrements on the Stūpas. The Sun-temple at Karnak (1237 A.C.) is full of sculptural representations. Two colossal horses guard the southern facade; one of them is covered with heavy chain armour and adorned with tasselled necklaces, jewelled bracelets on all four legs, and a tasselled breast-band which keeps the saddle in position. A scabbard for a short sword hangs down on the left and a quiver fitted with feathered arrows on the right.[2]

In the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, we have descriptions of the chase (Sk. Mṛgayā), tourneys, duels, arms, costumes, ornaments and coiffeur. Kalhaṇa mentions the Indian arms with which we are familiar from descriptions in the Agni Purāṇa, the two *Epics* and in books like the *Arthaśāstra*. The bow,

[1] Arrian, *Indika*, chapt. XVI.

[2] Memorial Stones with representation of knight and steed in armour have been discovered in Kaśmīr. See also VIII. 728.

the long and short swords, the mace, the battle-axe, the dagger, the Katar, chain armour, helmets and visors are mentioned. It is interesting to find a reference in Kalhaṇa to the leather[3] cuirass, so popular with the Golden Horde of Chingiz Khan, which centuries later we again find in the equipment of the officers of the famous Maratha cavalry.

Identity of arms and costumes shows a common ethnical origin to a much greater extent than identity of language or religion. The influence of race survives in the character and ornament of arms long after the traces of language have disappeared. It is from this point of view that the study of Hindu arms and costumes is of interest, for they exhibit not merely the transition from the rudest types of weapon and dress to the most artistic, but they also reveal to us the fact that the origin of the dress both of the people and of the ruling princes in our country is Turanian.

The researches of German scholars in the ancient Tukharistān, which have revealed to us paintings dating from the 4th to the 7th century A.C. and the recent discovery of terra-cotta tiles at Hārvan, throw a new light on this interesting subject. We may now safely conclude that the dress of the Hindus in Northern India is largely a survival of the Turkish dress of Central Asia and that the dress of the people of the Panjab at the present time has not changed materially since the first century after Christ. It would seem that in the matter of dress and arms, the fashions in India and Central Asia from the first to the seventh century were identical and that since then they apparently have changed very little.[4]

Kalhaṇa describes the Rājaputra, resplendent in arms, who in his pride[5] held the Sun himself of no account! The Rajput has been dominant for centuries in India. Besides Rājputānā and Kāthiāwāḍ, the war-like clans of the Rajputs are to be found as the ruling race in the Panjab, Kaśmīr, the United Provinces, Gujrat, Dekhan and other parts of India. The arms and costumes of the Rajputs furnish fresh evidence of their transition from Turanian civilization to the culture and civilization of the Aryan races of India.[6]

[3] VI. 248-249.

[4] This is not very surprising. The fashions of the ladies of the Dekhan since the 12th century up to our own times have not materially altered; See Kalhaṇa's description of Dakhani costumes at the court of Harṣa, VII. 928-31.

[5] VII. 1617. In spite of conversion to Islam of some of their clans, pride of race still keeps the Rajputs apart from other converts and they retain their racial name of Rajput. The same clans of Rajputs in different parts of India profess different religions having been compelled to leave their patrimony owing to fresh invasion. Thus the Jāḍejās and Parmārs of Kāthiāwāḍ are Hindus while their clansmen in Baluchistan and Sindh are now Muslims.

[6] "In this place I desire to draw attention to the fact, long suspected and now established by good evidence, that the foreign immigrants into Rājputānā and the upper Gangetic Provinces were not utterly destroyed in the course of their wars with the native powers. Many, of course, perished, but many more survived, and were merged in the general population of which no inconsiderable part is now formed by their

We learn from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* that from the Brahman to the Ḍomba all classes followed the profession of arms and successful men of different castes enjoyed the privileges of royalty in Kaśmīr.[7]

A detailed description of Indian arms is given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul-Fazl. Since the time of Akbar no book has been written on this subject. A study of arms at the present moment can only be made from the private collections and state armouries of Ruling Princes and Chiefs. The Indian States have now adopted European arms and since the necessity for carrying weapons has passed away, it is not easy to see the finest specimens of Indian art[8] which are now to be found in the museums of Europe.

In the 7th century Hsüan-Tsang gives the following description of the dress of North India "where the air is cold." "The men wind their garments round their middle, then gather them under the armpits, and let them fall down across the body, hanging to the right. The robes of the women fall down to the ground; they completely cover their shoulders. They wear a little knot of hair on their crowns, and let the rest of their hair fall loose. Some of the men cut off their moustaches, and have other odd customs. On their heads the people wear caps (crowns), with flower-wreaths and jewelled necklets. Their garments are made of Kaiu-she-ye (kausheya) and of cotton. Kaiu-she-ye is the product of the wild silk-worm. They have garments also of Ts'o-mo (kṣauma) which is a sort of hemp; garment also made of Kien-po-lo (kambala) which is woven from fine goat-hair; garments also made from Ho-la-li (karāla)—this stuff is made from the fine hair of wild animal: it is seldom this can be woven, and therefore the stuff is very valuable and it is regarded as fine clothing." He adds: "The Kshattriyas and the Brahmans are cleanly and wholesome

descendants. The foreigners, like their forerunners the Śakas and Yueh-chi, universally yielded to the wonderful assimilative power of Hinduism, and rapidly became Hinduized. Clans or families which succeeded in winning chieftainship were admitted readily into the frame of Hindu polity as Kṣatriyas or Rājpūts, and there is no doubt that the Parihārs and many other famous Rājpūt clans of the north were developed out of the barbarian hordes which poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries. The rank and file of the strangers became Gūjars and other castes, ranking lower than the Rājpūts in the scale of precedence. Farther to the South, various indigenous, or 'aboriginal' tribes and clans underwent the same process of Hinduized social promotion, in virtue of which Gonds, Bhars, Kharwars, and so forth emerged as Chandēls, Rāthors, Gaharwārs, and other well-known Rājpūt clans, duly equipped with pedigrees reaching back to the sun and moon". (V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed. p. 322.). See also Taraṅga IV. 720.

[7]The celebrated king Harṣa Vardhana of Kanauj, who finally drove the Hunas out of India, was a contemporary of Hsüan-Tsang. The pilgrim tells us that he was a Vaiśya and that the contemporary king of Assam was a Brahman. Alberuni tells us that Mahmud's powerful antagonists, the kings of the Śāhi dynasty who ruled from Kabul to Lahore, were Brahmans.

[8] "After the Sikh wars and again after the mutiny of 1857, a general disarmament took place, many of the old armouries were broken up, and many curious old weapons destroyed and sold as old metal". Lord Egerton, *Indian and Oriental Armour.*

in their dress, and they live in a homely and frugal way. The king of the country and great ministers wear garments and ornaments different in their character. They use flowers for decorating their hair, with gem-decked caps; they ornament themselves with bracelets and necklaces."[9] From the specimens of Graeco-Gandharan sculpture in the museum at Lahore, it will be seen that the people of Gandhāra and the Swāt[10] Valley and Bannu[11] at the present-day wear the identical costume of the Buddhist period. The statuary shows the Pathan turban, tunic and baggy trousers still worn in the whole of the North-West Frontier, in Sindh and Kāthiāwāḍ. Early in the 11th century Alberuni refers to the difference of dress between the Hindus of Kābulistān and Gandhāra and the Muslims.[12] Describing the dress of the Hindus Alberuni mentions the 'dhoti' as well as the trousers as follows:—"They use turbans for trousers. Those who want little dress are content to dress in a rag of two fingers' breadth, which they bind over their loins with two cords; but those who like much dress, wear trousers lined with so much cotton as would suffice to make a number of counterpanes and saddle-rugs. These trousers have no (visible) openings, and they are so huge that the feet are not visible. The string by which the trousers are fastened is at the back. Their ṣidār (a piece of dress covering the head and the upper part of breast and neck) is similar to the trousers, being also fastened at the back by buttons. The lappets of the kurtakas (short shirts from the shoulders to the middle of the body with sleeves, a female dress) have slashes both on the right and left sides."[13]

Some of the most interesting illustrations of arms, costumes, coiffeur and jewelry are the terra-cotta tiles discovered at Hārwan,[14] the ancient Ṣaḍarhadvana which Kalhaṇa tells us was the seat of the philosopher Nāgārjuna, when Kaśmīr was perhaps a Buddhist republic.

[9] *Beal*, Vol. I pp. 75, 76. Karāla is Pashmina.

[10] Sk. Suvasta.

[11] Sk. Varṇa.

[12] "Some Hindu king had perished at the hand of an enemy of his who had marched against him from our country. After his death there was born a child to him, which succeeded him, by the name of Sagara. On coming of age, the young man asked his mother about his father, and then she told him what had happened. Now he was inflamed with hatred, marched out of his country into the country of the enemy, and plentifully satiated his thirst of vengeance upon them. After having become tired of slaughtering, he compelled the survivors to dress in our dress, which was meant as an ignominious punishment for them. When I heard of it, I felt thankful that he was gracious enough not to compel us to Indianise ourselves and to adopt Hindu dress and manners." *Alberuni*, Vol. I. p. 20. and VIII 3346.

[13] *Alberuni*, Vol. I. p. 180.

[14] A 12th century Śāradā Ms. of a commentary on Grammar by Prajñāvarman has been discovered by the Bhikkhu Rāhula in Tibet; in the colophon is mentioned the "Harivana-Dharma-Vihāra" in the "Kaśmīrādhiṣṭhāna." See I. 173n.

APPENDIX K

After Jayasiṁha a number of weak rulers maintained the old tradition until queen Koṭā, the last Hindu ruler, was deposed in 1339 A.C. by one of her officials, a Mahomadan from the Panjab named Shah Mir. Shah Mir had come to Kaśmīr in 1313 A.C. During the reign of Suhadeva, Dulucha, a general of the king of Kandahar, invaded Kaśmīr, pillaged the country and left it with the loot when winter set in. His army was, however, destroyed in the passes by heavy falls of snow. Dulucha was followed by Rinchana, the son of a Tibetan chief. The king Suhadeva was slain by the invader Rinchana after he had killed by treachery the patriot Rāmacandra, who resisted him. Rinchana married Koṭā, Rāmacandra's wife (or, according to some, his daughter) and desired to become a Hindu. But his offer was spurned by the Brahmans and he then turned to the welcoming fold of Islam. The infant son of Rinchana by Koṭā was entrusted to the care of the Panjabi adventurer Shah Mir. Upon the untimely death of Rinchana, his infant son Haidar was set aside by Shah Mir who invited Udayana Deva, a scion of the old Hindu dynasty who, like Meghavāhana in olden times, lived in refuge in Gandhāra. Udayana Deva married the dowager queen Koṭā who controlled and administered the state. Upon the death of Udayana Deva (1337-38 A.C.) she proclaimed herself queen, but was besieged and deposed by Shah Mir, who crowned himself king under the title of Sultan Shams-ud-din. Islam had already spread to Kaśmīr from the frontier provinces and Turkistan but it was after the middle of the 14th century that a vigorous Muslim propaganda was started and the people were converted in large numbers. Sultan Sikandar[1] earned the title of But-Shikan (Idol-breaker) by the wholesale destruction of Hindu temples. Sikandar had married a Hindu lady named Śrī Śobhā and was at first tolerant in religion like his predecessors, but his powerful Hindu minister Suhabhaṭṭa, who became an apostate, hated his former co-religionists with the hatred of a new convert. The chronicler Jonarāja describes in detail the forcible conversion of the people. The Jizyah or Poll-tax which was levied on the Brahmans who refused to be converted. The tax was two Palas[2] of silver yearly per head. The celebrated shrines of Cakradhara and Vijayeśa were levelled to the ground and the temples at Avantipura were destroyed. Jonarāja enumerates the temples destroyed by Sikandar and mentions among them the famous sun-temple of Mārtaṇḍa.[3] Sikandar's son Zain-al-abidin[4] was mild and tolerant and he reduced the Jizyah to one Māṣa per annum. Under Zain-al-

[1] 1390-1414 A.C.
[2] Equivalent to eight Tolās of silver.
[3] Verse 599.
[4] 1421-1472 A.C.

abidin the country had freedom from religious persecution. He studied Saṁskṛta, encouraged the Kaśmīrī traditions of learning and patronised the Brahmans. He was in short the Akbar of Kaśmīr. It was in his time that Kalhaṇa's work was first translated into Persian. Jonarāja takes up the history in continuation of Kalhaṇa's, and, entering the Mahomadan period gives an account of the reigns down to that of Zain-al-abidin. Śrīvara, his pupil, carried the record to the accession of Fath Shah.[5] And the fourth work called the Rājāvalipatākā by Prajñā Bhaṭṭa completes the history to the time of the incorporation of Kaśmīr in the dominions of Akbar in 1588 A.C.

After the disruption of the Mughal empire which was hastened by the invasion of Nadir Shah, Kaśmīr became part of the Durani kingdom of Afghanistan. The Afghans were expelled by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who conquered the country in 1819 A.C. Gulab Singh, a Dogra Rajput, had been made chief of the principality of Jammu. After the defeat of the Sikhs at Sobraon, Gulab Singh played the leading role in arranging conditions of peace between the English and the Sikhs. The treaty of peace dated 9th March 1846 sets forth that the British Government having demanded, in addition to territory, the payment of a crore and a half of rupees (1½ million Sterling) and the Sikh Government being unable to pay the whole, the Maharaja Dilip Singh cedes as equivalent of one crore the hill country belonging to the Panjab between the Beas and the Indus including Kaśmīr and Hazārā. The Governor-General considered it expedient to make over Kaśmīr to the Rajah of Jammu to secure his friendship while the British were administering the Panjab on behalf of the young Maharaja Dilip Singh. Gulab Singh paid one crore and in consideration of his services, the British recognized his independent sovereignty of the country made over to him and made a separate treaty with him.

While Kaśmīr was part of the Sikh dominion, the Rajah Gulab Singh after annexing all the petty hill states between the Jhelum and the Ravi eventually acquired Kistwar which touches Ladakh. In August 1834 he sent his general Wazir Zoravar Singh to invade Ladakh which was then subject to Lhasa. The bold Dogra commander advanced to Pashkum in the Wakkha Valley on the main Kaśmīr-Ladakh road and reached Leh. At first the Rajah of Ladakh was made a feudatory of Jammu and eventually Ladakh was annexed. Zoravar Singh marched into Skardu and deposed the chief and put his young son on the *gadi*. He raised contingents of Baltis and Ladakhis and with his brave Dogras he advanced in the winter of 1841 for the conquest of Tibet. The expedition met with disaster, not unlike that of the British in Kabul at about the same time. On the 12th December when his Dogras at a height of 15,000 ft. above sea-level were losing their hands and feet from frost bite and were burning their gunstocks for lack of fuel to keep themselves warm, the Tibetans delivered an

[5] 1486 A.C.

assault. Zoravar fought at the head of his troops but was unhorsed and wounded by a bullet in the shoulder; he continued gallantly to fight with his sword, left-handed, till he was killed by a spear. His force was routed and only a few survivors reached Leh. Thus the gallant Zoravar Singh "adorned the couch of heroes" and, like Lalitāditya, perished in the distant regions of the snow-bound North.

Gulab Singh died in 1857 and was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh. During his reign another brave Dogra general conquered for the Rajah of Jammu what are now known as the Frontier Ilaqas (territory) of the State, including Gilgit, during the years 1868-1874. This was Hoshara Singh, who conquered Gilgit in 1868 and his gun, placed to mark the position from where he fired, is still *in situ*. Ranbir Singh died in 1885 and was succeeded by Maharaja Pratap Singh, in whose reign the sovereignty of Kaśmīr over Gilgit was reasserted and the Dogras participated in the Black Mountain expedition of 1891, the Hunza Nagar operations of 1891 and the Tirah campaign of 1897-98.

It is interesting to note that the people of Nagar, who call themselves Shin or Dard[6] are now by religion Muhammadan and, like the Persians Shias in faith. In Hunza, on the other hand, the people curiously enough, like the inhabitants of Chitral and North-Eastern Afghanistan are followers of the Aga Khan. The Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar are called Mirs and they claim descent from Alexander the Great, who is the hero of these territories and of their legends and epic songs. According to their traditions their horses, too, are descended from Alexander's charger Bucephelos. Similar legends are current in the North-West Frontier Province, the centre of Graeco-Buddhist culture and art, where the chiefs still claim descent from a princess of Gandhāra, who is said to have married Alexander. Red hair and blue eyes are common in Nagar and Hunza, and the people have the Greek taste for wine and the dance. For half the year, however, the people are cut off from all communication with the outside world after the snows begin to melt, when the rivers rise to extraordinary heights, fill the lower reaches of the gorges and render them impassable. In Yasin the people follow a religion called Maulai. The Baltis of Baltistan (sometimes called Little Tibet) and the people of Ladakh are Mongolian in type like the Tibetans; the Baltis are Muhammadans and the Ladakhis are Buddhists. In the Frontier territory, which is a Tolstoyan paradise, there are no mosques, no patwaris,[7] no courts, no land records. The territory comprises 48,000 square miles, but is so sparsely populated that the total population is barely two hundred thousand. There are eighty villages in the whole of the Gilgit Wazarat and only three hundred villages in all the Frontier Ilaqas. No European is allowed to pass beyond Astor without the permission of the British Resident, while the subjects of the Maharaja

[6] The language Shin-bash (Sk. Bhāṣā) is full of Saṁskṛta words.
[7] Revenue Officials.

are allowed to go up to Gilgit but not beyond into the Frontier Ilaqas even for purposes of trade.

The Frontier Ilaqas of the State are: 1. Hunza, 2. Nagar, 3. Punial, 4. Ashkoman, 5. Yasin, 6. Koh, 7. Ghize, the last two are inhabited by semi-independent tribes. A peculiar system of control is in force in the frontier territory of the Jammu and Kaśmīr State. At Gupsi there is a fort which is garrisoned by a few companies of Dogras. Chitral on the north-west frontier of India was, also, until the time of Lord Curzon, under Jammu. Lord Curzon took Chitral from the late Maharaja of Jammu and Kaśmīr and brought it under direct British influence. The ruler of Chitral, who still retains the ancient Kaśmīrī title of Mahattara,[8] has been granted a salute of guns and the title of His Highness by the British and Chitral is garrisoned, because of the proximity of the Afghan frontier, by British Indian troops who have taken the place of the Dogras. At the present time all the Frontier Ilaqas are under the charge of a British Political Agent who controls their affairs. Gilgit is similarly under the controlling power of the British Political Agent, although for all civil purposes it is like other districts of the State under a Wazir Wazarat. The political power is, however, exercised by the Political Agent, Gilgit Agency, who is under the British Resident in Kaśmīr as well as directly under the Viceroy at Simla. The Political Agent enjoys the privilege of a salute of eleven guns. There are three Assistant Political Agents. Yasin, Punial, Hunza and Nagar are under Assistant Political Agents. The Judicial system in different areas is a curious mélange of tribal methods and modern judicial procedure and the Jirga system obtains just as among the tribes of the North-West Frontier of India. Chelas has a fort which is garrisoned by the state troops but the British Political Agent collects the revenue, called "Tribute" which is sent to the State treasury at Gilgit. Such is the extraordinary dual control in these territories, which are vulnerable to attack from Afghanistan and Central Asia and these political arrangements are already under revision owing to the rapid transformations which are taking place in the territory of the U.S.S.R. and in Sinkiang.

The Rājaputras who in the 11th and 12th centuries helped the rulers of Kaśmīr to maintain their rule were no doubt the hill Rajputs known as the Dogras.[9] The Dogras now hold Kaśmīr as well as the territories they conquered with the sword—Baltistan and Ladakh—and they are suzerains of Gilgit and Hunza Nagar. The Dogra rulers appointed Pandits to record current events in the style of Kalhaṇa. Kalhaṇa's technique was followed in the 15th and 16th centuries by Jonarāja and others, who also called their work the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. And thus the technique of Kalhaṇa still survives and in the time of the present ruler, the Maharaja Hari Singh, the

[8] Now written Mehtar.
[9] Sk. Durga=hilly country.

Rājataraṅgiṇī goes on and Kaśmīr has its history in Saṁskṛta from the earliest times up-to-date!

Who can tell what Time will yet bring to Kaśmīr where change in its swiftness is sweeping the old land-marks away? Sovereignty, says Kalhaṇa somewhere, rests only for a while like a bird on the tree.

L'avenir, l'avenir, mystère!
Toutes les choses de la terre,
Gloire, fortune militaire,
Couronne éclatante des rois,
Victoires aux ailes embrassées,
Ambitions realisées
Ne sont jamais sur nous posées
Que comme l'oiseau sur nos toits!

Victor Hugo

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Note:—The Roman numeral followed by the Arabic numeral together indicate the Taraṅga and Śloka of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the present translation. The letter n. after the numerals refers to the Foot-note. The letter K. in the Notes is an abbreviation for Kalhaṇa.

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